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THE HISTORY
OF
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THE HISTORY
OF
N A P O L E O N :

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CHAPTER I.

BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR—RETREAT OF ALEXANDER—AFFAIRS OF PRUSSIA, NAPLES, SWEDEN—TREATY OF PRESBURG—DEATH OF PITT—NEGOCIATIONS FOR PEACE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE—NAPOLEON CREATES NEW KINGDOMS, AND TITLES OF NOBILITY—PEACE WITH RUSSIA AND TURKEY—DEATH OF FOX—WAR WITH PRUSSIA—BATTLES OF SAALFIELD AND JENA—OCCUPATION OF PRUSSIA BY THE FRENCH.



ON the very eve of the decisive victory of Austerlitz, which humbled before his power the two greatest sovereigns of the continent, Napoleon had received the news of his own signal defeat on that element, the empire of which he never again attempted to dispute with England. The battle of Trafalgar had been fought on the 21st of October.

The English government had no sooner learnt that Villeneuve had conducted his squadron into Cadiz, than they refitted their fleet in the Mediterranean, with great celerity and secrecy, and gave the command to Nelson. Villeneuve, meanwhile, watched his opportunity to get out of port; and trusting to his large force, set sail on the 19th of October, with the intention of

giving battle. The hostile navies hove in sight of each other on the 21st of October, 1805. The combined French and Spanish fleet amounted to the tremendous power of thirty-three sail of the line, and seven large frigates; the English to twenty-seven line-of-battle ships, and three frigates. Yet, it is said that, even with so great a superiority, the French admiral would not have sought the fearful contest, had he believed the report that Nelson commanded in person; or that the English fleet had been so strongly reinforced. He arranged his ships in a singular and ingenious manner, with a view to counteract the well-known English manœuvre of "cutting the line." His fleet formed a double line, each alternate ship being about a cable's length to the windward of her second, ahead and astern. Nelson advanced to the attack in two lines. Eight of his fastest sailing two-deckers were ordered to cut off three or four of the enemy's ships, a-head of their centre; Admiral Collingwood, the second in command, who led the van, was to break in about the twelfth ship from the rear, while Nelson himself, in the *Victory*, led the division which should bear down on the centre. He explained to his admirals and officers that his object was a close and decisive engagement; and that, if in the confusion and smoke of the battle signals should not be visible, the captain would never do wrong who laid his ship alongside of the enemy. His last signal bore the words, "England expects every man to do his duty;" and the expectation was fully justified. The enemy fought desperately and bravely, but their line was penetrated in every direction; the British ships engaging sometimes two of the hostile squadron at a time: the *Victory* at one period maintaining an incessant fire on three. The result was the well-known and decisive victory which nearly annihilated the French and Spanish navies. Nineteen of their ships were taken; besides four which struck to Sir Richard Strachan, in a subsequent action; and of those which escaped into Cadiz, seven had been rendered unfit for service. The threat of invasion was never again held over England by Napoleon. But the triumph was dearly bought; the long list of names blotted out of existence in obtaining it, being headed by that of Nelson. The Spanish admiral, Gravina, also died of his wounds; and Villeneuve, unable to endure the anguish of mind consequent on his irretrievable disaster, committed suicide shortly afterwards. The mode of his death is appalling, from its calm and deliberate minuteness. He procured some anatomical prints, and carefully studied the precise position of the heart; which having ascertained, he drove a large pin up to the head into his breast, so accurately, as to penetrate that vital organ, and instantly expired. He was found dead, with the pin in his heart, and a mark corresponding with the wound, on the print which lay beside him.

It was the confirmed habit of Napoleon's mind to occupy itself only with one great object at a time; the battle of Austerlitz, therefore, partly neutralised the first impression of the defeat of Trafalgar; but it was not the less deep and lasting. He said little on the subject; and it is a singular fact that the action was never so much as mentioned in any French newspaper, being suppressed, of course, by his express order. Thus, while the whole English nation were in the utmost excitement at this victory over their enemies—celebrated by prayers, praises, illuminations, pictures, bonfires, ballads, newspaper articles, and poems, as was very natural on such an occasion—the whole nation of these enemies knew nothing whatever of the matter. An incident, however, that shortly occurred, may serve to illustrate the passionate mortification which Napoleon thus kept smouldering within. Denon, who was engaged to execute a series of medals in commemoration of the battle of Austerlitz, brought them to the Emperor for his inspection, on his return to St. Cloud. "What does this mean?" said Napoleon, looking at the reverse of the first medal. "Sire," answered Denon, "it is a French eagle strangling, in its talons, the leopard, one of the emblems of the coat-of-arms of England." Napoleon dashed the gold medal with violence to the other end of the room, exclaiming, "Vile flatterer! how dare you tell me that the French eagle strangles the English leopard, when I cannot send out to sea the smallest fishing-boat that the English do not seize upon? It is, indeed, the leopard that strangles the French eagle. Let this medal be instantly destroyed, and never present any of the same kind to me again."

We return to the events of the 4th of December. It quickly transpired that Napoleon, in his interview with the Emperor of Austria, had granted him an armistice, and had agreed to suffer the Russians to pass unmolested to their country, on condition that they left the Austrian dominions with the least possible delay. He returned towards his bivouac thoughtful and silent. The Emperor Alexander, together with the remains of the Russian army, which amounted to about five and twenty thousand men, many of them without arms or baggage, were entirely at his mercy. He had only to order the advance of Marshal Davoust's division to ensure their surrender. But he chose to sacrifice this important opportunity to the false glory of playing a magnanimous part towards the legitimate sovereigns of Europe; a fatal delusion which grew upon him more and more, and exactly defeated its own object. Whatever they might pretend, it was his presumption in having acquired, and being able to maintain, sovereign power, which enraged those monarchs against him, not the use he made of his power, one way or the other; and if they hated him for conquering them,

they hated him doubly for humbling them by his generosity. The result of his meditations on this occasion was to despatch Savary to the Emperor of Russia, to obtain his adhesion to the conditions just made, and to stop Davoust's movement. Savary found Alexander impatient to sign the articles required of him. The situation of his imperial majesty, bad as it was, had only been prevented from becoming desperate by a trick which he had passed off on Davoust, to whom he had transmitted a note that morning by the hands of an Austrian general, written in pencil, to the following effect:—

“December 4.”

“I authorise General Meerfeld to acquaint the French general, that the two emperors of Germany and France are, at this moment, holding a conference; that there is an armistice on this occasion, and that it is, consequently, useless to sacrifice any more brave men.

(Signed) “ALEXANDER.”

The truth was, that, as far as the Russians were concerned, the armistice did not commence till their emperor had signed the conditions; but Davoust, giving credit to the signature of Alexander, had remained stationary from the time he received the note. The czar, after gladly completing the business which extricated him from a perilous dilemma, began to discourse with Savary on the events of the battle; concluding the whole by saying, “Your emperor is a great soldier. I do not pretend to compare myself with him. As to me, it is the first time I have been under fire. I shall go back to my capital. I came to help the Emperor of Austria: he has just sent me word that he is satisfied: I am also.” He lost no time in taking advantage of the permission thus granted him, but without the conclusion of any peace between him and Napoleon. Junot was, however, sent after him with a letter from Napoleon, treating of a peace; but, on reaching the Russian army, the marshal found that Alexander had left it, and set out for St. Petersburg; and not conceiving that his orders authorised his following thither, he returned to Vienna, where Napoleon had again established himself in the palace of Schoenbrunn, while Talleyrand and Prince John of Lichtenstein adjusted, at Presburg, the terms of peace between France and Austria. It is reported that Napoleon, when he had time for cool reflection, owned that he had given up a great advantage. In reverting to his interview with the Austrian emperor, he said, “That man has made me commit an error, for I might have followed up my victory, and taken all the Russian and Austrian army; but, at least, some tears the less will be shed.”

The suspension of hostilities was immediately followed by two decrees from Napoleon. The first granted pensions to the widows and children of all officers and soldiers killed at Austerlitz; the second ordered, that all the cannon, taken on the field of battle, should be cast into a pillar, to be erected in the Place Vendôme, to perpetuate the glory of the French army. By a third decree, shortly afterwards, the Emperor adopted all the children of the generals, officers and soldiers, killed at Austerlitz; ordered that they should be maintained and educated at the expense of the state, and permitted them to add the name of Napoleon to their own.

Nothing could be more embarrassing than the situation of M. de Haugwitz, the Prussian ambassador, at that moment. He had been stationed at Vienna with instructions to form a strict alliance with the Emperor of Russia, as soon as his triumph over the French army was completed. He now waited on Napoleon with a congratulatory oration on his success. "This," answered Napoleon, who perfectly comprehended the duplicity of Prussia, "is a compliment, the superscription of which has been changed by victory." The interview ended in a treaty between France and Prussia; by which the latter power was bound to a continued neutrality, and to the cession of Anspach and Bareuth, receiving Hanover in return. That nothing might be wanting to perfect the crooked policy of Prussia, it happened that at the same time that M. de Haugwitz completed this treaty with Napoleon at Vienna, another treaty was actually signed with England at Berlin, where the battle of Austerlitz was, as yet, unknown. The consternation which ensued was great; as nearly an equal fear was entertained of offending either of the belligerent powers; but it ended, for the present, in Prussia abiding by Napoleon, and accepting Hanover, with many excuses and protestations to his Britannic majesty, who now saw his continental dominions occupied by the very power, so lately on the point of making common cause with him against France.

Intelligence reached Vienna at this time, that the Court of Naples, instigated by the queen, had broken faith with France, and invited the landing of twelve thousand Russian, and eight thousand English troops, the moment that the French army had evacuated the country, according to the treaty which negotiated the neutrality of Naples. Napoleon immediately ordered a large army, under his brother Joseph, to advance against them. He had a quarrel of long standing with the Queen of Naples. "As to her," he exclaimed, when he heard of this new piece of perfidy, "I am not surprised at her conduct; but woe betide her if I enter Naples. Never shall she set foot there again."

Meantime, the Russians and English re-embarked on hearing of the armistice at Austerlitz, and left their unfortunate allies to their

fate. The king and queen fled into Sicily, after abdicating in favour of their son, who only retained his power long enough to surrender all his fortresses, and Naples itself, to the French, who took possession of the whole country without resistance, except from the wild inhabitants of Calabria, who attempted, in vain, to make a stand; and the strong fortress of Gaeta, which maintained a resolute defence, under the command of the Prince of Hesse Philipsthal, and held out until July, 1806.



The King of Sweden, also, found himself placed in a perilous predicament by his conduct during the campaign, though the consequences did not fall upon him immediately. He had been an ardent anti-gallican, and was emulous of the fame of Gustavus Adolphus, and Charles the Twelfth. He had accordingly raised an army to free Hanover from the French, and commenced the siege of Hamelen in November. But Bernadotte had left a strong garrison in the fortress, and before any impression was made on it, the news of the battle of Austerlitz sent the unfortunate king back to his country, where he was coldly received by his subjects, who soon began to plot his expulsion from the throne, partly on account of his own want of conduct, and partly because they feared the resentment of Napoleon, and wished to avert it from themselves.

We have never had the least disposition to occupy time and space in recounting such things as intrigues, affairs of what is called "gallantry" (heartless folly, would, generally, be a far more appropriate term), and other court scandals. Something of the kind, however, may here be slightly noticed, as illustrative of various characters and influences. It was certainly once the custom to ascribe to Napoleon all the vices of the Roman emperors, but the world has been set right on this matter long

since. The fact is, that whatever may have been his natural temperament (though we do not discover, in looking back to his early history, any evidence of a tendency to excess in any of the pleasures of the senses), his whole life was too full of action and of other intense and absorbing interests to allow of time or even inclination to any species of such indulgence. In his campaigns, Napoleon was often known to be in vigorous action for four and twenty hours, and was in the constant habit of enduring fatigue, such as would have worn him out but for his wonderful constitution, which was recruited by one hour of sleep. He had, moreover, the power of falling asleep voluntarily; being able, in the midst of the most hazardous circumstances, entirely to banish all anxiety from his mind, the moment that he had determined on his plan of action.

During the interval of comparative leisure which occurred while Napoleon resided at Vienna, he was struck with the beauty of a young girl, whom he had observed in the city; and she proved quite ready to accept an invitation to visit him, at the palace, on a certain evening. She spoke Italian as well as German; they therefore entered into conversation; but a change came over the feelings of Napoleon as he listened to what she said. He found her to be the daughter of respectable parents, and discovered that, in consenting to this meeting, she had been swayed by the excitement of an ardent imagination, possessed by the glory of his achievements, and enthusiastic feelings of admiration and devotion towards him personally—such as she had never experienced for any man before. He was not prepared for anything deep and serious like this, and immediately sent the young lady home in safety, after causing arrangements to be made for her settlement in life, and giving her a pension.

A strange anecdote is also related as having occurred at this period, which appears to be perfectly authentic. A French agent, resident at Vienna, took it upon him, unauthorised by Napoleon (though, we must suppose, by no means against his inclination), to persuade a certain beautiful German countess, known to be intimate with an English nobleman, to visit Schoenbrunn. After some demur, she consented, but dropt expressions, which seemed to intimate, that she meant to seize the opportunity to rid her country of its great enemy. It is not likely that a woman, who had not sufficient self-possession to conceal such a purpose, would ever have carried it through; but the hint was taken, by the terrified agent, and the meeting never occurred.

The treaty between France and Austria, was signed at Presburg, on the 26th of December, little more than three weeks after the battle of Austerlitz. No great time was required to settle conditions which one power had only to dictate, and the other no alternative but to

grant, however humiliating. Austria ceded to Napoleon the states of Venice, which were added to the kingdom of Italy; and yielded up to Bavaria the Tyrol and the country of Salzburch, with part of Swabia, thus losing the last of its possessions in Italy, and all command over the passes of the mountains, which form the natural boundary of that country. The Elector of Wirtemberg also received a large extent of territory, at the expense of Austria, and was elevated to the title of king, as also was the Elector of Bavaria; while the Margrave of Baden received the title of Grand-Duke. By these great sacrifices to the emperor of France and his allies, Austria is said to have lost twenty thousand square miles of territory, two millions and a half of subjects, and a revenue to the amount of ten millions and a half of florins, besides being reduced to the solitary sea port of Trieste. Such were the extraordinary results of a single campaign which lasted only six weeks, and included, in its sanguinary annals, only one great battle. Napoleon had levied heavy contribution upon the Emperor of Austria immediately the victory was assured; and the first instalment was actually paid with the English subsidy, which arrived at that moment to support the war against him.

The very day after the signature of the treaty, Napoleon left Vienna for Paris. Certain financial disarrangements gave him great uneasiness, and he was impatient to return. There had been a run on the national bank, and a considerable fall in the funds. When examined, the panic appeared to have been created in the pause of expectation before the battle of Austerlitz, by some of the inmates of the Faubourg St. Germain, who were always ready to prophesy the evil fortune of Napoleon. The alarm and difficulty thus begun, had been increased by the ill-judged appropriation of a large portion of the public revenue to a private speculation of the victualling board, which had taken place at the same period. Had the fortune of war turned against Napoleon, these embarrassments might have proved very serious; as it was, he was enabled to adjust them without much difficulty.

Notwithstanding his anxiety to reach Paris, he remained a week at Munich, to assist at the marriage of Eugene Beauharnois to the Princess Augusta, daughter of the King of Bavaria. Josephine had joined him there on his arrival, and the whole time was passed in fêtes and rejoicings. It was on this occasion that he proclaimed Eugene his adopted son, and, in default of issue of his own, his successor in the kingdom of Italy.

Napoleon, accompanied by Josephine, re-entered Paris on the 26th of January, 1806, amidst the most enthusiastic acclamations. The national vanity was flattered and raised to the highest pitch by the glory he had again acquired; and the extent and stability of his dominion now appeared to be lastingly secured. The senate, at a solemn audience,

besought him to accept the title of "the Great;" and public rejoicings, which lasted for many days, attested his popularity. An important political event at the same time opened new views of security and peace to the empire. William Pitt, the implacable enemy of the Revolution, died on the 23rd of January, 1806, at the early age of forty-seven; and the government which he had conducted was intrusted to the hands of his great opponent, Charles James Fox. The disastrous results of the war, of which he had been the main inciter, probably hastened the death of Pitt. He was observed to change and droop immediately after the news of the capitulation of Ulm, and never rallied again. The well-known friendship of Fox for the Emperor of France, added to his long and openly avowed principles, afforded the strongest hopes that the two great powers of England and France were at length destined to cement the peace of the world, by mutually entering into friendly relations. Napoleon did not lose any time in opening a negociation. Aided by Talleyrand, who earnestly counselled a peace, he first made overtures to the English government through the mediation of Lord Yarmouth, who was among the list of the *detenus*; and, to evince his sincerity, offered to yield the long-contested point of Malta, consenting to the continued possession of that island, the Cape of Good Hope, and other conquests in the East and West Indies, by Great Britain; and in general proposing that the treaty should be conducted on the principle called *uti possidetis*—that is, allowing each party to retain whatever had been acquired by each in the course of the war. Turkey, at the same time, acknowledged Napoleon as Emperor, and entered into amicable relations with the French nation; and, what was still more important, Russia signed a treaty of peace with it in July, influenced by the pacific inclinations of the English minister.

Not satisfied with this fair promise of continued power, Napoleon now resolved to surround his throne with an order of nobles, and to place different members of his family on the thrones of the conquered countries surrounding France, that they might henceforth become parts of his system, co-operating in his plans, and ready to carry them into effect at the moment he should see fit. Decrees of the 31st of March, 1806, declared Joseph Bonaparte King of Naples; and Murat Grand Duke of Berg and Cleves. Louis Bonaparte was made King of Holland a few months afterwards; and Jerome, King of Westphalia, in the following year. The Princess Pauline received the principality of Guastalla; and Talleyrand, Bernadotte, and Berthier, those of Beneventum, Pontecorvo, and Neufchatel. Fifteen dukedoms were created at the same time, and bestowed on the most distinguished statesmen and generals of the empire, together with an income amounting to a fifteenth part of the revenue of the province attached to each, which now became grand fiefs

of the empire. Cambacérès and Lebrun were made dukes of Parma and Placenza; Savary, duke of Rovigo; Junot, of Abrantes; Lannes, of Montebello, &c. The manners of some of these republican soldiers were very ill adapted to courtly forms, and afforded no small amusement to the members of the ancient and legitimate order of things. Lannes, in particular, was blunt and rough to a degree which had at times given offence to the Emperor himself. An anecdote is told of him, which is sufficiently illustrative of his very uncourtier-like temperament. On one occasion, he had asked a favour of Napoleon, to which the latter, either because preoccupied at the moment or from some motive of his own, paid no attention. Lannes abruptly quitted the apartment; and very soon those who remained were surprised by a sharp ringing sound in the antechamber, followed by a clattering shower upon the floor. Napoleon, somewhat startled like the rest, opened the door to ascertain the cause, and there saw Lannes with his drawn sabre slashing to pieces, in his fury, a magnificent glass chandelier which was suspended from the ceiling. The Emperor returned to his seat with great composure, and issued his command that Lannes should withdraw from the palace. But the indignity was soon forgiven: Napoleon knew how to make allowance for momentary passion, where he was conscious of the real value of the offender's worth or abilities.

The desire to conciliate and form alliances with the established dynasties and aristocracies of Europe kept pace with the daring encroachments on their hitherto exclusive dignity which we have recorded. Besides the marriage of Eugene Beauharnois to a princess of Bavaria, an alliance was shortly concluded between the hereditary Prince of Baden and Mademoiselle Stephanie Beauharnois, a niece of the Empress. The old French noblesse were also encouraged to appear at the Tuileries. "The Emperor," says Scott, "distinguished these ancient minions of royalty with considerable favour, as, half-blushing for their own apostacy in doing homage to Bonaparte in the palace of the Bourbons, half sneering at the maladroit and awkward manners of their new associates, they mingled among the men of new descent, and paid homage to the monarch of the day, 'because,' as one of them expressed himself to Madame de Staël, 'one must serve some one or other.'"

It was during the Emperor's visit at Munich that the republican calendar was abolished, and the mode of computing time common to the rest of the civilised world was restored in France; an alteration certainly for the better. Another change, of a far different character, was made about the same time. The Pantheon, which had been set apart in the revolution, and dedicated to the philosophers and patriots whose writings or deeds had brought about that great event, was restored to its original destination of a Catholic church; and the noble building, dedicated by

"the grateful country to its great men," was now given over to the ceremonies of the priests. The service and ancient ordinances were also restored to the royal cemetery at St. Denis. In recording such decrees as these, we sympathise in the burst of indignant sorrow with which one of the modern French historians of Napoleon, and the most enthusiastic of his admirers, has concluded his detail of them. "Oh!" says Laurent, "there was not only toleration, liberty, or protection for the Catholic worship in this conduct of the Emperor; there was a direct attack upon those principles which consecrated the Pantheon as a noble monument to great men; there was condemnation of the present, re-establishment of the past; there was a spirit of counter-revolution, and nothing which resembles an act of necessity or political prudence: the future will prove it."

The negotiations with England went on tardily, and the news of Mr. Fox's alarming state of health excited the greatest fears in the French government that their efforts towards peace would be finally counteracted. Lord Lauderdale arrived in Paris, on the part of England, in the month of August; but difficulties were continually started, and, before anything was decided, the death of Charles Fox gave the finishing blow to all hope of peace. Lord Lauderdale demanded his passports, and left Paris in October.

Napoleon wished to add Sicily to his brother's new kingdom of Naples; but British ships were able to protect the King and Queen of Naples in that insular position, and the English government refused to desert their allies on this occasion, or to consent to any compensation or adjustment offered. On this point principally turned the failure of the attempt at peace, as far as can be discovered from the account of the negotiations; but there is every reason to believe that the true cause was the death of Fox, and the accession to power of the Grenville ministry. "We relied wholly on Mr. Fox," says Savary, "for terminating our eternal differences with England; and at every fresh report of the state of his health the negotiations were urged forward, because it was hoped that if peace were once concluded, some means would be found of rendering it permanent, even in the event of Mr. Fox's death. But fate had decided otherwise. The English minister died, and his successor recalled Lord Lauderdale: the conferences were then broken off. We tacitly accused Lord Lauderdale of not having been as zealous as we were in smoothing away the difficulties which opposed the conclusion of peace; and it was even suspected that when Mr. Fox's recovery was found to be impossible, he had studied only the sentiments of the minister who was destined to succeed him."

Two events of great importance to Germany had occurred during the negotiations. The first was the Confederation of the Rhine, formed

under the auspices of Napoleon. By this compact, Wirtemberg, Bavaria, and Hesse d'Armstadt, with some petty princes on the right bank of the Rhine, renounced their dependence on the Germanic body, and placed themselves directly under the guardianship of France; on the plea that, in every war between France and Austria, they were exposed to all the evils of invasion, from which the Germanic body had no longer the power to defend them. Napoleon accepted the title of Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine; and in return required, in time of war, from the states which composed it, a military contingent, as it was called, amounting to sixty thousand men; and he took care that the troops thus placed at his disposal should be in perfect equipment and discipline.

The other event to which we have alluded was the voluntary deposition of the Imperial Crown of Germany by the Emperor of Austria; who declared that, seeing no sufficient means of enforcing that ancient league, he now only held his title as sovereign of Austria and his other hereditary states.

The crooked policy of Prussia had also placed the north of Germany in a totally new position. When the Prussian government occupied Hanover, it proceeded to the further aggression of shutting its ports against English merchandise. England, accordingly, declared war against Prussia, receiving at the same time, among other concessions from Napoleon, the offer of the restitution of Hanover, at which Prussia was deeply offended, though ample promises of compensation were held out by Napoleon. No sooner, however, did counsels hostile to France regulate the English cabinet, than the same disposition became apparent in Prussia. All differences between the two latter countries were forgotten; a treaty of peace was concluded between them, and English money was promised to support another war against France, while the injury and affront of the retention of Hanover remained unredressed; the Prussian minister avowing that its restitution would depend on the events of the war. It thus appears that the English government was ready to submit to loss of territory and actual insult, provided it could succeed in stirring up the nations of Europe against Napoleon, and gratify its implacable hostility towards the French Revolution; while a corrupt parliament was always ready profligately to grant the national money thus ruthlessly squandered away.

Another sanguinary war was on the eve of bursting forth, as the summer of 1806 drew to a close; yet no adequate cause for such a calamity existed. Several grievances were complained of, such as the following:—Prussia had endeavoured to form a northern confederacy of German states to counterbalance the influence of France in the Confederation of the Rhine, and had failed. It is certain that the plan was defeated chiefly by obstacles thrown in the way by Napoleon, particularly

as to the Hanse towns, which, he declared, could not be included in any particular confederation; but he offered no open opposition. Murat, whose grand duchy of Berg placed him in near neighbourhood with Prussia, unjustifiably seized upon three abbeys, which he declared to belong to him; and altogether behaved, and permitted his officers to behave, in an offensive and petulant manner: but in all this, there was no cause for war, but only for remonstrance and negociation. At the same time, an arbitrary and vindictive act of oppression and cruelty, on the part of the French authorities at Nuremberg, contributed to bring them into odium all over Germany. A bookseller, named Palm, was seized there, for publishing a libel on Napoleon,—tried by a military commission, and shot. The public mind was inflamed against the French; and the Queen of Prussia, at that time both young and beautiful, was at the head of a party who ruled the court, and exerted every art to rouse this spirit to its extreme. Prince Louis of Prussia, and a whole band of young nobles, who were full of ardour to repeat the victories of the great Frederick, are said to have sharpened their sabres on the threshold of the French ambassador, and to have broken the windows of the ministers supposed to be in the French interest. The army was strongly recruited. The queen frequently appeared in the uniform of the regiment, which bore her name, and sometimes rode at their head. In the midst of the popular ferment thus created, the Emperor of Russia visited Berlin, and promised the aid of his armies against France.

On the 1st of October, the Prussian envoy was interrogated by Talleyrand as to the cause of the martial attitude assumed by his state. He delivered a paper in reply, containing three demands:—First, that all the French troops should immediately evacuate Germany: secondly, that France should cease to present obstacles to the formation of the northern confederacy: thirdly, that the fortress of Wesel, and the three abbeys seized by Murat, should be restored. These demands, accompanied by a long accusatory letter, amounted to a declaration of war. Napoleon had already left Paris for Mentz, the imperial guard being ordered to proceed thither, by post, without delay; and an immense French army was on the march towards the frontiers of Saxony. Reports from Germany hastened these operations. The Prussian army was established at Erfurt and Weimar, having already advanced through Saxony, notwithstanding the urgent desire of the elector to remain neutral. The conduct of Prussia towards Saxony on this occasion, closely resembled that of Austria towards Bavaria in the last war; but, at the outset, it succeeded better. The Elector of Saxony joined his forces to their left wing, and the Duke of Weimar took the command of the Prussian cavalry. Their army made no further advance, but suffered the French to unite and concentrate, neglecting to dispute the passages of the Oder

and Elbe, and suffering them to debouch by Saalfeld. The advanced guard of the Prussian left, under Prince Louis of Prussia, here encountered the division of Marshal Lannes, and was entirely defeated and put to flight; the young prince, one of the prime movers of the war, being among its first victims. He fought with passionate gallantry at the head of his troops, but being summoned to surrender himself prisoner by a French hussar, he replied by a slash with his sabre in the face of the hussar, and was instantly run through the body.



Napoleon marched in person by the valley of the Maine, with the divisions of Bernadotte and Ney, and flanked, on his right, by the divisions of Soult and Davoust; the left was composed of the divisions of Lannes and Lefebvre. He passed the Saale at Saalburg, and arrived at Schleitz, where the extreme left of the Prussian army was encountered and put to flight. Meanwhile, Soult had taken Hoff, with its magazines; and, together with Davoust, continued to advance by the banks of the Elster, followed by Murat, with the whole of the cavalry. By these combined movements, the French army had cleared the whole course of the Saale. The importance of this advantage was soon apparent.

The King of Prussia had placed the Duke of Brunswick at the head of his army. The duke had gained renown as a general in his youth,

but he had been out-manceuvred by Dumouriez in 1792, and being seventy-two years of age, now added obstinacy to some of the infirmities of declining life. It would have been more prudent to have delayed the commencement of the war till the advance of the Russians; but the Duke of Brunswick, on the contrary, pushed forward, through Saxony, into Saxe-Weimar. Yet, having made this premature movement, he did not follow it up, but suffered Napoleon, as we have seen, to possess himself of the course of the Saale. His magazines, and reserves of artillery and ammunition, were not close in the rear of his army, but at Naumburg, on his extreme left; his head-quarters being still at Weimar; his left, at Schleitz, under Prince Hohenlohe, and his right, at Muhlhausen, leaving a space of ninety miles between the extreme flanks of his army. The King of Prussia was at head-quarters in person; and his courage and popularity, together with the frequent presence of the queen, inspired the troops with ardour. Many generals and soldiers in the ranks had served under the great Frederick; and the whole army continued to be distinguished for the most rigid discipline. It amounted, in numbers, to upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand men; but the French army was still stronger.

By the movements we have described, and the defeats of the Prussian left, at Saalfeld and Schleitz, Napoleon had opened the way to Naumburg. He lost no time in securing the advantages which would put him in possession of his enemy's magazines, place him between them and Saxony, and completely turn their left wing. When at Gera, within half a day's journey of Naumburg, he despatched a letter to Frederick William, offering peace. "If I were only beginning my military career," said he, "if I could fear the chance of battle, the language which I hold to your majesty would be altogether out of place: but your majesty will be conquered; and, without the shadow of a pretext, will have compromised the repose of your days, and the existence of your subjects." This letter remained unnoticed. It is mentioned by Scott as a specimen of exulting irony, resembling the sensations of an angler, when the fish is hooked, and about to become his secure prey; but the French writers do not hint at such a view of the matter. They represent it to have been made in good faith. The divisions of Bernadotte and Davoust pushed on to Naumburg, took the place, and the flames of their stores and magazines were the first indications to the Prussians of their perilous position. They at last perceived that they had suffered Napoleon to get completely into their rear, and that they had no alternative but a battle, without the power of choosing their own time and place, and without any line of retreat, in case of disaster. "The army of the great Frederick," says Scott, "was, it must be owned, brought to combat with

as little reflection or military science as a herd of school-boys might have displayed in a mutiny."

The resolution of Napoleon was now formed. He had captured the Prussian mail, and ascertained that their main army was still at Weimar. He ordered the cavalry under Murat to join Davoust and Bernadotte at Naumburg, while he himself, with the rest of the army, marched upon the elevated plain of Jena, where he bivouacked, on the 13th of October, at sunset, not a fortnight after the declaration of the King of Prussia, which had determined the war. On taking his position, he received information that the Prussian army was at length in motion. It had marched out of Weimar in two great corps: the largest, under the immediate command of the king and the Duke of Brunswick, had advanced towards Naumburg to attempt to retake that important place; the other, under Prince Hohenlohe, was directing its march on Jena. Napoleon made every disposition for the battle, which, at both points, was to be expected the following day; and had all the generals to supper with him. Before lying down in his bivouac, he went to see that all was right, and descended the hill of Jena on foot, to ascertain that no ammunition wagon had been left behind. He found the whole of the artillery belonging to the division of Marshal Lannes, which was to commence the action, sticking fast in a ravine, which had been mistaken in the darkness for a road. The wheels of the foremost were fast jammed against the rocks, and about a hundred wagons, which had entered the defile one behind another, were thus completely prevented from moving forwards; and to turn was impossible. The Emperor was excessively irritated, but scarcely uttered a word. He collected the men without the loss of a moment, made them get their park tools, light their lanterns, and cut away the rocks on each side. As he directed the operations, he held one of the lanterns himself. "I shall never forget," says Savary, "the expression in the countenances of the men, on seeing the Emperor lighting them with a lantern, nor the heavy blows with which they struck the rocks. They were exhausted with fatigue, but no one uttered a complaint. The Emperor did not leave the spot till the first wagon had passed through, which was not till late in the night."

Early on the morning of the 14th, Davoust marched from Naumburg, and advanced to the attack of that division of the Prussian army which, commanded by the king and the Duke of Brunswick, had rested for the night on the heights of Auerstadt. His division consisted of thirty-five thousand men; the Prussian army of upwards of seventy thousand. Bernadotte, who should have supported him, insisted on passing to the front; and, on being refused that position, and shewn, besides, that such a movement would expose their forces to imminent danger, held aloof,

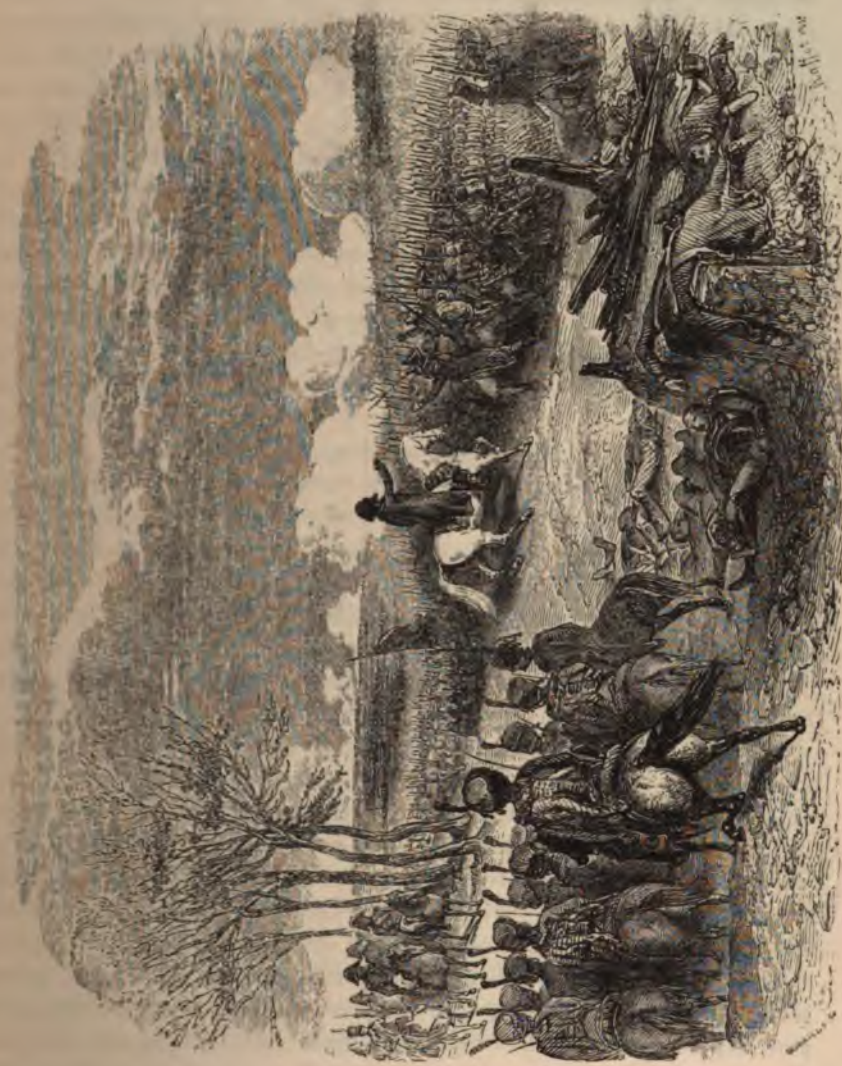


under one pretext or another, and did not support Davoust, who, notwithstanding, obtained a complete victory. The Duke of Brunswick was mortally wounded early in the action, and carried from the field. General Schmettau, and Marshal Moellendorf, the next in command, were also wounded; and the king himself, with the scattered remains of the army, was left to execute a retreat in the direction of Weimar, which he was enabled to effect, in consequence of Davoust's want of cavalry, Bernadotte having contrived to hold them back with his own division.

On the same morning which decided the fate of one half of the Prussian army at Auerstadt, Napoleon got his troops under arms at day-break, on the plain of Jena, and prepared to give battle to Prince Hohenlohe. As at Austerlitz, a thick fog lay on the ground, and though the bivouacs of the two armies were only at half cannon-shot distance, and the sentinels so near that every movement was mutually heard,

they were quite invisible to each other. The Emperor, in his address, explained to his soldiers the situation of their enemies. "Soldiers," said he, "the Prussian army is surrounded like that of Mack, at Ulm, exactly one year ago. They fight not so much for victory as to get free and regain their communications. The corps which suffers itself to be penetrated will lose its reputation. Do not fear their celebrated cavalry; oppose to it firm squares and the bayonet." He was answered by loud cries of "Forward."

Soon after six o'clock a partial skirmishing began. The fog rose and dispersed at nine, and the two armies found themselves face to face under a clear autumn sky and a bright sun. The cannonade became general, and the battle was fiercely contested. The Prussians maintained their high reputation for military discipline, executing every manoeuvre with the precision and regularity of machines. Napoleon exposed himself in the thickest of the fight, forming the squares of infantry to resist the desperate charges of the Prussian cavalry. As he ordered the manoeuvres, he was repeatedly interrupted by the resounding cry of "Vive l'Empereur." The imperial guard, which was kept in reserve, could scarcely be restrained. As the Emperor passed along its front, he heard the cry of "Forward!" "Who was that?" exclaimed he sternly. "It can only be some raw youth without a beard that dares to judge for me what I ought to do. Let him wait till he has commanded in thirty battles before he pretends to give me advice." In the various evolutions of the day, the two armies had completely changed their direction. A bold and close attack, made by Lannes upon the centre of the Prussian line, caused them to change front on their right wing, the left wing in the rear. The French army was therefore obliged to make the opposite movement, and change front on the left wing, the right wing in advance,—and the action recommenced along the whole line. At this moment, an unexpected incident decided the battle. Augereau had been left at Mentz to form a corps with the regiments which had been sent to France after Austerlitz. He had marched with extraordinary celerity, and arrived with his troops, advancing through a fir-wood in the rear of the Prussians, just as the new position had been effected. His sudden attack made them waver. Napoleon seized the critical moment. He brought the imperial guard into action, and ordered his cavalry, concentrated in the centre of the army, to charge with desperation. The charge succeeded. The Prussians gave way, fell into disorder, and their rout began. The head of Murat's cavalry now appeared on the field, arriving from their state of inaction at Auerstadt; and rushing upon the fugitives, who were in irretrievable disorder, pursued them with deadly speed along the road towards Weimar. The confusion and carnage became horrible, when the stream of panic-stricken men encountered, at the point of junction with the road



BATTLE OF JENA.

from Auerstadt, another tide of fugitives from the battle won by Davoust, also directing their frantic course upon Weimar. It was at this period that the King of Prussia, finding himself entangled in the almost inextricable maze, escaped across the fields, escorted by a small body of cavalry. He had shewn great courage in the battle, but courage was no longer of any avail. The situation of the inhabitants of Weimar on this dreadful day, and the high-minded conduct of the duchess, have been finely described by Falk. We take the following description from the work published by Mrs. Austin, under the title of "Goethe and his Contemporaries:"—

"It was on the 14th of October of the year 1806, at half-past six in the morning, that the thunder of the artillery awakened the inhabitants of Weimar out of their sleep. The report came with the wind; all the windows in the houses clattered and shook, and universal consternation spread through the town. Young and old rushed into the streets, on the heights, up the towers, out at the gates; whenever the roll of the cannon, which grew nearer and nearer, permitted favourable conjectures to their hopes, or suggested unfavourable ones to their fears.

"The face of events changed rapidly. Disordered troops of horse soon galloped through the town; and, in their hurried course, assured us the victory was ours. Then appeared a party of French prisoners, whom the people and the soldiers, left to guard the town, in their fancied triumph, would have maltreated, had they not been restrained by a provident law. But a noble Prussian officer would not suffer it. He took a *thaler* out of his pocket, and gave it to a wounded and bleeding chasseur, saying, 'Drink to the health of your Emperor.'

"The French prisoners were followed but too soon by Prussian cavalry, mortally wounded, hanging athwart their horses. The multitude were still occupied with this saddening spectacle, when several artillery-men, begrimed with the smoke of gunpowder, and stained with blood, with faces as if covered with black crape, rushed, in a troop, through the Kegelthor into the town, spreading alarm and horror wherever they went, by their terrific aspect: for the anxious expression, visible on their marred and distorted features as they looked around from time to time, and the dreadful marks—gashes of the sabre, and stabs of the lance—which they brought from the field, told but too plainly that death was close at their heels. He was indeed at hand.

"The Webicht, the avenues leading to it, as well as the high road from Jena to Weimar, was filled with a thousand voiced war-cry, in which the rush and shock of steeds and horsemen, the roll of the drum, and the call of the trumpet, the tramp and the neighing of horses, were,

at times, to be distinguished. The firing, at length, totally ceased: then came that fearful pause, in which cavalry, charging on the enemy's rear, breaks through his ranks, and commences a noiseless carnage.

"The French now planted a few guns on the heights above Weimar, from which they could fire into the town. It was a calm, bright October day. In the streets of Weimar everything appeared dead. The inhabitants had retreated into their houses. Now and then was heard the boom of one of the guns, posted at Ober Weimar. The balls hissed through the air, and not unfrequently struck the houses. In the intervals, the birds were heard singing sweetly on the esplanade and the other public walks; and the deep repose of nature formed an awful and heart-appalling contrast with this scene of horror.

"The first who occupied the market-place of Weimar, were a party of French chasseurs; they were followed by a large body of infantry. Order and discipline were altogether out of the question. The work of plunder was systematically begun. The crash of doors burst in, the shrieks of the inhabitants, were heard on every side. I shall only add here, that at seven o'clock in the evening, when the houses opposite to the palace were in flames, the light was so intense, that people could see to read hand-writing, both in the palace-court and in the market-place. None could believe other than that the French would execute their threats, and lay the whole town in ashes.

"When, therefore, at this terrific crisis, the report was suddenly spread, that the Grand Duchess was still in the palace, the effect which it produced on the hearts of the citizens was such, that wherever a few met together, their despair and anguish were changed to rapturous joy. How beneficently this noble picture of princely and womanly courage and magnanimity wrought upon all hearts and minds, from the highest to the lowest, at this juncture; what it prevented, and what it held together, it is just to dwell upon, and to take care that she, who lighted us as our beacon in this fearful storm, should be held up as a model of the lofty intrepidity and constancy of women."

We extract the remainder of the narrative from the account of the period given by the Chancellor Von Müller:—

"The duke, at the head of his troops, was at a distance on the other slope of the Thuringian chain. Before his departure, he had sent the hereditary prince and princess to Schleswig; but so overwhelming a calamity as the loss of a decisive battle in a few days, so near to Weimar, was beyond the reach of any foresight. On the 14th of October, about mid-day, when the defeat of the Prussian army was no longer doubtful, the duchess made instant arrangements for removing her daughter, and the duchess-mother, out of the wild tumult of war. To escape from it herself, did not for a moment enter her

thoughts. She afforded to many persons of the town, nay whole families, with their valuables, an asylum and protection in her own part of the palace;" (which was respected by the French:) "the most considerable lay about her ante-chamber in confused and motley groups. French officers and their suites had taken possession of the greater part of the palace. They had seized on all the provisions, and the duchess was left in absolute want; but her courage and firm enduring constancy remained erect. After four and twenty hours of fearful expectation, Napoleon entered Weimar in person.

"With the same simple dignified serenity of manner which she wore in the days of prosperity, did she, surrounded by her court-servants, receive the haughty conqueror. He addressed to her, it is true, but a few hasty salutations; but his surprise at her reception of him, and at her calmness in so fearful a scene, was sufficiently expressed in the words he addressed to General Rapp:—'Here is a woman whom, with our two hundred guns, we have not been able to make tremble!'

"In this, the most momentous conversation of her life, with what serene dignity she met the violence with which the Emperor denounced her husband for his participation in the war, and declared his intention of driving him from his throne and states; with what high-minded freedom she urged the ties of honour and of fidelity which bound him to Prussia; with what noble ardour she defended his cause, and that of her country; and to what a degree she thus extorted from the Emperor respect and admiration, and led him to milder measures;—all this he attested so fully, by word and deed, that it remains a portion of history. 'You possess the ornament of German princesses,' said he, a few weeks afterwards, in Berlin, to the Weimar deputies; 'whatever I may do for the country, or for the duke, is done purely for her sake; her conduct ought to serve as a model to every throne in Europe.'"

Napoleon did, in fact, treat Weimar with the highest generosity. He not only gave immediate orders that all plundering should cease, and enforced the strictest discipline, in consequence of his interview with the duchess, but he soon afterwards restored the nominal independence of the state, and declared it a part of the Rhenish league. When this most advantageous treaty was presented to the duke by a French officer, he refused to take it into his own hands, saying, "Give it to my wife: the Emperor intended it for her."

Those writers who catch at every chance of depreciating Napoleon, attribute his lenient treatment of Weimar to mere motives of policy, and a wish to conciliate the Emperor of Russia, whose sister was married to the hereditary prince: but how can this be the case, when it required all the high-minded conduct of this noble duchess *to prevent* his executing the vengeance he had threatened. They cannot have it

both ways. Her greatness proves his generous sympathies. If he had been merely politic, she had no need for magnanimity.

We have not thought it irrelevant to the main purpose of the present history to pause so long over the events which occurred in one small state, because these events strikingly illustrate that sympathy with courage and high-mindedness which Napoleon scarcely ever failed to manifest, however deficient in the enlarged humanity which sees in every man a brother: because, also, it is wholesome for the mind to turn from the historical annals of 'glorious' war, and dwell, at times, upon the collateral evils which mark its devastating course. These fears, and horrors, and struggles, marked with so much importance in the pages of the German writers, are scarcely noticed by the chroniclers of the war. A striking instance of two different views of the same events, by parties equally engaged in them, is now before us. The German version, by civilians, we have just given: the following is from the pen of a French officer:—

"In the evening I was directed," says Rapp, "together with Murat, to pursue the wrecks of the Prussian army. We took some Saxon battalions, and we entered pell-mell with them into Weimar. Some few disorders took place; *but they were of little consequence!*"

We have felt, also, that Weimar, though insignificant when measured by extent of territory, is great in the truth of things; as having possessed a court which was the home of Goethe and Schiller, of Wieland and Herder, and at which a crowd of other great men were always welcome, and frequently resident; as having institutions in which the obligation on every inhabitant to educate all his children, dates from the establishment of Protestantism; the act, which enforces it, commencing with these words:—"The functions of the schoolmaster must be ranked amongst the most important offices of the state; he who takes such an office upon himself, must devote himself entirely to God, the country, and humanity;" so that Weimar has deserved its character, of being a state in which "the beautiful went hand in hand with the useful."

It is computed by the French authorities, that the Prussians lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, fifty thousand men, on the 14th of October; the number of generals and officers, included in the list, being much beyond the usual proportion; while the French loss was comparatively small, and none of their celebrated generals were even wounded. Lannes had his breast grazed by a ball, and Davoust had his hat knocked off, and his clothes pierced in many places by bullets, but neither of them was hurt. Nearly the whole of the Saxon infantry were made prisoners; but Napoleon set them at liberty, and sent by one of the officers, a pacific message to the Elector at Dresden,

offering oblivion of the past, and future amicable relations on condition of his returning to the original policy, out of which he had been forced by the power of Prussia. These were generous terms, and gladly accepted. Far different was the measure dealt to the Duke of Brunswick, who was now made to drink, to its bitter dregs, the cup of vengeance for his long list of injuries towards the French nation. He had been carried from the field of battle to his city of Brunswick, and thence wrote to Napoleon, urging his claim to moderation and clemency as a prince of the empire, though in the capacity of a general in the Prussian service, he had fought against France. He must have forgotten, when he urged such a plea, that it was he who, in 1792, had approached the frontiers of republican France, with a hundred thousand soldiers of different nations, to compel a free people to obey the will of a coalition of foreign sovereigns, under pain (as his famous manifesto set forth) if they dared to resist, of being punished on the spot by martial law as rebels, and their towns demolished and burnt; while the members of the legislative assembly, department, municipality, and national guard of Paris, were declared personally responsible and liable to military execution, without hope of pardon, if they did not set Louis XVI. at entire liberty to do as he willed with them; and the city of Paris was threatened with military execution and levelling to the ground, not one stone being left standing upon another, if the palace of the Bourbons were forced or insulted. He must have forgotten, too, that it was he who was among the foremost in counselling the present sanguinary and useless struggle, from the consequences of which he now shrunk. Napoleon answered his poor-spirited appeal, by reminding him of that proclamation which France had never forgotten; of the present war, which his counsels should have prevented, but had incited; and of the right the French army had acquired by victory to leave "not one stone standing upon another" in the town of Brunswick; but announced that the subjects of the duke should be treated with all lenity, while the punishment should fall on himself and his family, who were henceforth deprived of their hereditary sovereignty. As the French troops approached Brunswick at the same time, the duke, now sinking fast from the effect of his wounds, caused himself to be removed to the neutral town of Altona, where he died three weeks afterwards. A request from his son to be allowed to bury him in his ancestral vault, was refused by Napoleon with the same sternness which had characterised his reply to the former application. It is said that the son vowed mortal hatred against Napoleon in consequence, and bequeathed his legacy of revenge to his followers at his death. Princely criminals do not submit patiently to their sentence of condemnation.

Napoleon rejected, at the same time, an application from the King of Prussia, soliciting an armistice. It was too evidently made to gain time for the approach of the Russians, which the king had at last discovered should have been his plan at the beginning of the war.

A general panic seemed to have fallen over Prussia. Large detachments of the army daily laid down their arms to the French; sometimes with little resistance, at others, after hard fighting. General Kalkreuth surrendered, with all his troops, to Soult, on the 15th. On the 17th, Bernadotte encountered an untouched body of sixteen thousand men, the reserve of their army, which had never been brought into action, but had taken up a position at Halle, under Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg. They shared the fate of all the rest, being utterly routed with the loss of five thousand men, their artillery and standards. On the 18th, Erfurt surrendered to Murat with a hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, immense magazines, and fourteen thousand men prisoners of war, among whom were Marshal Moellendorf, and the Prince of Orange. The king had escaped to Koningsberg; the queen fled from one city to another, before the victors. She was at Stettin on the 19th, and at Custrin on the 20th.

Napoleon, advancing towards Potsdam, visited the field of Rosbach, where Frederick the Great conquered the French army in 1757. After inspecting the ground, he set his sappers to work, and removed the column erected in commemoration of that victory, which he sent to Paris. It was easily conveyed away, being of very limited altitude.

The French army crossed the Elbe at Wittenberg. A curious meeting occurred in this place. As Napoleon passed through the suburbs, a storm of hail suddenly came on, which caused him to alight and seek shelter in one of the houses, accompanied by a few of his officers. Supposing that he was unknown, he did not observe the surprise of two young women, who were in the apartment which he entered, nor the deferential manner in which they continued standing in his presence; but Savary, who understood German, heard one of them exclaim, "Heavens! it is the Emperor!" Napoleon's curiosity was soon roused, and he began to ask questions. "You know me then?" said he. "Yes Sire, you are not altered; and I recognised you immediately, as well as General Berthier, and General Savary." "Where have you seen me before?" "In Egypt, Sire." It was discovered that this young woman living in the suburbs of Wittenberg was the widow of a colonel in the French army, who had been killed at Aboukir; and that she, unable to get her pension, and with a son to support, had engaged to educate the children of the lady in whose house the Emperor now found her. It need hardly be added that she

was no longer disappointed of her pension. It was insured to her that same evening, with the reversion to her son.

Marshal Ney was intrusted with the blockade of Magdeburg. The remains of the Prussian army now re-crossed the Elbe, and attempted to regain the Oder, near Stettin. Spandau surrendered to Lannes at the first summons, with a large garrison, provisions, and military stores. Napoleon meanwhile, with the main army, entered Potsdam. He examined every part of both the palaces of Sans-Souci, particularly the apartments of Frederick the Great; and reverentially visited his tomb. He nevertheless made prize of the sword, belt, and hat, together with the insignia of the order of the Black Eagle, which had been worn by that military king, and sent them to Paris. "I had rather possess these than twenty millions," said he, as he took them in his hands; "I will send them to the Invalids: the veterans who have survived the wars of Hanover, will welcome with religious respect all which belonged to one of the first soldiers of whom history will ever preserve the memory." Whatever the degree of respect, the objects were certainly not very "religious."



Napoleon made his triumphal entry into Berlin on the 27th of October 1806, at the head of a grand military procession; scarcely a year having elapsed since he entered Vienna in like manner. He was received at the splendid gate of Charlottenburg by General Hullin, commandant of the city, who presented the keys to him in the midst of a great multitude of the people. The windows of the houses were filled with ladies; but it was observed by the French officers that the profoundest grief was expressed on their countenances, and that many were bathed in tears. The Emperor alighted at the king's palace, and there took up his abode. The apartments of the queen were scrupulously respected, both here and at Potsdam; notwithstanding Napoleon was excessively irritated against her, and has been accused, with justice, of indulging in insulting personalities towards her in his official bulletins. He also behaved with all possible consideration to the hereditary Princess of Hesse Cassel, who had been unable to leave the palace, being on the point of her confinement. He lost no time in sending her a message calculated to calm her alarm and agitation; placed a sum of money at her disposal, and caused every attention to be paid to her comfort. He also performed an act of clemency soon after his arrival, in pardoning the Prince of Hatzfeld at the intercession of his wife. This Prussian nobleman was put on trial for his life; accused, on the evidence of an intercepted dispatch, of treachery towards the French government, in giving private information to the King of Prussia after accepting employment under Napoleon. The circumstance is mentioned in the following letter from the Emperor to Josephine, in which he displays very great ingenuity; pleading his excuse for his harsh expressions concerning the Queen of Prussia, by turning the cause of them into a compliment to herself:—

“I have received your letter in which you seem to reproach me for speaking ill of women. It is true that I dislike female intriguers above all things. I am used to kind, gentle, and conciliatory women. I love them, and if they have spoiled me, it is not my fault, but yours. However, you will see that I have done an act of kindness to one deserving woman. I allude to Madame de Hatzfeld. When I shewed her her husband's letter, she stood weeping, and in a tone of mingled grief and ingenuousness, said, ‘It is indeed his writing!’ This went to my heart; and I said, ‘Well Madame, throw the letter into the fire, and then I shall have no proof against your husband.’ She burned the letter, and was restored to happiness. Her husband now is safe: two hours later, and he would have been lost. You see, therefore, that I like women who are simple, gentle, and amiable; because they alone resemble you.”

The wrecks of the Prussian army were meanwhile pursued to their last points of retreat, by the French. Prince Hohenlohe, who had retreated on the Oder with nearly fifty thousand men, was forced to maintain continual combats with his active antagonists; and at length found himself, on the 28th of October, on the heights of Prentzlow, without provisions, forage, or ammunition, and vigorously pressed by Murat. He had no resource but to capitulate. Nearly twenty thousand Prussians laid down their arms on this day; not without many signs of pride and passion at their humiliation. The rest of their army, composing the rear-guard, still held the field, under the command of Blucher, whose name was destined to be heard under far different fortunes at a future day. He no sooner received information of the



surrender of Prince Hohenlohe, than he made a rapid retreat in the direction of Strelitz, and effected a junction with the dukes of Weimar and Brunswick-Oels, who still held ten thousand men together. With them he passed the Elbe at Lauenburg, having formed the plan of reinforcing the Prussian garrisons in Lower Saxony; but the skill of the combined movements of Soult, Murat, and Bernadotte counteracted this last desperate effort, and Blucher was forced to throw himself into Lubeck. The place was assaulted by the French, and entered at two points on the 6th of November, but throughout the day and night he maintained a desperate conflict in the streets of the town. Early on the morning of the 7th, finding resistance useless, Blucher and the Prince of Brunswick-Oels, presented themselves before their conquerors at the head of ten Prussian generals, five hundred and

eighteen officers, and twenty thousand men, and treated for a capitulation. They were forced to surrender prisoners of war. The Prussian army was thus all but annihilated; one corps alone remained in Silesia, where it was held in check by Jerome Bonaparte. At the same time, Louis Bonaparte, the new King of Holland, had conquered with equal ease, Westphalia, Embden, East Friesland, and great part of Hanover.

The sudden destruction of an army hitherto renowned for courage and discipline, was not so extraordinary as the overwhelming panic which seemed to spread throughout every fortified place in Prussia. Strong cities, which had been sufficient to detain enemies before their walls for months, now surrendered, one after another, at the first summons. Stettin capitulated with a garrison of six thousand men, and a hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, to General Lasalle at the head of a few squadrons. Custrin opened its gates to Davoust, with scarcely a show of resistance; and, to crown the whole, the important fortress of Magdeburg, with twenty thousand men, eight hundred pieces of cannon, and immense magazines, surrendered to Marshal Ney on the 8th of November. The governors of these places were naturally accused of treachery. The students of the university insulted the commandant of Magdeburg for his pusillanimity, while the French soldiers sympathising in their indignation afforded him very little protection; and the commandant of Hamelen very narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by his garrison when he surrendered. No evidence, however, of bribery is on record. The strong mental influence of loss of hope from repeated ill-fortune, seems the only cause ascertainable of events apparently so strange.





CHAPTER II.

PRUSSIA ATTEMPTS TO TREAT FOR PEACE, BUT FAILS—BERLIN DECREE—THE RUSSIANS IN POLAND—FRENCH ARMY CROSSES THE VISTULA—BATTLE OF PULTUSK—FRENCH GO INTO WINTER QUARTERS—NAPOLEON AT WARSAW—BATTLE OF EYLAU—NAPOLEON OFFERS PEACE, BUT IS REFUSED—BATTLE OF FRIEDLAND—ARMISTICE—TREATY OF TILSITT—RETURN TO PARIS.



THE King of Prussia, finding himself stripped of the greater part of his dominions, and seeing much reason to fear the loss of all the rest, sent the Marquis Lucchesini to open a negotiation with the Emperor of France, in the hope of ending his disasters by a peace. The result of the treaty of Presburg had, however, rather disgusted Napoleon with generosity towards sovereigns, and rendered him averse to making any concessions which should not be dearly bought; or concluding a peace on

any terms but such as would render its infraction difficult, if not impossible. Talleyrand arrived at Berlin while the question was in agitation, and conducted the diplomatic business on the part of France.

The ultimatum he sent to the King of Prussia required, in return for the restoration of his conquered dominions, that England should restore the colonies taken from France and its allies; that Russia should desist from assuming the protectorate of Wallachia and Moldavia; and that the rights of the Ottoman porte should be restored in their former plenitude. It was beyond the power of the King of Prussia to compel his two great allies to subscribe to these conditions; yet it is certain that, without making them parties to a peace, Napoleon would have only concluded this campaign to commence another in the following season. The Russians, ninety thousand strong, had advanced into Poland, ready to play over again for Prussia the same game which they had staked for Austria the year before. If their emperor evinced no anxiety to make some sacrifices to procure peace for his unfortunate ally, but determined on supporting his pretensions to his forfeited dominions by the sword, war was inevitable; and for this Napoleon actively prepared. An embassy from the French senate produced in him excessive irritation at this crisis, by recommending peace, while offering congratulations on the splendour of his victories. He replied, that "before they took such a step, they ought to have ascertained on what side the opposition to peace existed, and to have brought with them the means of causing that opposition to disappear." This reply was practically enforced by a demand for another conscription, which was eagerly complied with, as if to atone for the previous presumption. The King of Bavaria and the Elector of Hesse-Cassel were also called upon for their contingents. Troops were stationed in readiness to commence the siege of the few fortresses which yet belonged to Prussia; and every corps of the main army was maintained in a position which ensured its rapid advance into Poland, by the frontiers of Bohemia, at the moment required. The Emperor of Austria, readily seizing an opportunity for finding a pretext to break his treaty, should fortune turn against Napoleon, affected to perceive danger towards his dominions in these preparations, and entered a protest against them. Napoleon, in consequence, threw strong garrisons into the fortresses, and occupied the passes which cover Italy.

The resources of the conquered dominions of Prussia were at the same time brought into active operation. Prussia was divided into four departments; of which Berlin, Custrin, Stettin, and Magdeburg, were the chief towns. The ancient sub-divisions and institutions were retained, and the public officers and magistrates were not displaced; but they all took an oath of fidelity to the Emperor Napoleon. An administrator-general of finances and domains, and a receiver-general of taxes, were appointed to superintend the whole. Each department had an imperial commissioner; and each province, a French intendant.

The whole country was occupied and overawed by the French troops. Berlin, as a central point of operation was more completely reorganised than any other city. The magistrates there, were re-elected to the number of sixty, who were chosen by two thousand burgesses, and a national guard was formed. The regular collection of the revenue which soon extended over Hesse, Hanover, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, and the Hanse towns, was felt as a grievous burden by the people in time of war, but was less harassing and ruinous than arbitrary exactions conducted on no plan or order. The wants of the army were entirely supplied from this source. The magazines and stores, the clothing and hospital departments were put into the finest condition, and ready for service in a wonderfully short space of time. It was not long before the war which had impended became certain. The King of Prussia finally refused to treat, saying—"It is no longer time; the matter does not now depend upon me: the Emperor of Russia has offered me support, and into his arms I have thrown myself."

It was at this moment, when the implacable hostility of the allied powers was palpably brought before him, that Napoleon published his famous decree, which aimed at entirely shutting the continent against England, and by crippling the commerce of the British isles, directing a deadly blow at their prosperity and power. No open act of reprisal towards England had been within the power of Napoleon, since the destruction of his fleet at Trafalgar; while the command of the seas gave England continual opportunity of harassing his subjects; and the wealth drained from the industrious population of England, and squandered with a lavish hand by its government, served to supply the means of perpetual war against him. The laws, moreover, of maritime war differ materially from military war. The progress of civilisation has not introduced into naval operations those restrictions on their permission to commit violence, which, fortunately for mankind, are now universally laid upon armies. To seize on private property, to make prisoners of unarmed and peaceable individuals, are practises recognised as legal and honourable in maritime war, but which come under the denomination of pillage and disorder in military operations. England, therefore, which held paramount command of the seas, and had the power of enforcing the law of blockade to any extent, began to assume the appearance of singly carrying on a system of barbarous aggression in contempt of all civilisation, defying control or retaliation. This was a state of things exasperating in the last degree to a man of Napoleon's imperious will. The following decree, issued in consequence, is dated "Berlin, November 21st, 1806.

"That it is a part of natural law to oppose one's enemy with the arms he employs, and to fight in the way he fights, when he disavows

all those ideas of justice, and all those liberal sentiments which are the results of social civilisation. We have resolved to apply to England the measures which she has sanctioned by her maritime legislation. The enactments of the present decree shall be invariably considered as a fundamental principle of the empire, until such time as England acknowledges that the law of war is one and the same by land and by sea; that it cannot be extended to private property of any description whatever, nor to the persons of individuals not belonging to the profession of arms; and that the law of blockade ought to be limited to fortified places, actually invested by competent forces.

"Accordingly, we have decreed, and do decree as follows:—

"I. The British Islands are declared in a state of blockade.

"II. All trade and intercourse with the British Islands is prohibited. Consequently, letters or packets addressed to England, or written in the English language, will not be conveyed by post, and will be seized.

"III. Every native of England, whatever his rank or condition, who may be found in the countries occupied by our troops, or by those of our allies, shall be made prisoners of war.

"IV. Every warehouse, and all merchandise, and property of any description whatever, belonging to an English subject, or the produce of English manufactures or colonies, is declared good prize.

"V. Trade in English merchandise is prohibited; and all merchandise belonging to England, or the produce of her manufactures and colonies, is declared good prize.

"VI. One half of the produce of the confiscation of the merchandise and property, declared good prize by the preceding articles, will be appropriated to the indemnification of the merchants for losses they have sustained through the capture of trading vessels by English cruizers.

"VII. No vessel coming directly from England or her colonies, or having been there since the publication of the present decree, will be received in any port.

"VIII. Any vessel which, by means of a false declaration, shall contravene the above article, shall be seized; and the ship and cargo shall be confiscated as if they were English property."

It will be necessary to say more hereafter on the subject of this decree, the commencement of Napoleon's "continental system." It is sufficient at present to observe, that however it might be justified as a means of retaliating on an implacable enemy, it was contrary to wise legislation in two important particulars. It necessarily injured the subjects of Napoleon—if not to an equal degree, at least to a dangerous extent—as well as the subjects of the English government; because commerce is reciprocal in its very nature; and its enforcement was so

difficult as to make it hardly an exaggeration to call it impossible. "The whole power and resources of France," says Hazlitt, "must be strained to their utmost pitch, and called forth, not against an imposing mass, and once for all, but must be brought to bear at every moment, and in every point of the compass, against the most petty, harassing, and evanescent opposition. After throwing the net of his policy, and the ramification of his vast system of restraint and exclusion over the lion of British commerce, a mouse—a Norway rat—would bite the cords in two."

The first fruits of the determination which had dictated the Berlin decree, became apparent in the formal occupation of the hitherto free town of Hamburg by French troops under Marshal Mortier, on the 19th of November. All English property was confiscated and seized, and the English residents were obliged to make a hurried flight to escape being made prisoners of war. Many now alive remember the hardships, and perils, and lasting evils entailed on their future lives by that sudden necessity. The merchants, judging from the troubled state of the times, had, in a great measure, disposed of their stock, and wound up their trade, before the blow was struck. Monetary interests did not, therefore, suffer so much as was expected.

While employed on the organisation of Prussia, Napoleon received a deputation from Poland, praying of him to proclaim the independence of their country. If he had responded to that appeal with a true and practical sympathy, he might have reversed his destiny; still, at the moment it was first made he could not have acted upon it. The time was not yet arrived. Of the three powers "whose partition of that fine kingdom," says Scott, "was the first open and audacious transgression of the law of nations which disgraced the annals of civilised Europe," Prussia was indeed laid prostrate by Napoleon; but Russia was before him in open hostility, and Austria was stealthily watching for a pretext to rise in his rear. His reply to the Polish deputies was therefore the only one which a due regard to the safety of his army then authorised him to make; but it was of a nature which pledged him in honour and consistency to be ready to meet the spirit which he invoked. He received them in the most cordial manner, but refused to make the declaration they solicited. "France," said he, "never recognised the different partitions of Poland: nevertheless, I cannot proclaim your independence, unless you be determined to defend your rights with arms in your hands, and by all sorts of sacrifices, even of life. You are reproached with having, in your constant civil dissensions, lost sight of the true interest of your country. Instructed by misfortune, be now united, and prove to the world that one spirit animates the whole Polish nation."

Napoleon left Berlin, and put his army in full march upon Warsaw, Thorn, and Dirschau, before the end of November. His head-quarters were fixed at Posen, a central town in Poland, on the 1st of December. A spirit of discontent had begun to manifest itself among the troops, at the prospect of a winter campaign in a rigorous climate, and some murmurs reached his ear, because a peace had not been concluded; but he well knew the secret of turning discontent into ardour and impatience. His proclamation of the 2nd of December produced a magical effect:—"Soldiers," it began, "it is exactly one year since, at this very hour, you were on the field of battle of Austerlitz. The Russian battalions overwhelmed, fled in disorder, or surrounded, laid down their arms. The next day they spoke words of peace; but these were deceitful: scarcely escaped from the disasters of the third coalition, they joined in a fourth. But the ally, on whose tactics they had built their principal hopes, existed no longer. His strong places, his capitals, his magazines, his arsenals, two hundred and eighty stands of colours, seven hundred pieces of cannon, are in our power. The Oder, the Wartha, the deserts of Poland, the severe season of the year, have not been able to stop you for a moment; you have braved all, surmounted all. Soldiers, we will not lay down our arms until a general peace has assured the power of our allies, and has restored our colonies to our commerce. Who shall give to the Russians the right to decide our destinies, or to overturn our just designs? Are not they, and are not we, still the soldiers of Austerlitz?" No more murmurs were heard after the publication of this proclamation.

The Emperor was again in motion by the 16th. The army reached the Vistula without opposition, except from a Prussian corps, which was easily overcome. The whole country began to evince considerable agitation. Many of the inhabitants resumed their ancient dress and manners, and deputies again urged the decision of Napoleon in favour of their declaration of independence. Their language was full of high-flown imagery and adulation, which, as Hazlitt says, "Freedom poured forth in its anguish and abject state." Napoleon received them with encouraging words, but nothing more. "The Polish nation," said Count Radyminski, the Palatine of Gnesna, "presents itself before your Majesty, groaning still under the German yoke; and hails with the purest joy the regenerator of their beloved country—the legislator of the universe. Full of submission to your will, they offer you their homage, and repose on you with confidence all their hopes, as upon him who has the power of raising empires, and of destroying them, and of humbling the proud." Another address contained these words:—"Already we see our dear country saved; for in your person we revere the most just and most profound Solon. We commit our fate and our

hopes into your hands, and we implore the mighty protection of the most august Cæsar." The spirit of the people in general was shewn in the passage of the river. The boat which conveyed the advanced guard of the French became entangled in the ice, and the soldiers were exposed to the fire of the Prussians from the banks. Some Polish boatmen, regardless of the danger, put off to their assistance,



and vigorously set about disengaging them. The Prussians, observing the aid their enemies had received, instantly despatched another boat, filled with their own men, to oppose them. A struggle ensued, hand to hand, between the boatmen. The Prussians were thrown overboard, and the Poles returned to their friendly labour, and safely conducted the advanced guard to the right bank of the Vistula.

Napoleon entered Warsaw on the 18th of December. His entrance was hailed with enthusiasm by the inhabitants; but he was not able to rest among them. The Russians were approaching, and no time was to be lost. The French army pressed forward in three great divisions, and crossed the river Bug, occasionally encountering parties of Cossacks. Kaminskoy, the Russian commander-in-chief, seeing the passage of the latter river forced, determined to execute a retrograde movement, and concentrate his forces behind the Niemen. All the divisions of the Russian army therefore commenced a retreat, closely followed by the French. It was the purpose of Napoleon to establish his army safely in winter quarters, but it was necessary for this purpose to occupy the country beyond Warsaw. The Russians sustained some loss in their retreat; but, notwithstanding their appearance of disadvantage at that moment, Napoleon well knew he had a formidable enemy before him,

and that he would have to maintain a far more doubtful struggle than in his contests with the Prussians or Austrians. "Those troops," says Scott, "however highly disciplined, wanted that powerful and individual feeling which, in armies possessing a strong national character (by which the Russians are peculiarly distinguished), induces the soldier to resist to the last moment, even when resistance can only assure him of revenge." The following admirably detailed particulars of the nature of the Russian forces, taken from Scott, will be found highly conducive to a comprehension of the ensuing campaign:—"They were still the same Russians of whom Frederick the Great said, that 'he could kill, but could not defeat them;'—they were also strong of constitution, and inured to the iron climate in which Frenchmen were now making war for the first time;—they were accustomed from their earliest life to spare nourishment and hardship;—in a word, they formed then, as they do now, the sole instance in Europe of an army, the privates of which are semi-barbarians, with the passions, courage, love of war, and devotion to their country, which is found in the earlier periods of society, while the education received by their superior officers places them on a level with those of any other country. The Russian army was at this period deficient in its military staff, and thence imperfect in the execution of combined movements; and their generals were better accustomed to lead an army in the day of actual battle, than to prepare for victory by a skilful combination of previous manœuvres. But this disadvantage was balanced by their zealous and unhesitating devotion to their emperor and their country. In the mode of disciplining their forces, the Russians proceeded on the system the most approved in Europe. Their infantry was confessedly excellent, composed of men in the prime of life, and carefully selected as best qualified for military service. Their artillery was of the first description, so far as the men, guns, carriages and appointments were concerned; but the rank of general of artillery had not the predominant weight in the Russian army which ought to be possessed by those particularly dedicated to the direction of that arm, by which, according to Napoleon, modern battles must be usually decided. The service of cavalry is less natural to the Russian than that of the infantry, but their horse regiments are nevertheless excellently trained, and have uniformly behaved well. But the Cossacks are a species of force belonging to Russia exclusively; and although subsequent events have probably rendered every reader in some degree acquainted with their national character, they make too conspicuous a figure in the history of Napoleon, to be passed over without a brief description here.

"The natives on the banks of the Don and the Volga hold their lands by military service, and enjoy certain immunities, in consequence

of which each individual is obliged to serve four years in the Russian armies. They are trained from early childhood to the use of the lance and sword, and familiarised to the management of a horse peculiar to the country—far from handsome, but tractable, hardy, swift, and sure-footed, beyond any breed perhaps in the world. At home, and with his family, the Cossack is kind, gentle, generous and simple; but when in arms, and in a foreign country, he resumes the predatory and sometimes the ferocious habits of his ancestors, the roving Scythians. As the Cossacks receive no pay, plunder is generally their object; and, as prisoners were esteemed a useless encumbrance, they granted no quarter, till Alexander promised a ducat for every Frenchman they brought in alive. In the actual field of battle, their mode of attack is singular. Instead of acting in line, a body of Cossacks about to charge, disperse at the word of command, very much in the manner of a fan suddenly flung open, and joining in a loud yell, or *hourra*, rush, each acting individually, upon the object of attack, whether infantry, cavalry, or artillery, to all of which they have been, in this wild way of fighting, formidable assailants. But it is as light cavalry that the Cossacks are perhaps unrivalled. They and their horses have been known to march one hundred miles in twenty-four hours without halting. They plunge into woods, swim rivers, thread passes, cross deep morasses, and penetrate through deserts of snow, without undergoing material loss or suffering from fatigue. No Russian army, with a large body of Cossacks in front, can be liable to surprise; nor, on the other hand, can an enemy, surrounded by them, ever be confident against it. In covering the retreat of their own army, their velocity, activity, and courage, render pursuit by the enemy's cavalry peculiarly dangerous; and in pursuing a flying enemy, these qualities are still more redoubtable. In the campaign of 1806-7, the Cossacks took the field in great numbers under their celebrated Hettman, Platoff, who, himself a cossack, knew their peculiar capacity for warfare, and raised their fame to a pitch which it had not attained in former European wars."

The Russian army, thus formidable in its constitution was, however, considerably inferior to the French in numbers, and no less so in an efficient commissariat. These disadvantages were occasioned by want of money. The emperor's treasury was exhausted, and the English government had behaved with unwonted parsimony towards him, having *only* supplied him with eighty thousand pounds.

The French army, after an arduous march through a marshy country, came up with the Russians at Pultusk on the 25th of December. A sanguinary struggle ensued, but the great numerical superiority of the French forced the position of their enemies, and made them hastily retreat behind the Pregel, with a loss of seven thousand prisoners and

fifty pieces of cannon. On the 1st of January, 1807, Napoleon established his army in winter-quarters round Warsaw.

He had calculated on remaining there till spring, and conceiving that his position was sufficiently favourable to command an advantageous peace, he sent for Talleyrand, and occupied himself in forming the plan of a treaty; at the same time taking advantage of the frost, which had now set in, to hasten the convoys of provisions and stores. Warsaw was soon amply supplied with all the requisites for the continuance of war; and, ominous of the conviction that the war, if continued, would be fierce and deadly, the hospital department was especially considered by Napoleon, and placed on a footing of extraordinary extent and efficiency. The details of the minute and careful provisions for the supply of every thing requisite to the hospitals, whether of bedding, medicines, attendance, food, the presence of a priest, or all that could be a solace or comfort to his wounded soldiers, are given by Savary, as dictated by the Emperor himself, and are sufficient, if no other proof existed, to exonerate him from the charge of carelessness to human suffering.

Warsaw began to assume the appearance of a crowded capital. The foreign ambassadors repaired to the Emperor's head-quarters instead of to Paris. Business was transacted for the affairs of France by the transmission of reports from all the ministers to Napoleon himself; but during his long absence from the head of affairs, his secretary of state, M. Maret, through whom every report passed, acquired a degree of power which produced mischievous jealousies and intrigues. At Warsaw, however, everything was conducted with regularity, and with something of the refinements of a court. "With the exception of theatres," says Savary, "the city presented all the gaieties of Paris. Twice a week the Emperor gave a concert; after which a levee was held, which led again to numerous meetings in private parties. On these occasions the personal beauty and graceful manners of the Polish ladies were conspicuous. There was one whose powerful fascinations made a deep impression on the Emperor's heart. He conceived an ardent affection for her, which she cordially returned. She received with pride the homage of a conquest which was the consummation of her happiness. It is needless to name her, when I observe that her attachment remained unshaken amidst every danger, and that, at the period of Napoleon's reverses, she still remained his faithful friend."

The inactivity of the French army continued only throughout the month of January. Austria had assembled an "army of observation" of forty thousand men in Bohemia, whom any disaster to the French army would convert into active enemies. Suddenly, the Russians left their cantonments, and advanced, with the intention of surprising Napoleon in his winter quarters. An accident only discovered the manœuvre;

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CHARGE OF CUIRASSIERS AT EYLAU.

but everything was ready. He left Warsaw, and his army was in motion again by the 31st of January, in the midst of a very hard frost.

The Russian commander-in-chief had been succeeded by Benigsen, a general of ability. He wisely conceived that the desire to station himself in winter-quarters, evinced by Napoleon, ought to be a signal to the Russians to take the field. The situation of the King of Prussia was also an inducement to active measures. He was cooped up in Koningsberg, and his remaining fortresses only contrived to hold out, because the rigour of the season did not permit trenches to be opened before them. Dantzic was invested, and must yield in spring, unless relieved. Graudentz, the key of the Vistula, was on the point of surrendering. It was, therefore, the object of Benigsen to draw the French army from their supplies in Warsaw, and then to protract the contest, which would place them in an isolated position, while he could draw reinforcements from Russia at pleasure.

The first skirmish which took place between detachments of the two armies was of doubtful issue. The Cossacks spread over the country, and the Prussians succeeded in throwing reinforcements and provisions into Graudentz. Napoleon had formed a counter-plan to that of Benigsen. He pressed forward, concentrating his different corps, with a view to get between the Russians and their country, and force them to a decisive battle, with the Vistula in their rear. All his officers were ordered to be at Preuss-Eylau on the 8th of February, ready to give battle on the 9th. The dispatch sent to Bernadotte was intercepted by the Cossacks. Benigsen discovered the plan, and Bernadotte continued in ignorance of his orders, and did not bring up his troops. He had four divisions of infantry, and two of cavalry. Sharp actions, with the loss of many men, successively occurred as the French army advanced, and the Russians falling back before them, passed through the town of Eylau, and stationed themselves on the heights which command it. Napoleon reached Eylau on the evening of the 7th, with Augereau's division. Benigsen sent a strong detachment to dispossess him, but, after a severe action, he retained his position for the night. On the morning of the 8th, he found himself in the presence of the whole Russian army, strongly intrenched in a commanding position. He was vigorously attacked soon after day-break. His different corps which arrived throughout the day were brought into action as they came up. Benigsen began the attack by a tremendous fire of artillery, directed upon the town of Eylau. Napoleon brought forward his guard, with forty pieces of cannon, and returned the murderous fire with another equally deadly, which he directed himself. He was exposed to extreme danger; but the circumstances were grave and perilous, and such as invariably made him regardless of personal risk. The carnage on both



sides was dreadful, but both maintained their ground with obstinacy. Benigsen, reckoning upon the tremendous force of his artillery, next attempted to manœuvre by his right, and take the town of Eylau, but was met with a desperate resistance, which arrested his columns. Napoleon was on the top of the church, amidst a shower of grape-shot and balls. About noon, a fall of snow, so thick as to obscure the atmosphere, began to fall. The horrors of the fight were increased with strange and appalling aspects by this new circumstance, which suddenly brought the confusion of night into the midst of dazzling daylight. Whole battalions rushed unconsciously into destruction, in consequence. Augereau, advancing to attack the Russians, missed his direction, and found himself suddenly engaged face to face with their right wing. His division was literally cut to pieces, and he himself carried from the field desperately wounded. Napoleon instantly sent Murat and Bessières with seventy squadrons of cavalry to charge the very centre of the enemy's line. The tremendous shock overturned the Russian cavalry; and two lines of their infantry were traversed; they abandoned their artillery, and suffered horrible carnage. Their third line rallied, advanced upon the French position, and, like Augereau's division, losing their way in the thick falling snow, became entangled in the churchyard of Eylau. The imperial guard rushed upon them in front, Murat charged in their rear, and four thousand men perished in that churchyard; their stiffened corpses, half

buried in snow, mingling awfully with the emblems of mortality around, —scarcely distinguishable from the tombs and mounds of earth which marked the graves of the dead who had gone before them. The combat, with alternating fortune, continued throughout the day; and nightfall found the two armies in their original positions. The Prussian corps had come up to reinforce the Russians, but Ney had joined the French. The point of superiority on this dreadful day would have been hard to decide, but the victory, if claimed by either party, must be pronounced to have remained with Napoleon; for Benigsen retreated in the night, and left him master of the field of battle, where he slept, and remained for eight days. It was a ghastly triumph. Twenty (some accounts say fifty) thousand dead, and as many wounded, lay on the bloody snow; mingled with nearly four thousand horses—killed in the desperate charges of the cavalry,—scattered arms, balls, and all hideous and horrible remains of the mortal struggle. The air was filled with piteous and appalling sounds; the watch-fires shot a pale gleam across the frozen lakes in front of the town, which reflected back the light over the ghastly scene. The rigid tree-trunks stood formless in their crusted coverings of frost and snow, in the dull moonlight, while around them below lay the equally rigid and over-frosted trunks of the formless slain, distinguishable only by the horrible consciousness of the beholder. The silence of the night was occasionally broken by the scream of the carrion birds. Napoleon had been exposed throughout the day to the extremity of danger, but had escaped unhurt. During the whole time the battle lasted, his countenance was never observed to change, nor did he shew any emotion whatever; but all accounts agree that he was deeply impressed with the horrors of the succeeding night, and his letters shew that the recollection weighed on his mind and spirits for a long period. Every attention, that it was possible to bestow, was shewn to the wounded, both French and Russian; but, eight and forty hours after the battle, five thousand wounded Russians still lay on the ground. Bread and spirits were carried to them from time to time; and all that survived were soon transported to the hospitals, where every provision that had been so elaborately made was brought into requisition. The burial of the dead was a long and arduous task. The numbers lost on each side are so variously and contradictorily stated, that it is vain to attempt a correct estimate. From the description of the battle, it seems likely they were nearly equal. The French, it is certain, lost sixteen generals. Twelve imperial eagles were taken, and many prisoners made, chiefly by the Cossacks after the action.

Benigsen retreated upon Koningsberg; and Napoleon, after eight days of inactivity, also retreated upon the Vistula, and established his head-quarters at Osterode. The doubtful issue of the battle of Eylau

had given a shock to public opinion, which it required all his prudence and address to overcome. He occupied himself in making his army secure in its cantonments; and, among other cares, that of the wounded was one of the principal. As he went among the sufferers, to see that they were properly attended, counting their scars and encouraging them



by his words, they forgot their hardships and pains, and regarded him with a degree of affection which those who narrate the events have found it impossible to describe in adequate terms.

The battle of Eylau, the most sanguinary, in relation to the numbers engaged, which occurred during the empire, was productive of no result as to the progress of the war. Both parties retreated to their original positions; the Russians to Koningsberg, the French to the line of the Vistula; each with an army seriously reduced in numbers. Napoleon shewed his sense of the strength of the enemies with whom he had to contend, by offering a separate peace to the King of Prussia, on terms altogether more lenient than before; but

it was again refused. Great despondency was produced in Paris by the bulletin of the battle, and a marked depression took place in the funds. At the same time, it required all the prudence and skill of Talleyrand to maintain harmony with Austria, where the indecisive event of Eylau proved a strong temptation to break faith with Napoleon, and commence active hostilities against him. It is important to notice these frequent demonstrations of perfidy in the different courts of Europe, as marking strongly the real cause and nature of the war which raged throughout the term of Napoleon's government of France, and the infatuation which continually prompted him to trust them. He was now in the midst of a brave but enslaved people, whose hearts were with him, and whose interests would have been one with his own had he listened to them in sincerity. Great alarm was felt by the Poles at this moment of his apparent doubtful fortune, but they remained firm in their devotion to him; and a Polish legion was formed, under French pay, which proved an efficient and valuable addition to his army. To add to all his other difficulties, Napoleon had to resist the opinion of every one around him. He alone saw that the war, being brought to this stage, must be carried through. All his officers, even Murat and Berthier, with whom to shrink from enterprise was a rare event, urgently solicited him to recross the Vistula; but his inflexible obstinacy maintained his point against them all, and his only answer was to commence the most vigorous preparations for another campaign. He lived at Osterode much in the same style as in bivouac; eating, sleeping, and transacting business, all in one apartment. In this small place he had everything under his eye, and completed in one month the work which would ordinarily have occupied three.

The first active measure of Napoleon was regularly to form the siege of Dantzic, which he entrusted to Marshal Lefebvre. The besieging force was increased to the required strength by the army of the King of Saxony, now the firm ally of France, and by the troops of Baden and other German states. The moveable army was recruited by immense exertions. The conscription of 1808 was called out; again forestalling the efforts of France by one year. Marshal Mortier was recalled from Pomerania; and the greater part of the troops were ordered from Silesia; a new levy was made in Switzerland; troops were marched from Italy, and auxiliaries were demanded from Spain; but an unsatisfactory answer was returned instead of compliance. A remonstrance, however, from Napoleon brought the Spanish forces into the field, and they were sent to Holland and Italy to supply the place of the troops withdrawn from those countries. By all these means, Napoleon had succeeded in collecting between the Vistula and the Memel a force of two hundred thousand men before the end of April; while the Russian

army had only been reinforced to the number of ninety thousand. Want of funds is stated as the cause of this negligence, the English ministry having actually refused to negotiate a loan of six millions, and advance one million on account, to the great umbrage of the Emperor Alexander.

Napoleon obtained another important advantage at this period, in persuading Turkey to declare war against Alexander. Various aggressions committed against the Sublime Porte by the Czar, had paved the way for the French ambassador to widen the breach, and thus produce a serious diversion of the Russian resources.

The siege of Dantzic was meanwhile vigorously pressed. Several Russian regiments had been thrown into the place, and it was bravely defended by General Kalkreuth, one of the old Prussian generals of Frederick's time. The great importance of the place caused a vigorous effort to relieve it, made by a large body of Russian troops who were sent by sea on the 15th of May; but they were repulsed with great loss, and obliged to escape with precipitation by means of their boats; the besiegers having been reinforced by the divisions of Lannes and Oudinot. General Kalkreuth found himself under the necessity of capitulating on the 21st; and thus Dantzic, the great military port of the Baltic, with eight hundred pieces of cannon and immense stores, fell into the hands of Napoleon. Marshal Lefebvre received the title of Duke of Dantzic, in commemoration of his important success.

Napoleon made an attempt to treat with the Emperor of Russia immediately after obtaining this great advantage, but was unsuccessful. He then encamped his whole army, the different divisions taking up their appointed positions. The Russians were in the field by the 5th of June. They attacked and forced Marshal Ney's position, who retreated with great difficulty behind the Passarge. Their next attack was made on Bernadotte's encampment behind the bridge of Spanden on the Passarge. Twelve of their regiments advanced with the intention of forcing the bridge. They made six desperate charges, and were repulsed with great loss at each. At the seventh, they were charged in turn by the French, and obliged to retreat. Bernadotte was severely wounded in this action, and was succeeded in his command by General Victor, who had been exchanged for Blucher. A similar attempt to that at Spanden was made at Lomitten on Marshal Soult's position, but was equally unsuccessful. By the 8th, the whole French army was concentrated behind the Passarge; on the 10th, they began to descend the Aller; and on the evening of that day, their cavalry was drawn into a sharp and dangerous conflict with the Russians at Heelsberg, through the headstrong temerity of Murat, and extricated with great difficulty by the fusileers of the guard under Savary, spe-



cially employed on that service by Napoleon. The action lasted till midnight, when the Russians retreated beyond the Aller. At dawn of day, the ground between the two armies was found to be literally heaped with the dead and wounded. Napoleon learned from the burgomaster of Heelsberg, that the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia had been in that town two days before, and had joined the army.

The Russians retreated from Heelsberg, and took up a position on the eastern bank of the Aller, behind the long wooden bridge which communicated with the town of Friedland, situated on the western bank of the river. The French cavalry could not give any certain information of the route taken by the Russians; Napoleon, therefore, moved his army forward in three great divisions in search of them. The division of Marshal Lannes, with Nansouty's division of cuirassiers, were ordered to take the route of Friedland. They reached that town late at night on the 13th; and at daybreak of the 14th of June, they found themselves in sight of the whole Russian army posted on the opposite side of the river. Intelligence was instantly sent to Napoleon, who pressed forward with the divisions of Ney, Mortier, and Bernadotte, and the horse and foot guards. He soon arrived on the field, and there found Lannes engaged with the Russians. Benigsen, supposing he had only a single division of the French army before him, and forgetting the usual promptitude of combination for which Napoleon was distinguished, had pushed one portion of his army across the bridge, defiled through the town, and brought on an action, which he supposed he should terminate quickly and triumphantly. He was totally unconscious of the overwhelming force opposed to him; a thick and

extensive wood, in the rear of the plain in which Lannes was engaged, entirely concealed the masses of his enemies from his view. Still, Napoleon was unable to believe that Benigsen would venture to leave any part of his army for any period in so perilous a position as that in which he had placed it; maintaining a doubtful conflict with no means of retreat, but through the entanglements of the town of Friedland, and across the long narrow bridge of the Aller. His astonishment was great therefore, when he learned from the officers he sent to reconnoitre, that the whole Russian army was crossing the bridge, with the exception of one small division, and forming in front of the town. He had secured a victory by his numbers and position, but his remark to Savary, who carried him the information of the Russian movement, was characteristic. "Well," said he, "I am ready now. I have an hour's advantage of them, and will give them battle since they wish it. This is the anniversary of Marengo, and to-day *fortune is with me.*" His columns of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, were stationed in order of battle on the roads which ran through the wood, and in three fine openings or glades between the trees. Benigsen who began to suspect the truth from the report of prisoners, and the prompt support which Lannes had received, slackened his attack. He would willingly have recrossed the river, but to commence a retreat was now impossible, and his soldiers fought with the most determined bravery. At length, at the most advantageous moment, Napoleon led his whole force to the attack. As the French troops simultaneously moved towards the plain, their columns of enormous power and depth, were seen converging from the openings of the forest; and, viewed from the town of Friedland, the Russian army appeared as if half surrounded by a deep semicircle of glittering steel. No studied description can convey the horrible realities of a victory so completely as the literal account given by Savary. "The Russian general-in-chief," says he, "soon discovered the error he had committed; but the gauntlet was thrown down, and he determined to take it up with a good grace. We had already advanced so near him that he had only time to form in a number of squares, which mutually flanked each other; and when once in this position, he deprived himself of the use of his artillery. He thus awaited the destruction which had now become inevitable. His masses were heaped together in front of Friedland; driven close upon the town, they formed the centre of a semicircle, of which we occupied almost the whole circumference. Not one of our cannon balls missed its aim, and the Russian squares were demolished one after another. About six in the evening, the Emperor assailed them with a fire of musketry. This was the finishing stroke. Their masses were so completely deranged, that nothing like order was observable in their dispositions; and an instinct natural to man, impelled

all who formed part of the wreck, to seek safety by flying towards the bridge. They were, however, obliged to renounce the attempt, owing to the dreadful carnage caused by the firing of our artillery in that direction. They then threw themselves pell-mell into the river, without ascertaining whether it was fordable. Numbers, encumbered with the accoutrements of all Russian soldiers, were drowned; but others discovered a ford in front of our left. Nothing could now check their flight; and they hurried towards the point of escape in utter disorder, like a flock of sheep."

The fugitives who thus reached the eastern side of the Aller, united with the battalion which had been left there, and pursued their flight towards the Niemen, by Tilsit, having first set fire to the wooden bridge of the Aller. Napoleon sent no cavalry in pursuit, though he had forty squadrons, who might have cut them to pieces. Many animadversions have been cast upon him for not improving his victory in this manner; but the reason appears clear. His object was to make peace with the Emperor Alexander, and the butchery of the broken battalions of the Russian guard would in no way have forwarded that object. No power remained to oppose itself to the immense force under Napoleon. The war was indeed ended by the destruction of the Russian army. Twenty thousand killed, and as many wounded, among whom were thirty generals; with the loss of five thousand prisoners, eighty pieces of cannon, and seventy stand of colours, had reduced it to a mere wreck.

"Night drew on," continues Savary, "and the firing ceased. Our army reposed in the position in which it had fought. The Emperor also passed this night in bivouac; and next morning at daybreak he was on his horse inspecting the lines of his troops. The men were still sleeping, and had suffered immense fatigue. The Emperor would not allow any of them to be disturbed for the purpose of being drawn out under arms in honour of his presence, as was customary. He next proceeded to the Russian field. Here a frightful spectacle presented itself. The order of the Russian squares could be traced by a line of heaps of slain; and the position of their artillery might be guessed by the dead horses. It might truly be said, that sovereigns ought to have great interests of their subjects at stake to justify such dreadful sacrifices." Even a soldier becomes a moralist on such occasions, by the forcible sense of a common humanity.

The French army was put in motion in the course of the day, and followed in the route of the Russians. Marshal Soult's division took possession of Koningsberg on the 16th. The two fugitive sovereigns were already on their way to Tilsit; Napoleon with the rest of his army pressing hard upon their track. His light cavalry reached Tilsit on the 19th, while the bridge by which Alexander and Frederick William had

placed themselves on the right bank of the Niemen was still burning. As the army approached the last barrier which separated them from the dominions of Alexander, the impatience of Napoleon became uncontrollable. He gave the reins to his horse, and, outspeeding all his officers, traversed alone the great plains that surround Tilsit, and did not stop till he came in sight of the Niemen. On the opposite side lay Russia.



Napoleon stood on the soil of Poland, and his eye rested on the possessions of the most powerful of her oppressors. Alone, in that vast solitude, there cannot be a doubt that his mind was wrestling with the conflicting plans and aims which opened before him. On his way, he had been overtaken by Polish deputies, pressing him urgently to proclaim the independence of their country, and to sanction their commencing the work themselves. At that moment, his will to forward that great work could not have been opposed. His army was abundantly supplied; great magazines and stores had been found in Koningsberg, and others were established at Dantzic, and along the Vistula; while a navigable communication existed between Dantzic, Koningsberg, and Tilsit. He had a complete pontoon establishment, by means of which he could cross the Niemen before the 24th of June. There was no Russian army, therefore there could be no resistance. He would be on the Dwina in the beginning of July. At Wilna he might proclaim the independence of Poland. He had all the Prussian arsenals for arming the Poles. Prussia could not be said to exist as a nation; Austria alone was to be feared. But he had great armies in Italy and Dalmatia.

Protecting the Poles, while they were clothed and exercised, he might bear down upon the Austrians, if they rose against him, and conquer them before a new Russian army could be recruited; and then, with free and brave Poland, backed by the mighty power of France, was a Russian army to be feared? It is not mere hypothesis to attribute these thoughts to Napoleon: it is certain that his impulses led him in the direction of this line of policy; but he had not condensed them into powerful motives and principles of action; and he turned from his own clearer and nobler views, to hold a parley with an emperor, a king, and a host of diplomatists, and to follow the path of an evil destiny. Hazlitt breaks forth into one of his passages of burning eloquence as he laments that Napoleon did not make common cause with Poland. "That name," says he, "pleaded trumpet-tongued against the iniquity of the old governments of Europe, and laughed to scorn all their affected appeals to moderation and justice. A light went before it, a flame followed after it, from which Bonaparte shrunk, as the one pointed out, and the other embraced, consequences of which he could hardly embrace the issues. He hesitated to lay his hands on that engine of power which was contained in the degradation and oppression of Poland, and to give it full scope, because, though it was a means to crush his antagonists, it might in the end recoil upon himself. Honesty would probably here, as in so many cases, have been the best policy; and the broad principles of liberty and justice the safest ground for him to tread upon."

On the arrival of Napoleon at Tilsit, he received a dispatch from the officer commanding the Russian rear-guard, proposing an armistice. It was known that the Emperor Alexander was on the other side of the Niemen, at a village not far distant: Napoleon's answer was, in consequence, addressed to that sovereign in person; and its purport was to the effect, that he was very ready to make peace, but would not consent to an armistice if war were to continue. The result was a proposal, on the part of Alexander, that an interview should take place between the Emperor of France and himself, which was accepted. Talleyrand was summoned to Tilsit without delay. "I have been asked for an interview," said Napoleon, in his letter to his minister. "I am but indifferent about the matter; but I have granted it. However, if peace is not concluded in a fortnight, I cross the Niemen." Savary was, at the same time, ordered to prepare the bridge equipage so as to be ready at a moment's notice. "I mentioned this circumstance to M. de Talleyrand," says he. "'Do not hurry yourself,' he replied. 'Where is the utility of going beyond the Niemen? What are we to find behind that river? The Emperor must renounce his views respecting Poland. That country is good for nothing. We can only

organise disorder there. We have now a favourable opportunity of making an end of this business; and we must not let it escape.' ”

The interview took place on the 25th of June, two days after the return of Marshal Duroc, who had carried on the negociation between the two emperors. The mode in which this celebrated meeting was conducted, is well and simply described by Savary. “The Emperor Napoleon ordered a large raft to be floated in the middle of the Niemen; upon which was constructed a room, well covered in and elegantly decorated, having two doors on opposite sides, each of which opened into an antechamber. The roof and the two doors were surmounted by the eagles of Russia and France. The raft was precisely in the middle of the river, with the two doors of the saloon facing the two opposite banks. The two sovereigns appeared on the banks of the river, and embarked at the same moment in the midst of thousands of spectators. Napoleon was attended by Murat, Berthier, Bessières, Duroc, and Caulaincourt; Alexander, by his brother the Archduke Constantine, Generals Benigsen and Ouvarow, with the Count de Lieven. The Emperor Napoleon having a good boat, manned by marines of the guard, arrived first on the raft, entered the room, and went to the opposite door, which he opened, and then stationed himself on the edge of the raft to receive the Emperor Alexander. They met in the most amicable way—at least, to all appearance. They remained together for a considerable time, and then took leave of each other with as friendly an air as that with which they had met.

“Next day, the Emperor of Russia established himself at Tilsit, with a battalion of his guard. Orders were given to the French troops for evacuating that part of the town where he and his battalion were to be quartered. When he entered the town, the whole army was under arms. The imperial guard was drawn out in two lines of three deep from the landing-place to the Emperor Napoleon’s quarters, and from thence to the quarters of the Emperor of Russia. A salute of one hundred guns was fired the moment Alexander stepped ashore. This meeting, the first which history records of the same kind and of equal importance, attracted visitors to Tilsit from a hundred leagues round.”

Festivities and entertainments of every kind succeeded, and continued during the whole period of the stay of these royal visitors. The French, Russian, and Prussian officers, seemed all to be delighted with each other’s society: the two emperors were continually together in public and private. Their intimacy took the character of that of two young men of rank, companions in frolic and sport, as well as associates in graver matters. The business of negotiating a treaty of peace went on daily. There is no doubt that Napoleon exerted all those powers of fascination and attraction which never failed him when



INTERVIEW OF NAPOLEON WITH THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER, ON THE NIEMEN.

he chose to call them forth, and that he succeeded, for the time, in gaining a great ascendancy over the mind of Alexander. But the influence was not deep, nor did it produce any sincere result. The following passage, from "The Military History of the Campaign in Russia," by Colonel Boutourlin, exactly describes the spirit in which the treaty of Tilsit (and, we may add, all the treaties ever made by sovereigns with Napoleon) was entered into:—"The Emperor Alexander was fully aware of the spirit and tendency of the clauses of the treaty of Tilsit; but the unhappy circumstances in which Europe was placed at the period of his signing it, had imposed upon him the necessity of averting the war upon any terms. Above all, it was an object of paramount importance *to gain the requisite time for preparing to engage with adequate means in the struggle which, it was clear, would be renewed at a future day.*" The same spirit is manifested in the following anecdote, which is perfectly authentic. During the apparent friendship of the two emperors at Tilsit, M. de Nowosilow, who belonged to the Russian chancery, and was much attached to Alexander, approached him with an earnest manner on one occasion, and said to him in a low voice, "Sire, I must remind you of the fate of your father." "Good heaven!" replied Alexander; "I know it; I see it: but what would you have me do against my destiny?"

The unfortunate King of Prussia, a king without a kingdom, arrived at Tilsit on the 28th. Napoleon did not admit him to that footing of equality on which he associated with the Emperor Alexander, and did not conceal that whatever portion of his territories were returned to him, he would owe to the intercession of his more powerful ally. The queen, who had so hurried on the war, next requested an interview, with the hope of softening the calamities of the peace by her intercessions, and the power of her grace and beauty. Napoleon sent his carriages, horses, equerries, and guards, to attend her, and conduct her to Tilsit. "Forgive us," she said, as he received her; "forgive us this fatal war: the memory of the great Frederick deceived us: we thought ourselves his equals, because we are his descendants; alas! we have not proved such!" In a letter to Josephine, written at the time, Napoleon says: "The Queen of Prussia is really a charming woman. She is fond of coquetting with me; but do not be jealous: I am like a cerecloth, along which everything of this sort slides without penetrating. It would cost me too dear to play the gallant."

An anecdote was related in the saloon of Josephine in relation to this subject. It was said that the Queen of Prussia, one day, had a beautiful rose in her hand, which the Emperor asked her to give him. The queen hesitated for a few moments, and then presented it to him, saying, "Why should I so readily grant what you request, while you

remain deaf to all my entreaties." She alluded to Magdeburg, which she had earnestly solicited. It is certain that she did not succeed, in any degree, in altering the conditions of the treaty.

The articles of the peace were as follows: Prussia ceded every conquest made since the accession of Frederick the Great, with the exception of Silesia. Magdeburg was not restored. Dantzic was proclaimed a free city under the protection of Prussia and Saxony. Prussian Poland was erected into the grand-duchy of Warsaw, and placed under the dominion of the King of Saxony. This was all Napoleon did for Poland. It should be added, however, that he gave liberty to all the serfs, and abolished slavery in the grand-duchy of Warsaw. The Emperor Alexander did not scruple to appropriate one of the Prussian provinces, which lay conveniently for improving his frontier, ceding one of his own to Holland, in exchange. He recognised all the new kingdoms already erected by Napoleon; and, in addition, that of Westphalia, which was conferred on Jerome Bonaparte at this period. He also surrendered Corfu to France, and recognised its possession of Hanover. Napoleon consented that the Dukes of Saxe-Coburg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg-Schwerin, all allied with the royal family of Russia, should retain possession of their territories. Russia offered to mediate between France and England, but it was understood, that in case of a refusal by England, Russia should assist in enforcing the continental system. It is also believed that Napoleon was informed of the intended war of Russia upon Sweden, by which Alexander obtained Finland, a most important covering territory to his own capital. France was to mediate between Russia and Turkey, and the intervention was to cease if the latter refused to treat. Turkey was thus likely to be left alone with a war, which had been undertaken solely at the instances of France; but, as the Sultan had recently endeavoured to make peace with England, which would have led to a rupture with France, there was not much ground of complaint against the course taken by Napoleon in this instance. It is believed also, that the two emperors discussed further schemes of policy, and that the affairs of Spain were taken into their consideration. The whole treaty was based on the principle of a firm and lasting alliance between Napoleon and the Emperor of Russia; the former relying in good faith upon the intention of the latter to co-operate with him in his projects and policy. Hence he permitted the aggrandisement of Russia on the side of Sweden, neglected the interests of Poland, and abandoned Turkey. The results will be seen in the course and termination of his history.

The peace between France and Russia was signed on the 7th of July, and that between France and Prussia on the 9th. The Emperor Alexander prepared to leave Tilsit the same day. After passing



three hours together, the two emperors mounted their horses, and rode towards the Niemen. Before they separated, Napoleon presented the gold eagle of the legion of honour to the most distinguished soldier of the Russian imperial guard, in testimony of his respect for the corps. He also made a present of his portrait to Platoff, the Hetman of the Cossacks. He saw Alexander embark, and watched his progress to the opposite bank; then returning to Tilsit, he made his parting visit to the King of Prussia, and immediately departed for Koningsberg.

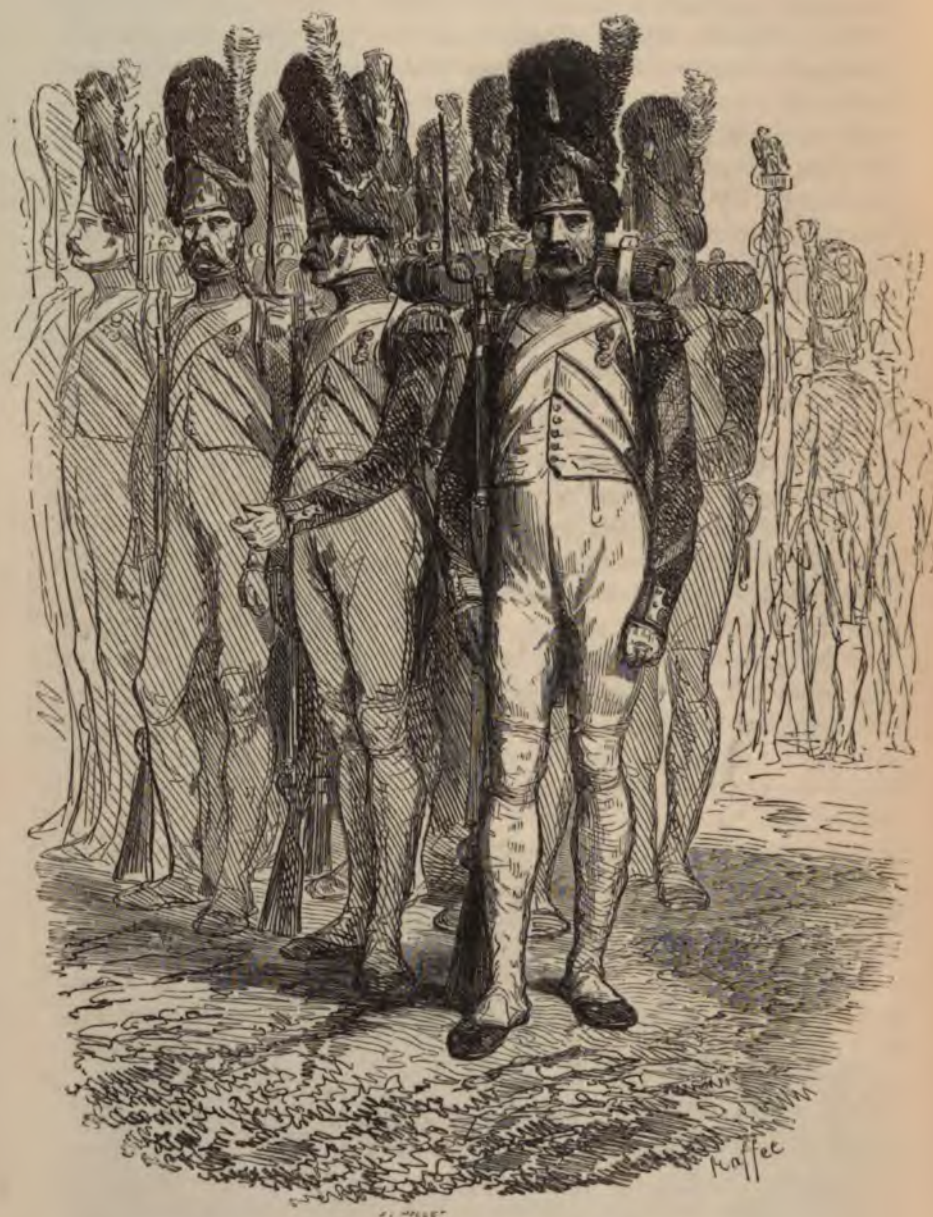
It is said that the treaty of Tilsit which put the seal to the disasters of Prussia, in the war, caused the early death of the queen; and this appears extremely probable. A woman of her pride and ambition must have deeply felt the humiliation into which she had plunged.

Napoleon remained at Koningsberg not a moment beyond the time necessary to complete his arrangements there. Before his departure he despatched Savary to St. Petersburg, as French minister, until he should make choice of an ambassador. He then set out for France, stopping only at Dresden, where he remained two days; and finally reached Paris some time before he was expected. He was received by the Parisians with even more than their usual enthusiasm. The peace had produced an ecstasy of joy. The country was prosperous; the finances and manufactures were in an improving state. Riches had flowed into France from the contributions levied in Prussia; the people looked forward to a long cessation of war, and the sacrifices of the last struggle were forgotten. Even the wounded were restored in extraordinary num-

bers, owing to the excellence of the hospital departments. Fifty thousand of them had already returned to their ranks, cured. Deputations arrived from every part of France with congratulations and assurances of attachment. The Emperor was obliged to devote a whole fortnight to receiving these addresses, which were in general couched in language approaching to adoration. Whatever degree of importance Napoleon attached to addresses of this kind, arose solely from an idea that they exerted, when reported in the "Moniteur," a favourable influence on public opinion. On himself, they made not the slightest impression, except, probably, to confirm his contempt for the great mass of mankind. He listened while they were delivered, with a countenance as immovable as that with which he stood in the midst of death on the church of Eylau; but perhaps a nice observer might have traced on that cold exterior some shadows from the memories of those agonies and horrors,—never forgotten by him, though passed over without a word in the adulatory orations of his flatterers.

A splendid fête was given by the city of Paris in honour of the return of the imperial guard. A triumphal arch of sufficient span to allow twenty men to march under it abreast, was erected at the barrier by which they were to enter; and, on the expected day, an immense multitude of people assembled by daybreak to watch for their approach. Loud shouts proclaimed, about two o'clock in the afternoon, that they were in sight, and cries of joy and welcome filled the air as they advanced under the command of Marshal Bessières. The municipal corporation of Paris met them at the entrance of the arch, and the Prefect of the Seine addressed them in a laudatory speech.





THE IMPERIAL GUARD.

Crowns of gold, voted by the city, were then placed on their eagles. As they defiled under the arch, a numerous orchestra, stationed within it, struck up the "Chant de Retour;" or, as we may render it into English, the "Welcome Home." The imperial guard proceeded straight to the Tuileries, deposited their eagles in the palace, and their arms in the imperial gardens, and then repaired to the Champs Elysées, surrounded and followed by nearly the whole population of the city, and there partook of a grand banquet, of which the municipal body did the honours. The imperial guard at this time consisted of eight regiments: the fusileers, the foot chasseurs, the foot grenadiers, the horse chasseurs, the mamelukes, the dragoons, the horse grenadiers, and the gendarmerie d'élite.

The mother of Napoleon had lived in Paris since the year of the Consulate. From the period of her son's accession to the empire, she had received the title of "Madame Mère," with an income of forty thousand pounds: she was also made "*Protectrice generale* of all the charitable institutions of France." She is charged with avarice, but her parsimony evidently resulted, not from love of money, but from apprehensive foresight, not surprising in a woman who had experienced the actual difficulties of life from political reverses. When the fortunes of her family were at the highest pitch, she was often haunted by forebodings of their downfall. "Who knows," she would say, "but I may one day have to provide bread for all these kings." She is universally allowed to have taken delight in offices of kindness, and to have spared no trouble in order to serve others. She continued to be remarkable for her loftiness of spirit, and for her beauty, even among the younger ladies of the imperial court, while her strength and energy of mind gave a dignity to her deportment, which well suited her distinguished position. Napoleon never failed in his affection and respect towards her, and she repaid him by a watchful love, which strengthened in the latter period of his life to a degree that seemed to absorb her whole being.

The power of Napoleon, the prosperity of France, and the splendour of Paris, may be said to have been at their greatest height at this period. The government exhibited an example of a despotism as complete as ever existed. The regulation of the whole empire lay in the hand of Napoleon himself, and as the glory of France had always been, and continued to be his grand object, every faculty of his intellect was bent to its promotion. The order, method, and power of combination, which he displayed in the field of battle, he equally exhibited in the wider field of his vast dominions. The whole empire was divided into departments, each governed by a prefect, appointed by the Emperor himself; each expressly selected for a province with which he had no personal

ties, largely paid, and possessing entire control over his province; but accountable to the Emperor for every action,—receiving instructions, and transmitting reports to him. Thus, every department seemed as if under his personal superintendence. There was not a functionary of his government who did not feel a consciousness that his vigilant eye was upon him. As far as a form of government essentially vicious, could be rendered beneficent by the wisdom and power of one intellect, that of the Emperor was beneficent. The finances were regulated with a clearness and accuracy seldom equalled in a private family. The fine system of laws combined in the "Code Napoleon," had come into operation throughout the whole of the empire. Two great causes of evil, however, were all the time sapping the foundations of the prosperity of France. The first arose from Napoleon's iron will, attempting to bind under one uniform system the people of different countries, who were accustomed to other laws and other habits: the second, from his continental system; itself originating in the exasperating continuity of hostility pursued towards him by England. This favourite measure of his, was already ruining trade and commerce, exciting dangerous discontent, and soon led him into new and fatal wars.

The Emperor appeared in the legislative assembly shortly after the establishment of peace, and addressed them in a speech which presented, with his usual felicity of condensation, the results of the war and the present condition of France. The fêtes of the period were terminated by a splendid banquet, given by the senate to the imperial guard in the gardens of the Luxembourg Palace.





CHAPTER III.

SWEDEN—ENGLISH EXPEDITIONS—BOMBARDMENT OF COPENHAGEN—FRANCE DECLARES WAR ON PORTUGAL—PROCLAMATION OF GODOY—TREATY OF FONTAINEBLEAU—INVASION OF PORTUGAL—FLIGHT OF THE ROYAL FAMILY—JUNOT ENTERS LISBON—AFFAIRS OF SPAIN—NAPOLEON VISITS ITALY.



THE treaty of Tilsit established peace throughout the continent of Europe, with one single and feeble exception. The King of Sweden had maintained his alliance with England, yet he was left, at the conclusion of the campaign, opposed, without assistance, to the mighty power of France. He had established himself at Stralsund, supported by an English armament; but, at the conclusion of the peace, the English re-embarked, and Gustavus retreated to his capital. A French army,

under General Brune, immediately occupied the whole of Pomerania, which was thus lost to Sweden.

Though the British ministry abandoned their faithful ally in this manner, they shewed no inclination towards a pacific policy in other

respects. They pursued a system of petty and inefficient warfare; wasting the strength and resources of the nation in distant expeditions, with various success, but uniform nothingness of result, except in the conquests of Curaçoa, and the Cape of Good Hope: the latter in particular, was a most valuable possession. They had sent an armament to Calabria, to reconquer that wild portion of the former dominions of the King of Naples, and transfer it from the government of Joseph Bonaparte to that of its legitimate monarch. The British troops gained a complete victory over the French sent to oppose them under the command of General Regnier; but re-embarked afterwards without effecting anything towards the object for which they had fought. British expeditions had also been sent to Buenos Ayres, to Turkey, and Alexandria, all of which were unsuccessful. The final proofs, however, that the English government had resolved still to maintain the war, was afforded by their refusal to accept the mediation of the Emperor of Russia, offered in compliance with the terms of the treaty of Tilsit. Their refusal was the signal of new woes and fresh horrors.

The first event which startled Europe from its dream of peace, was the appearance of a powerful British fleet in the Baltic, early in August, 1807. It consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, bearing twenty thousand men, under the command of Lord Cathcart. This overwhelming force proceeded to establish a strict blockade round the shores of Zealand, and then landed a British envoy, Mr. Jackson, who proceeded to the Danish court. The purpose of his mission was to convey a requisition to the Crown Prince of Denmark, that he should unequivocally explain the part which he meant to take between England and France. Denmark was at that moment strictly neutral. That Napoleon would permit its neutrality to continue, was very unlikely; he was almost certain to enforce his continental system there, as elsewhere, and to compel the exclusion of British ships from its ports. Backed by Russia, his power, it was evident, must prevail over a state so inferior as Denmark. The English envoy, therefore, demanded that the Danish fleet, consisting of sixteen line-of-battle ships, besides frigates and smaller vessels, and the whole of their naval stores, should be delivered up to Great Britain, to be kept in deposit until more peaceful times. The closest alliance, and every possible protection, was promised in case of compliance; but it was intimated, that the British force would compel the demands should they be refused.

The Crown Prince, seeing dishonour in compliance, and perceiving besides that the conditional promise of restoring his fleet "in more peaceful times" afforded a large latitude for evasion, refused the offered terms, and made the best preparations for defence in his power. At

the same time, he declared all the British property in Denmark to be confiscated, and shut all his ports against British ships. Lord Cathcart immediately disembarked his troops, erected batteries, and summoned General Peymann, commandant of Copenhagen, to surrender, under pain of a rigorous siege by land and sea. The Danish land forces, assembled in the interior of the island, were dispersed by Sir Arthur Wellesley, a name heard for the first time in European warfare on this occasion, though already well known in India. On the 2nd of September, at seven o'clock in the evening, the British ships commenced a terrific bombardment of the city, which lasted seventy-two hours, and reduced three hundred houses to ashes. After a brave but unavailing resistance, General Peymann, who had been dangerously wounded, offered to capitulate, surrendering the citadel and forts of Copenhagen, together with the whole fleet, to the English. The Crown Prince had ordered the latter to be blown up if it could not be saved, but his dispatch was intercepted. Lord Cathcart took possession, fitted out the Danish ships for sea with all possible celerity, seized upon the naval stores to a very large amount, and sailed off with the prize on the 8th of September.

The King of Denmark, outraged in so unheard-of a manner, joined heart and hand with Napoleon in his system of exclusion; signed with him a treaty offensive and defensive against England, and, never forgiving the injury he had received, was the only sovereign of Europe who respected his engagements to the last moment. All Europe exclaimed against the violence committed by England. The Emperor Alexander immediately declared his adherence to the continental system, according to the principles of the armed neutrality established by Catherine II. The English were thus entirely excluded from the north of Europe.

Napoleon discussed the subject of the bombardment of Copenhagen with O'Meara in St. Helena. "That expedition," said he, "shewed great energy on the part of your ministers; but, setting aside the violation of the laws of nations which you committed—for, in fact, it was nothing but a robbery—I think that it was injurious to your interests, as it made the Danish nation irreconcilable enemies to you, and, in fact, shut you out of the north for three years. When I heard of it, I said, 'I am glad of it, as it will embroil England irrecoverably with the northern powers.' The Danes being able to join me with sixteen sail of the line, was but of little consequence. I had plenty of ships, and only wanted seamen, whom you did not take, and whom I obtained afterwards; while, by the expedition, your ministers established their characters as faithless, and as persons with whom no engagements, no laws, were binding."

Napoleon soon diverted the attention of Europe from the wrongs of Denmark, by displaying, in his turn, an instance of "great energy," very similar in its nature and purposes to that of the English ministry. Portugal had purchased peace from France at a heavy price in 1801 (see Vol. i. p. 270). England had, however, too powerful a hold over the interests of that country to suffer the fulfilment of the treaty of Madrid in all its parts. Portugal continued to be, as of old, the firm ally of England, and the receptacle of British commerce. The continental system was, therefore, frustrated in the south of Europe, though triumphant in the north.

Immediately upon the refusal of England to accept the mediation of Russia, the following note was delivered by the French chargé-d'affaires at Lisbon to the Prince Regent of Portugal: it bears the date of August 12th, 1807, exactly ten days after the appearance of the English fleet in the Baltic. "The undersigned has received orders to declare, that if, by the 1st of September next, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has not shewn his intention of withdrawing from English influence, by declaring, without delay, war against England, dismissing the minister of His Britannic Majesty, recalling the Portuguese ambassador from London, detaining as hostages the English established in Portugal, confiscating the English merchandise, shutting his ports to English vessels, and, in short, uniting his fleets with those of the continental powers,—His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal will be considered as having renounced the continental system; and in that case the undersigned has orders to demand his passports, and to withdraw by declaring war.

"The undersigned, on considering the motives which should determine the court of Portugal at the present juncture, cannot but hope that, enlightened by wise counsels, it will embrace openly and without reserve, the political system most conformable to its dignity and interests; and that it will at last openly decide on making common cause with all the governments of the continent against the oppressors of the sea, and the enemies of the navigation of all nations."

The ambassador of the King of Spain presented a note to a similar effect on the same day. At the same time, a French army of five-and-twenty thousand men was assembled at Bayonne under the name of the "corps of observation of the Gironde," the command of which was entrusted to Junot.

The counsels of the court of Portugal were divided into two parties, one of which clung to the English alliance, seeing nothing before them but ruin if the Brazils and English commerce were lost to the country by offending the masters of the seas. "As soon as the foreign armies appear," said they, "we must retire on board our ships, and take refuge

in Brazil. There we may still reign." The other party, dreading the gigantic power of France, recommended implicit obedience to the will of the Emperor Napoleon. The Regent himself had no wish beyond ensuring, by some means or other, a permission to continue his monastic life in his palace of Mafra. He was ready to make any sacrifice whereby "to solve the insoluble problem" of pleasing both France and England. A small band of patriots, the chief amongst whom was the Marquis of Alorne, implored the government to place its trust in the mountains and rocks, the fortresses, and remote position of Portugal: to call upon its hardy and fiery-spirited population, and once more to make it a nation. "Let us arm our coast," they said; "let us exclude from our ports the British navy, and, if it must be so, their trading vessels. Let us defend our fortresses and frontiers against the French and Spanish armies. Let us cease to be English; let us not become French; and we shall remain Portuguese." This appeal produced no impression. The reply of the Regent of Portugal to the notes of the foreign ambassadors was to the effect that, "to gratify his powerful allies, the Emperor of France and King of Spain, he was ready to exclude the ships of Great Britain from his ports; but that the moderation of his government, and his religious principles, would not suffer him to seize upon the persons and property of British residents in Portugal." This reply was made in concert with England; and preparations were secretly commenced to carry into effect the flight of the court to Brazil. On the 30th of September, the French and Spanish ministers quitted Lisbon; and the inhabitants learned on the same day that the Portuguese ships and commercial property had been seized in all the ports under the dominion of Napoleon. On the 18th of October, the van of Junot's army crossed the Bidassoa, and advanced towards Salamanca: it was followed, at the distance of a day's march, by the second and third divisions, the park of artillery, and cavalry. At the same time, a second "army of observation," of equal strength with the first, was assembling at Bayonne; a third on the banks of the Garonne, and a fourth at Perpignan. The forces of Spain took the field at the same time. Nearly the whole military strength of that kingdom was marched towards Portugal: there remained in the interior only skeletons of battalions and squadrons.

The immense preparations made by Napoleon, added to the defenceless state of Spain, began to excite a vague uneasiness in the enlightened classes of that country, and not without reason. The apparently strict and friendly alliance between the French and Spanish governments was, in fact, dictated by fear on the one hand, and suspicion on the other. The suspicion on the part of Napoleon had been excited at the very commencement of the Prussian campaign by an enigmatical proclamation

of Godoy, the Prince of Peace, who continued all-powerful at the weak and profligate court of Charles IV. and his queen (see Vol. i. p. 268). This proclamation, issued in a time of profound peace, called upon the Spaniards to arm for the preservation of the state. It concluded in these words:—"I offer you, in advance, the assurance of my gratitude, if it please God to grant us a fortunate and durable peace, the only object of our vows. Come, you will not yield to the suggestions either of fear or perfidy; your hearts will be closed against every species of foreign seduction: come, and if we are forced to cross our arms with those of our enemies, you will not, at least, incur the danger of being marked as suspected persons; nor will you strengthen a false imputation on your honour or loyalty, by refusing to answer the appeal which I make to you." Napoleon was not slow in understanding the meaning of this manifesto. The battle of Jena followed close upon it; and no more was heard of Spanish armaments. Godoy hastened to make the best explanation he could; giving out that an apprehended invasion of the Moors, had been the cause of his alarm. Napoleon took no further notice of the subject, at the time, than to ask an explanation; but he did not forget it.

All that could be done by obsequiousness to the will of the dreaded Emperor of France, to obliterate the memory of this unlucky transaction, was done by Godoy. A ready passage through Spain was granted to the French troops. All the Emperor's requisitions for auxiliary Spanish legions were granted. A secret treaty was also concluded at Fontainebleau, on the 27th of October, between the courts of France and Spain, by which the ancient kingdom of Portugal was appropriated and parcelled out into three divisions. One of these, under the title of Northern Lusitania, was to be conferred on the King of Etruria, in exchange for his Italian dominions, which had constituted the first kingdom bestowed by Napoleon, and which he now chose to unite to his own kingdom of Italy. The Queen of Etruria was a daughter of the King of Spain. The second division of Portugal was to be conferred on Godoy, with the title of Prince of Algarves. The third was to be held in deposit, in the hands of the commander-in-chief of the French troops, until a general peace.

Meanwhile, Junot was proceeding with expedition through Spain. He had reached Salamanca in five-and-twenty days, having been well received by the Spaniards throughout the route. At Salamanca, he received a peremptory order from the Emperor to enter Portugal, lest the English should anticipate him at Lisbon. The road he was to take was left to his own discretion; but the march was not to be delayed a single day "under the pretence of procuring subsistence." "Twenty thousand men," added the Emperor, "can live anywhere, even

in a desert." The army was again in motion by the 12th of November, with orders to reach Alcantara, a distance of fifty leagues, in five days.

"Of the difficulty of invading Portugal," says General Foy, "a very erroneous idea will be formed from the aspect which the configuration of that country presents on geographical maps. It would seem as if, being once established in Spain, there was only a step to make to sever in the middle that slip of land which runs parallel with the sea, in a length of one hundred and thirty leagues, and a breadth of fifty at the utmost. The operation appears to be the more easy from the circumstance of the Douro and the Tagus, the two great rivers of the country, flowing through Spain for the greatest part of their course; and our being taught by physical geography that as rivers approach their mouths, the mountains dip and the valleys widen. Here it is just the contrary, and that is the reason why Portugal has remained a kingdom independent of Spain. The mass and the branches of the Estrella cover the central region of Portugal, which bears the name of Beira. The principal summit of this vast mountain is three leagues to the south-east of Guarda. It towers eight hundred fathoms above the level of the sea, and is crowned with snow throughout the year. From its granite sides flow the Zezere, the Mondego, the Alva, and thirty other tributaries of the Tagus and the Douro. Its ramifications are sometimes formed in steep angles, sometimes in terraces of freestone blocks heaped together in disorder. Nature and state-policy have conspired together to prevent any roads of communication being made, between Portugal and Spain, across the rocks of Beira. The high road from Bayonne to Lisbon passes by Madrid; crosses the Tagus at the bridge of Almaraz in Spanish Estremadura, and a second time in front of Lisbon, where the river is three leagues wide."

Military foresight would not permit Junot to proceed by the high road. Without a bridge equipage, he would have found himself obliged to force a passage across this great river, or rather arm of the sea, after overcoming all the other obstacles of the march. He determined to encounter the difficulties of the Estrella, taking the road by Castello-Branco and Abrantes. He entered Portugal on the 19th of October. A great number of soldiers, part of the artillery, and all the baggage, had already fallen behind; the country he had passed through was very poor; it was impossible to supply the wants of the army; and the rain, which at that season is always prevalent, fell in torrents. Still, in spite of famine, weather, the obstacles of the country, and the uncertainty what enemies he might encounter, Junot did not hesitate to proceed. He calculated that in his situation to march was to fight; and to arrive, was to conquer. He had, in his favour, the terror of the French name, and that was sufficient for him.

Torrents and mountains were to be passed incessantly, almost the whole way to Abrantes. "During five deadly days," says Foy, "cheerless eminences of freestone succeed wastes of sharp, slaty rocks, and are followed by enormous mountains of granite. Here, wherever the stone does not appear on the surface, the eye wanders till it is lost, over wastes uniformly strewn with heath and cistus. The only flocks of the inhabitants are lean goats, so timid that they are always ready to fly to the mountains. To find the traces of human beings, they must be sought for at the bottom of some ravines which retain water in summer. There, near a hamlet, which, in the colour and the shape of its houses, resembles a continuation of the eternal rock, some enclosures are planted with olives, and a little rye and maize is sown. The monotony of the landscape is relieved by nothing but insulated chestnut-trees, which were then leafless, the pale cork-trees, and the stunted, green oaks, the appearance of which has, at all seasons, a melancholy effect.

"The army suffered incessantly from the bad weather. In Portugal, the autumnal rains are a positive deluge. Twenty times a day the columns of infantry were broken in fording the swollen and overflowed rivers. The soldiers straggled along at random; and ceasing to be restrained by the presence of their leaders, they had no longer the appearance of an army, but rather of a medley of individuals exasperated by distress. Notwithstanding several examples of severity which the commanders-in-chief exercised on offending French and Spanish soldiers, the plundering which took place hindered the inhabitants from applying to the use of the army the scanty resources which they might have been able to collect. Pressed by want, the soldiers betook themselves to the commons, and ate the honey from the hives which are scattered about in those situations. Some discovered and devoured the frugal hoard of maize, olives, and chestnuts, which the poor peasant had put by to feed his family during the winter. Woe to the humble cottage that fell in the way of these famished marauders! The terrified families immediately took flight. Many soldiers of the infantry were killed by the peasants, who were driven to despair. The cavalry lost a great number of horses; even the strongest were wasted, meagre, and worn out."

Junot reached Abrantes on the 24th. Here the greatest suffering of the army terminated. Provisions and shoes were given out. Anxiety as to the intentions of the Portuguese government was also at an end. Not the slightest appearance of resistance to the progress of the French could be observed. Junot himself announced his arrival, by letter, to the prime minister of Portugal. "I shall be at Lisbon in four days," said he. "My soldiers are quite disconsolate that they have not yet

fired a shot. Do not compel them to do it; I think you will be in the wrong if you do." This was the first intimation received by the Regent that the foreign troops had set foot in his dominions.

Junot only waited two days at Abrantes: he had still five-and-twenty leagues to traverse. As soon as he had got eight or ten thousand men together, he set forward, himself leading the vanguard: the sick and the artillery were conveyed in large boats on the Tagus. After crossing the Zezere, he was met by an envoy from Lisbon, entreating



him to suspend his march until terms could be arranged. From this envoy, he learned that the Regent and his court were preparing to make their escape to Brazil. Rejoicing in his heart at a determination which relieved him from much embarrassment, Junot refused to stop his march. The fertile plains by the Tagus were inundated, and the troops frequently marched up to their knees in water. The van of the army reached Sacavem, a village two leagues from Lisbon, on the 29th. Here, deputations from the city announced to the French general the departure of the royal family. They also asserted that the English fleet off the Tagus had land forces on board, and that the populace of Lisbon were in a state of excessive agitation. Junot sent them

back with a proclamation to the effect that "for the second time, Portugal was about to be indebted to France for her independence; and that he held the provisional government responsible for the public peace." Though holding this language, however, he was full of anxiety. The vanguard had advanced much beyond the rest of the army, and was itself reduced to about fifteen hundred men. The rest, worn out by fatigue and the incessant rains, had fallen behind. With this force, and in this condition, he approached the gates of the city on the evening of the 30th of November, 1807. He entered the capital of Portugal at the head of the skeletons, or rather wrecks of his four picked battalions, six-and-thirty hours after the royal family had embarked; and while, protected by the English fleet, they were still anxiously waiting for a wind to carry them out to sea. He hastened to Belem, the quay of Lisbon; ordered the Regent's cannoniers to fire on some vessels of the royal fleet, which were endeavouring to join the convoy, and compelled them to put back into the port; then garrisoned with his infantry the closed batteries on both sides of the Tagus, and returned to the city with the officers of his staff, having no other escort than thirty Portuguese horsemen. Pickets of the Portuguese royal police guard conducted the French troops to their allotted barracks. The signs of approaching convulsion entirely vanished, and the tranquillity of the city was not disturbed. "They had at last made their entrance," says General Foy; "those formidable warriors before whom Europe was dumb, and whose looks the Regent had not dared to encounter. A people possessed of a lively imagination, had expected to see heroes of a superior species,—colossuses, demi-gods. A long file of lean, limping soldiers, followed with lagging pace the scantily filled masses of the battalions. A forced march of eighteen days, famine, torrents, inundated valleys, and beating rain, had debilitated their bodies, and destroyed their clothing. They had hardly strength enough left to keep the step to the sound of the drum. The officers and generals themselves were worn out, and it may be said disfigured, by long and excessive fatigue. The artillery did not even march with the column of infantry. For the purposes of attack and defence, the troops had nothing but rusted firelocks, and cartridges soaked with water. The Portuguese had been prepared to feel terror; the only feeling which they now experienced was that of vexation, at having been astounded and brought under the yoke by a handful of foreigners. This contemptuous estimate of the French forces, in which every one indulged, in proportion to the fear that he had felt, left in the minds of the people, the seeds of revolt, which were soon ripened into vigorous existence by the course of events."

For the present, however, Portugal was conquered without having made an effort. The people were dispirited,—without leaders, and

without plan. They had seen themselves deserted by their hereditary rulers. The Regent, after having made every degrading concession required of him by Napoleon,—after having expelled the British factory and British minister, confiscated all English property, and shut his ports against English ships, had at length discovered that his submission came too late. The “*Moniteur*” already proclaimed that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign. The feeble prince had then begged and obtained the protection of the British squadron, and embarked without delay on board one of the vessels of his own fleet, accompanied in his flight by about fifteen thousand of the principal inhabitants of Portugal, carrying with them all the riches that could be removed. The people had crowded round the carriages which conveyed the Regent and his family to the quay. The old queen, seen among them on this day for the first time during a lapse of fifteen years, led the melancholy procession, with a face of vague wonder; uttering incoherent exclamations, which seemed to evince that a gleam of reason, sufficient to the comprehension of some overwhelming calamity, had visited her. The grief which the people experienced at this sight, changed afterwards into disgust and resentment. Their prince had not made common cause with them; but had fled, leaving them to their fate. The English squadron had received their navy with royal honours, and one squadron prepared to escort it to Brazil; but another blockaded the Tagus. An English armament had taken possession of Madeira, and orders were sent to India to seize Goa, and the other Portuguese settlements; and even Macao, in China, was not forgotten. Everything concurred in proving that Portugal had ceased to exist as a nation; and that between the two powerful governments, each pretending strict alliance and protection, its ruin was at hand.

At the same time, events seemed to conspire to tempt Napoleon upon the enterprise of interference with the Spanish monarchy. The influence of Godoy was hateful to the whole nation, and had become the cause of disunion in the royal family. A large party of the nobles had attached themselves to Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, the next heir to the throne; looking forward to his accession to free them from the odious yoke of the favourite. Ferdinand was about three-and-twenty years of age, and a widower, having been previously married to a daughter of the Queen of Naples. In order to gain an influence over him, Godoy proposed an alliance between the prince and Donna Maria de Bourbon, the sister of his own wife. Ferdinand revolted at this arrangement; and, probably instigated by his counsellors, made the following appeal—so bowed down was legitimacy—to the Emperor Napoleon:—*

* See “*History of the War in the Peninsula*, by General Foy,” vol. ii. p. 572.

"Sire,—the fear of incommoding your imperial and royal Majesty in the midst of your exploits and the great affairs which continually surround you, has hitherto prevented me from satisfying directly what has been my most ardent wish; namely, that of expressing, at least by writing, the sentiments of respect, esteem, and attachment, which I have vowed for a hero who eclipses all who have preceded him, and who has been sent by Providence to save Europe from the total subversion which threatened her; to settle her tottering thrones, and to restore peace and happiness to nations. The virtues of your I. M. (Imperial Majesty); your moderation and goodness, even towards your most unjust and implacable enemies, have all led me to hope that the expression of my sentiments would be received as the overflowing of a heart filled with admiration and the most sincere friendship.

"The situation in which I have been placed for a long time, and which cannot have escaped the piercing eye of your I. M., has also been a second obstacle to prevent my ready pen from expressing my wishes to your I. M.; but, full of the hope of finding the most powerful protection in your magnanimous generosity, I have come to the determination, not only of testifying my heartfelt sentiments for your august person, but also of pouring them into your bosom as into that of the most tender father. It is a great misfortune for me, that circumstances compel me to conceal as a crime an action so just and praiseworthy; but such are the fatal consequences of the extreme goodness of the best of kings. Filled with respect and filial love for the author of my being, I would never dare to repeat to any but your I. M. what you know better than myself; that these very qualities which are so estimable but too often serve as instruments in the hands of the designing for concealing the truth from sovereigns.

"If the men who, unfortunately, are found here, would allow him to know the character of your I. M. as I know it, with what ardour would he not wish to strengthen the ties that should unite our two houses! And what means are more proper for that, than my seeking the honour of allying myself to a princess of your august family? This is the unanimous wish of all my father's subjects, and would be also his own, I doubt not, in spite of the efforts of a few malevolent men, as soon as he knew the intentions of your I. M., which is all that my heart desires: but this is not the interest of the perfidious and selfish men who surround him; and they may, in an unguarded moment, take him by surprise. Nothing but respect for your I. M. can overturn their designs, open the eyes of my good and beloved parents, render them happy, and, at the same time, bestow happiness on my nation and myself. The whole world will more and more admire the goodness of your I. M., who will always find in me a son the most

devoted and grateful. I implore, therefore, with the greatest confidence, the protection of your majesty, in order not only to confer on me the honour of an alliance with your family, but to smooth all the difficulties, and remove all the obstacles, which may be opposed to this object of my wishes.

"This gracious effort on the part of your I. M. is so much the more necessary, as I, on my part, am totally unable to make any attempt of this nature; since it would be, perhaps, represented as an insult offered to paternal authority; and since I have only one means left me, that of refusing, with invincible constancy, to form an alliance with any one whatever, without the positive approbation and consent of your I. M., from whom alone, I wait the choice of a spouse. This is a happiness which I expect from the goodness of your I. M., praying God to preserve your valuable life many years.

"Written and signed with my own hand and seal, at the Escorial, October 11th, 1807, by your I. and R. M's. affectionate servant and brother,

"FERDINAND."

As the establishment of Ferdinand was full of the spies and creatures of Godoy, his proceeding was soon made known to the favourite, who found no difficulty in filling Charles IV. with the darkest suspicions of his son. Whether any proof existed of such designs, remains quite uncertain, but Ferdinand was publicly accused by the old king of having plotted his death, as well as that of the queen, and was placed under arrest.

Godoy had, however, scarcely been allowed time to enjoy his revenge, before he was seized with apprehension as to the view which Napoleon would take of the affair, and became full of dread lest he should himself seem to have slighted the idea of an imperial alliance for the prince. The French ambassador at Madrid had always attached himself to Ferdinand and his party: this circumstance added weight to the new turn of Godoy's thoughts. Charles IV. was, in consequence, made to write a letter to Napoleon, in which he dwelt on the crimes of his son as the excuse for his arrest; concluding by an entreaty that "his I. M. would aid him with his knowledge and wisdom." The whole matter was then hushed up as quickly as possible. Ferdinand was never brought to trial; but was induced to confess his "fault," and beg pardon for it, denouncing most of his intimate friends as the guilty parties. They were all brought to trial, but were declared innocent, the great object of the court being to put an end to the affair as quickly as possible. The letter of Ferdinand remained unanswered. As to Godoy, he was at present an instrument in the hands of Napoleon, and, therefore, countenanced by him. It cannot be doubted

that the vices and weaknesses of the Spanish dynasty, made apparent to Napoleon at this period, excited in him a degree of contempt which helped to lead him on to his ulterior projects respecting the Peninsula. But it appears that at this period he had formed no definite plan. He made a visit to Italy shortly after all these events, chiefly to take possession of the late kingdom of Etruria, when, it is said that he had an interview with his brother Lucien at Mantua, and promised him the crown of Portugal; so soon had the treaty of Fontainebleau been superseded in his mind. He also talked of allying the eldest daughter of Lucien to Ferdinand.





CHAPTER IV.

OCCUPATION OF SPAIN BY THE FRENCH—INSURRECTION OF ARANJUEZ—ABDICATION OF CHARLES IV.—FERDINAND VII.—FERDINAND'S JOURNEY TO BAYONNE—INSURRECTION OF MADRID—SECOND ABDICATION OF CHARLES IV.—JOSEPH BONAPARTE, KING OF SPAIN—INSURRECTION OF CADIZ—BATTLE OF RIO SECO—MURAT, KING OF NAPLES—CAPITULATION OF BAYLEN—JOSEPH LEAVES MADRID—SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY IN PORTUGAL—BATTLE OF VIMIERO—CONVENTION OF CINTRA—THE FRENCH EVACUATE PORTUGAL.



IN contradiction to the common belief concerning the insatiable ambition of Napoleon, his passion for war, and the necessity under which he wilfully placed all the sovereigns of Europe to exhaust their people in continual efforts for his destruction, we have uniformly maintained that, throughout the period of his history which has already come under our review, his wars were forced upon him, and a durable peace was impossible to him. The view which we have taken of the causes of that fierce and deadly struggle which devastated Europe, with little intermission, from the first coalition against the new order

of things in France, to the conclusion of the campaign of 1806, is fast gaining ground in this country, however opposed to long standing prejudices. The high authority of Colonel Napier is one among the influences likely to extend and permanently establish a just opinion on this subject. His valuable work, "The History of the Peninsular War," commences with the following words:—"The hostility of the European aristocracy caused the enthusiasm of republican France to take a military direction; and forced that powerful nation into a course of policy which, however outrageous it might appear, was, in reality, one of necessity. Up to the treaty of Tilsit, the wars of France were essentially defensive; for the bloody contest that wasted the continent so many years was not a struggle for pre-eminence between ambitious powers; not a dispute for some accession of territory, nor for the political ascendancy of one or other nation; but a deadly conflict, to determine whether aristocracy or democracy should predominate;—whether equality or privilege should henceforth be the principle of European governments.

"The French revolution was pushed into existence before the hour of its natural birth. The power of the aristocratic principle was too vigorous and too much identified with that of the monarchical principle, to be successfully resisted by a virtuous democratic effort; much less could it be overthrown by a democracy rioting in innocent blood, and menacing destruction to political and religious establishments, the growth of centuries,—somewhat decayed, indeed, yet scarcely shewing their grey hairs. The first military events of the revolution,—the disaffection of Toulon and Lyons; the civil war of La Vendée; the feeble, although successful, resistance made to the Duke of Brunswick's invasion; and the frequent and violent change of rulers whose fall none regretted,—were all proofs that the French revolution, intrinsically too feeble to sustain the physical and moral force pressing it down, was fast sinking when the wonderful genius of Napoleon, baffling all reasonable calculations, raised and fixed it on the basis of victory, the only one capable of supporting the crude production.

"Nevertheless, that great man knew the cause he upheld was not sufficiently in unison with the feelings of the age; and his first care was to disarm or neutralise monarchical and sacerdotal enmity, by restoring a church establishment, and by becoming a monarch himself." (Vain and hopeless idea! proved by the result to have been as deficient in expediency as in principle.) "Once a sovereign, his vigorous character, his pursuits, his talents, and the critical nature of the times, inevitably rendered him a despotic one: yet, while he sacrificed political liberty, which, to the great bulk of mankind, has never been more than a pleasing sound, he cherished, with the utmost care, equality;—a

sensible good that produces increasing satisfaction, as it descends in the scale of society. But this, the real principle of his government and secret of his popularity, made him the people's monarch, not the sovereign of the aristocracy, and hence Mr. Pitt called him 'the child and champion of democracy;' a truth as evident as that Mr. Pitt and his successors were the children and the champions of aristocracy: hence, also, the privileged classes of Europe consistently transferred their natural and implacable hatred of the French revolution to his person; for they saw that in him innovation had found a protector,—that he alone, having given pre-eminence to a system so hateful to them, was really what he called himself, 'the State.'

"The treaty of Tilsit, therefore, although it placed Napoleon in a commanding situation with regard to the potentates of Europe, unmasked the real nature of the war, and brought him and England, the respective champions of equality and privilege, into more direct contact; peace could not be between them while both were strong; and all that the French Emperor had hitherto gained, only enabled him to choose his future field of battle."

The first "field of battle" chosen by Napoleon, was Portugal; the second was destined to be Spain. We proceed to a detail of the opening events of that desolating war; events which, beginning in depravity and imbecility on the one hand, and intrigue and perfidy on the other, swelled into a torrent of violence, as uncontrollable as it was unexpected.

The Emperor returned from his Italian journey on the 1st of January, 1808. In this journey, he had taken possession of his new dominion of Tuscany, converted the port of Venice into a great naval arsenal, and decreed the opening of a canal to unite the Po with the Mediterranean. From Milan, also, he had dated fresh decrees, increasing the rigour of his continental system. At the same period, the port of Flushing, and the territories of Wesel, Cassel, and Kehl, were united to France; thus extending the empire along the whole course of the Rhine. While these accessions to the power of France were effected in Italy and Germany, a silent and insidious operation was progressing in Spain. The second and third armies of observation, commanded by Dupont and Moncey, amounting together to fifty-three thousand men, had advanced into that country, apparently with the view to reinforce Junot in Portugal; but, in fact, establishing themselves in Valladolid, Salamanca, Vittoria, Miranda, and the neighbourhood, they effectually cut off the capital from the northern provinces, and secured the road between Bayonne and Madrid. Small divisions marching from the frontier, continually increased their numbers, and finally General Duhesme penetrated into Catalonia, and established himself with twelve thousand men at Barcelona; while different detachments of

his army, by means of various treacherous artifices, possessed themselves of the fortresses of San Sebastian, Pampeluna, and San Fernando. These transactions were followed by the mission of Murat into Spain, to place himself at the head of the army as commander-in-chief.

It does not appear that the people were as yet roused to any jealous suspicion of the meaning of these extraordinary proceedings. They were groaning under the yoke of Godoy, whom they detested, and perhaps expected the French would effect some beneficial change in their condition. The court, however, at length took the alarm. Godoy could not but perceive that the treaty of Fontainebleau had become a dead letter; and that he himself, having served the purpose of the Emperor of France, was very likely to be abandoned to whatever fate might await him. The sudden dismissal of his agent, Izquierdo, from Paris, confirmed his fears. The tergiversations and intrigues of the Spanish court are necessarily clouded in some obscurity, but it appears to be pretty well established that Godoy, yielding to an abject panic, advised Charles IV. and his queen to imitate the example of the royal family of Portugal, and escape to America; and that to pave the way, he persuaded them to leave Madrid, and take up their abode at the palace of Aranjuez, where hasty preparations, and the collection of troops, soon roused a suspicion of their intention to comply with the wishes of their favourite. Preparations for their embarkation were made at Cadiz, and the divisions stationed in readiness to co-operate with Junot in Portugal were recalled. The friends and adherents of Ferdinand quickly caught at the opportunity to excite the populace, and a dangerous tumult occurred on the 17th of March, at Aranjuez, in which the cry of "Death to Godoy!" and reproaches against his name for "bringing the French army into the country," were first heard. It was in vain that the king declared he had no intention to leave his beloved subjects, and entreated them "to calm their fears, and act towards the troops of their sovereign's ally, as they had hitherto done." The insurrection spread. On the 18th, the house of Godoy at Madrid, was assaulted and sacked, and the guards refused on this occasion to fire upon the people. The unfortunate favourite only escaped from being torn to pieces, by hiding himself in a barn, where he lay concealed for four-and-twenty hours without food. The king, in the vain hope of appeasing the people, now declared that he "dismissed the Prince of Peace from all his employments, and would himself take the command of the troops:" but the riot continued. The houses of Godoy's relations and adherents, and those of the ministers of finance, were plundered. At length, the infuriated populace discovered Godoy in his hiding place: he was pelted with stones, dreadfully beaten, and rescued from massacre with



INSURRECTION AT MADRID.



the utmost difficulty by some soldiers of the body guard, who conveyed him to their barracks. The poor old king, unable to endure the danger and sufferings of his beloved Manuel, abdicated the throne on the 19th of March, making the safety of this cherished object the sole condition of his own relinquishment of sovereign authority. Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed king on the 20th of March, amidst the acclamations of the people of Madrid, and the universal joy of the nation. "Little did the people know," says Napier, "what they rejoiced at; and time has since taught them that the fable of the frogs demanding a monarch had its meaning."

The first act of the new king was to proclaim the confiscation of all the property of Godoy; to deprive him of his honours, and order his trial: the next, to recal from banishment and load with favours all those who had been implicated (by himself) in the conspiracy of the previous year. The Duke of Infantado, and the Canon Don Juan Escoiquiz, possessed the greatest influence over him. Assurances were presented to the Emperor of France from the new court, of continued and increased amity; and the request for an imperial alliance for Ferdinand was repeated. The troops were sent into canton-

ments; and three grandees of the highest rank were despatched to meet the Emperor, whose arrival in Spain was shortly expected.

On the 24th, Ferdinand made his public entry into Madrid on horseback. "No arrangements had been planned for receiving him," says Foy; "the public joy supplied the want of them. More than three hundred thousand men and women rushed to meet the young king, and rent the air with their acclamations. They were never tired of gazing upon him. Their eagerness so retarded his progress that he was several hours in proceeding from the promenade of the Delicias, to his palace, situated at the other end of the city. No transports of joy were ever more unanimous; and yet this prince had not received from nature any of those seductive external graces, and those inspiring qualities which win the multitude. In vain would have been sought in his features that good nature which marked those of Charles IV.; he more resembled his mother: though he was tall and well made, his figure wanted elegance; his motions were abrupt, his eye wandered, and he had none of the freshness of youth. The wretched manner of educating the Infants of Spain, the eternal slavery of etiquette, and more than these, the insulated state in which Ferdinand had been kept by the suspicions of the Prince of the Peace, had prolonged his childhood, and retarded the expansion of his intellectual faculties. He said little; and it could not be discerned whether his silence was the result of timidity or dissimulation. He was not known to have either virtues or vices; but it was known that he had had much both to suffer and to fear; and it was expected that the enemy of Godoy would redress the wrongs of the last reign."

Unwelcome guests were witnesses of this scene of tumultuous joy. Murat had marched towards the capital on hearing of the insurrection, and his troops occupied and completely commanded Madrid, Segovia, and Aranjuez, on the day before the entry of Ferdinand. This movement was unauthorised by Napoleon, and produced consequences beyond all appreciation. The people watched the line of conduct pursued by the representative of the Emperor of France with jealous anxiety, and his precipitation had placed him in circumstances in which he was forced to take a side. He did not recognise Ferdinand as king, and he extended his protection and confidence to the old sovereign. It was also observed, to the prejudice of his popularity, that he took up his abode in the palace of Godoy. Meantime, no answer was returned by Napoleon to the letters and proposals of Ferdinand; and this silence kept his court in the most cruel anxiety.

A very curious letter of this period is extant, written by Napoleon to Murat, which it is necessary to quote nearly entire, as it shews more clearly than could be done by pages of comment and theory, the real

causes of the events in Spain which followed. It is evident that Napoleon was dragged step by step, and against his will, into a war with that country; and that in interfering as he did with its internal concerns, he acted entirely contrary to the convictions of his reason. A more striking instance of seeing the right course, yet pursuing the wrong, was never displayed. In reading the following letter, full of the most clear-sighted opinions on the condition of the Spanish people, it is difficult to believe we are not reading a censure on the policy afterwards pursued by himself:—

“ March 29th, 1808.

“ Monsieur the Grand Duke of Berg,—I fear that you may deceive me concerning the situation of Spain, and that you may deceive yourself. The affair of the 20th of March has complicated events in a singular manner: I remain in great perplexity. Do not believe that you have to deal with an unresisting nation, and that the sight of your army is sufficient to subdue Spain. The revolution of the 20th of March proves that there is energy among the Spaniards. You have to deal with a fresh people, who possess all the courage, and will feel all the enthusiasm which is found among men not yet worn out by political passions. Spain is under the dominion of the aristocracy and the clergy; if they become alarmed for their privileges and their existence, they will raise levies in mass against us, which may render the war endless. I have partizans; but *if I present myself in the character of a conqueror, they will abandon me.* The Prince of Peace is detested, because he is accused of having delivered up Spain to France. This is the grievance which has favoured the usurpation of Ferdinand; the liberal party is the weakest.

“ The Prince of the Asturias has none of the qualities requisite for the chief of a nation; but, nevertheless, to oppose us, he will be transformed into a hero. I will have no violence used towards the individuals of the royal family: it can never answer any end to render oneself odious, and to excite hatred. Spain has more than a hundred thousand men under arms, which are more than sufficient to maintain an internal war with advantage. Scattered about in different directions, these forces may serve as so many rallying points for the insurrection of the whole country. I point out to you the dangers which are inevitable; but there are others which will doubtless occur to your mind. *England will not let this opportunity escape, of adding to our embarrassments.* She daily sends dispatches to her forces on the coasts of Portugal, and the Mediterranean; and she is enrolling Sicilians and Portuguese.

“ The royal family not having quitted Spain to go to the Indies, nothing but a revolution can change the condition of the country.

Spain is perhaps of all countries in Europe the least prepared for such an event. Those who see the monstrous vices of the government, and the anarchy which has superseded legal authority, are the smallest portion of the population. The majority profit by the vices and the anarchy. Acting for the interest of my empire, I can do great good to Spain. What are the best means to be pursued? Shall I go to Madrid? Shall I exercise the authority of a great mediator, and decide between the father and the son? It seems to me difficult to re-establish Charles IV. His government and his favourite are so unpopular, that they would not maintain themselves three months. Ferdinand is the enemy of France; and for that reason he has been made king. Placing him on the throne, will serve the interest of the factions which have for twenty-five years past aimed at the annihilation of France. A family alliance would be a feeble tie. Queen Elizabeth and other French princesses were cruelly dealt with, as soon as opportunities occurred for immolating them to atrocious vengeance with impunity. I think that there ought to be no precipitation; that the right way is to look to coming events. We must reinforce the corps on the frontiers of Portugal, and wait.

“ I do not approve of the course you have taken, in so rashly occupying Madrid. The army should have been kept at the distance of ten leagues from the capital. You could not be certain that the people and the magistracy were disposed to recognise Ferdinand, without a constitution. You will not engage for my having an interview *in Spain* with Ferdinand, unless you judge the situation of things to be such that I ought to recognise him as King of Spain. You will keep on good terms with the king, the queen, and Prince Godoy; you will exact for them and pay them, the same honours as formerly. You will conduct yourself in such a manner, that the Spaniards shall not suspect the course I am to adopt. This will not be difficult, *for I do not know it myself.* You will give the nobility and clergy to understand, that if France should interfere in the affairs of Spain, their privileges and immunities shall be respected. You will tell them that the Emperor wishes to improve the political institutions of Spain, to place them on a level with the state of civilisation in the rest of Europe, and to rescue the country from the dominion of favourites. You will tell the magistrates, the inhabitants of the towns, and the enlightened part of the population, that Spain must remodel the machinery of her government; that she must have laws to protect the citizens against despotism, and the usurpations of feudalism; and institutions which are calculated to revive industry, agriculture, and the arts. You will paint to them the state of tranquillity and comfort which France enjoys, in spite of the wars in which she has been engaged; the glory of her religion,

which owes its restoration to the concordat which I signed with the Pope. You will point out the advantages they may derive from a political regeneration, which will insure order and peace at home, and respect and power abroad. Do nothing precipitately. I may wait at Bayonne: I may cross the Pyrenees; and fortifying myself in the direction of Portugal, I may carry on the war in that quarter. Direct the marches of my army, so as to keep it always at the distance of several leagues from the Spanish corps. The destiny of Spain must be decided by policy and negociations. I charge you to avoid all explanations with Solano, as well as with the other Spanish generals. *If war should break out, all will be lost.*

"NAPOLÉON."

Savary was ordered to Madrid simultaneously with the date of this letter; probably with a view to restrain the imprudent impetuosity of Murat. Events, however, no longer capable of being controlled, rapidly succeeded each other. The old king, encouraged by the protection of the French court, declared that his abdication had been forced; and wrote to Napoleon to that effect. This further complication of affairs caused the Emperor to proceed without delay to Bayonne, whence he announced his intention shortly to visit Madrid. Ferdinand immediately despatched his brother, the Infant Don Carlos, to receive the Emperor on the frontiers. The young king next came to the unexpected resolution of setting forward to meet the Emperor in person. The motives which determined him to take a step so important in its consequences, have never been clearly revealed. Foy asserts that he was deceived into it by the intrigues of Savary, Murat, and the French ambassador, acting under the directions of Napoleon; but this is positively denied by Savary, and is thus adverted to by Napier:—"Some petty personal intrigue, may be found to have had a greater influence with him, than the grand machinations attributed to Napoleon, who could not have anticipated, much less have calculated, a great scheme upon such a surprising example of weakness."

Ferdinand left Madrid on the 10th of April, accompanied by his chief ministers and private confidants, having appointed a supreme junta to conduct the government in his absence, of which his uncle, Don Antonio, was president, and Murat a member. Everywhere throughout his progress, the people manifested their unequivocal dislike of this journey, which was continued from one city to another, in continual expectations of meeting Napoleon. At Vittoria, the populace rose in open tumult, cut the traces of the royal carriage, and were appeased with difficulty by the French division which occupied the town. Several loyal Spaniards of high rank, also repaired from distant parts of the country, to implore Ferdinand to return to his capital; but

unmoved by all these marks of zeal, and unwarned by a letter he received from Napoleon, withholding the title of "majesty," and freely animadverting on his late conduct, he continued his journey. From Irun, which he reached on the 19th, he sent forward an aide-de-camp to inform the Emperor that he should be at Bayonne on the next day, *if agreeable to his Majesty*. The Emperor could scarcely credit the message. "How!" he exclaimed, "is he coming? No! it is not possible!" "These words have been quoted," says Hazlitt, "to shew that Bonaparte had no malice prepense; no ill intentions in the business. They appear to me to shew the contrary. What! was France become a robber's cave, that it was dangerous for a foreign prince to trust himself in it? Every man who comes into your house, puts himself in your power; but that alone does not give you the right to seize upon his purse or person. It is true, it does not appear that Bonaparte either decoyed or invited the Spanish princes into his territory; he merely *let them come* upon an understanding of good faith: and all that he had to do was to *let them go back again*;—would that he had! It would have had a much less injurious effect if he had gained possession of their persons by main force, than under a mask of hospitality and friendship."

The Emperor sent no guard of honour to the frontier to meet his expected guest, but Berthier, Duroc, and the Count d'Angosse met him at a short distance from Bayonne. Napoleon visited him on his arrival, and received him at dinner with the usual forms of courtesy, but carefully avoided giving him the titles of majesty or highness; and (it is said) sent him the same night, an announcement, that he would be treated only as Prince of the Asturias till the king should arrive at Bayonne, when the dispute might be cleared up between them.

Charles IV. and his queen, arrived ten days afterwards. They were received by Napoleon with all the honours paid to powerful and independent sovereigns; and (which was far more grateful to their feelings) were immediately united once more to their beloved Godoy, who had been liberated, and conveyed out of Spain under French protection. In the midst of so many grave affairs, there is something extremely ludicrous in the description of the forms which were observed in the journey of these two royal personages. They travelled the whole way from Madrid to Bayonne in a cumbersome carriage of the time of Louis XIV., with four tall footmen in splendid liveries standing behind, exposed to the burning sun and clouds of dust; but this was disregarded, for the sake of observing the strict etiquette of the Spanish court.

The departure of Ferdinand, the escape of Godoy, the flight of the old king and queen, the appointment of Murat to the governing



junta, and the gradual concentration of the French troops around Madrid, roused the indignation of the Spaniards. Tumults and assassinations occurred in various places, and a serious insurrection burst out at Toledo, which was only quelled by the advance of a division of General Dupont's corps.

Meanwhile, fresh causes of exasperation were preparing for Spain, at Bayonne. Political conferences were held there daily, followed by all outward marks of courtesy to the old sovereigns, while Ferdinand was kept in a state little differing from strict imprisonment. The Empress Josephine had arrived on the 27th, and did the honours to these royal personages with her accustomed grace and dignity. Hazlitt gives an amusing account of a dinner party at the Chateau de Marrac,

where the French court was held. "The king and queen," he says, "brought the Prince of Peace with them, though he had not been invited. In going to the dining-room, Napoleon gave his hand to the queen; and walking faster than usual, he perceived it, and checked himself, saying,—'Your Majesty, perhaps, finds that I proceed rather fast?' 'Sire,' replied the queen, with a smile, 'it is your usual habit.' Bonaparte answered awkwardly enough, as if he had stumbled over something, that 'from his gallantry to the ladies, he made it a point to conform in all things to their tastes.' On sitting down to table, King Charles perceived that his favourite was not there:—'But Manuel—but Godoy?' he said: and the Emperor, smiling, made a sign that he should be admitted. The conversation turned on the etiquette and customs of the two courts; and Charles IV. spoke of his passion for hunting, to which he attributed in a great measure his gout and rheumatism. 'Every day,' said he, 'whatever the weather might be, winter and summer, I set off after breakfast; and, after having heard mass, I hunted till one o'clock, and returned to it again immediately after dinner till the close of day. In the evening, Manuel took the pains to let me know if affairs went well or ill; and I retired to bed to begin the same round on the morrow,—at least, unless some important ceremony required me at home.' Ever since his accession to the crown, the king had led no other life."

On the 28th of April, a proposition was tendered to Ferdinand, to accept the crown of Etruria in exchange for that of Spain. He was in a situation which did not admit of a free choice, but at a secret council, the Duke of Infantado signed a paper to the effect, that such a measure would be unlawful. Exaggerated rumours of these events had meanwhile become current at Madrid. All couriers were stopped at the frontiers, and in the absence of authentic intelligence, the people were left to their own excited imaginations. A French soldier was killed by a Spanish peasant in the streets, on the 1st of May. On the following morning, it chanced that the order arrived at Madrid for the immediate departure of the Ex-King and Queen of Etruria to join their parents. The people saw them depart in gloomy silence; but the sight of another carriage in preparation gave rise to the idea, probably a correct one, that they were to be accompanied by Don Antonio, the last remaining member of the royal family. The news spread like wild-fire, and was the signal of a general insurrection in the city. The traces of the carriage were cut, an immense crowd collected round the palace, and loud imprecations against the French burst forth on every side. The French soldiers, unprepared for violence, were killed in the streets, to the number of four hundred. The hospital also was attacked, and the attendants and the sick were forced to de-

fend themselves from massacre. The alarm having spread to the French camp, a body of cavalry galloped into the city, followed by three thousand infantry, who succeeded in restoring order after a desperate conflict, in which about one hundred and twenty Spaniards fell, and some hundreds were made prisoners. Murat proceeded to try the latter by a military commission, which sentenced them to death; but the municipality interfering, to avert this vindictive retaliation upon an insulted and injured—however infuriate—people, Murat retracted the sentence. Forty men were however shot upon the Prado, by General Grouchy, before the enforcement of the counter-order; and the next day, according to the best authorities, forty-five more were put to death by a colonel of the imperial guard. This cold blooded cruelty, and the liberation of Don Manuel Godoy, were the two deeds of the French which the Spaniards never forgave.

The insurrection of Madrid hastened the fate of Ferdinand, who was accused of having instigated it. He was summoned into the presence of the Emperor, and the king and queen, on the arrival of the dispatches which brought the news. The three sovereigns received him as a criminal. The king loaded him with virulent reproaches; and the queen, it is said, went so far as to tell him, in presence of her husband, that he was the son of another man. Her violence inspired Napoleon with a kind of horror; and he used to compare her appearance on the occasion, to that of a fury on the Grecian stage. Ferdinand said little in reply to the invectives with which he was loaded, and that little implied entire submission. As to Charles IV., he seemed to have but one idea; which was, to escape from all further trouble and danger, by conciliating the Emperor at any expense. He removed Don Antonio from his office of president of the governing junta at Madrid, and put Murat in his place, with the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Finally, by a treaty executed on the 5th of May, 1808, he once more abdicated the throne of Spain, with its kingdoms and territories, "in favour of his friend and faithful ally, the Emperor of the French." The cession took place under the express condition, that the integrity and independence of the country should be preserved entire, and that the Roman Catholic religion alone should be tolerated in Spain.

Two days afterwards, Ferdinand signed an instrument relinquishing all right as heir to the throne; to which the Infants Don Carlos, Don Francisco, and Don Antonio, subscribed their names. The four princes were immediately sent to Valençay, the mansion of the Prince of Benevento, where they remained for several years; the title of "royal highness," and a certain revenue, being secured to them by treaty. The favourite amusement of Ferdinand in his retirement, is

said to have been the embroidering of petticoats for the **Virgin Mary**. He also frequently amused his mind by writing letters to **Napoleon**, demanding an alliance with some lady of the imperial family. In journeying towards **Valençay**, the princes despatched a proclamation to the Spanish nation, explaining the motives by which they had been actuated in relinquishing their natural rights; and claiming the submission of the Spanish nation to another sovereign, as its greatest proof of fidelity to them. While outwardly pretending submission, however, a secret document from **Ferdinand**, conveyed by an indirect channel, had already informed the junta, that he was not at liberty: that he gave them unlimited power to act in his name; and ordered them to commence hostilities as soon as he should be carried into the interior of France. He thus coolly invited his subjects to rush into the thickest of the danger, in order to recover his own personal privileges, which he had himself pusillanimously renounced at the mere sound of threats and reproaches.

The old king and queen, with **Godoy**, set off a few days afterwards for **Fontainebleau**. Ample revenues, titles, and dignities, had been confirmed to them; yet **Charles IV.** had parted with his dominions in a singularly easy manner: "**Weakness of understanding**," says **Hazlitt**, "when joined with good-nature, has a tendency to make the possessors indifferent to power, which is only an encumbrance to them, as they see no use they can make of it: the same want of understanding, combined with malice and pride, makes them proportionably tenacious of authority,—for mischief finds its objects better than goodnature; and the poorest creature (if trusted with power) can torment and worry a whole nation, which thenceforward becomes his delight and ruling passion. Such seems to have been the difference between the father and son in the present instance. **Charles IV.** could scarcely be said himself to quit a throne, which he had only nominally ascended; he had no farther satisfaction in a country from which **Godoy** had been banished, and could still exercise his sovereign pleasure in playing duets on the fiddle, without waiting for the person who was to accompany him."

The throne of Spain being now vacant, **Napoleon** proclaimed his will that it should be filled by a member of his own family. After a short period of hesitation, the council of Castile, in concert with the municipality of **Madrid**, and the governing junta, declared that their choice had fallen on **Joseph Bonaparte**, then King of **Naples**; **Cardinal Bourbon**, Archbishop of **Toledo** and Primate of **Spain**, the first cousin of **Charles IV.**, acceding to the arrangement on the part of the church. The result of the election had been easily foreseen, and the King of **Naples** was already on his way, having left, with great

regret, his peaceful government, in which he had already effected the most salutary reforms. Napoleon, at the head of a brilliant retinue, met him two leagues from Bayonne, on the 7th of June, and conducted him to the Chateau de Marrac, where the Duke of Infantado, and all the Spanish nobility there present, immediately offered their homage



to the new king. They were succeeded by deputations from the councils of Castile, the Inquisition, and the army. Napoleon had summoned a meeting of all the principal men of Spain, at Bayonne, on the 15th of June. Ninety-one Spaniards of eminence answered the summons; and this "assembly of notables," as it was called, accepted Joseph as king, together with the new constitution prepared by the Emperor. The constitution was calculated to draw forth all the resources of Spain: it closely resembled that which was afterwards established by the Cortes, and for which the best and purest patriots of Spain suffered and bled under the scourge of the traitor Ferdinand. It abolished the Inquisition and the feudal services, annulled all the most oppressive imposts and restraints on internal trade, and restored the Cortes, or national representatives. It would have been a blessing to Spain, had the country been ripe to receive it, and the hand which offered it been honoured and trusted. Yet Napoleon (who, forgetting that these indispensable conditions were utterly wanting, gave to Spain a new dynasty, and aimed a deadly blow at the tyranny of priests and nobles) had written these words only two months before:—*"The state of Spain can only be changed by a revolution. It is, perhaps, of all countries in Europe, the least prepared for one. The aristocracy and the clergy are the masters of Spain. If they are*

alarmed for their privileges and existence, they will bring into the field against us levies in mass, which might eternise the war. England will not let the opportunity escape, of adding to our embarrassments." Those who proudly proclaim that "knowledge is power," may learn something of the conditions of our being, by examples such as this.

The oath to the new king and constitution, was duly taken by the proper authorities; thanks were voted to the Emperor; and an administration was formed for the new Spanish government, among whom was the Duke of Infantado. On the 9th of July, 1808, Joseph crossed the frontiers of France, and began his journey towards his capital, which he entered on the 20th, accompanied by his officers of state, the principal grandees of Spain, and the entire assembly of notables, in the midst of a great concourse of people, and a profound and ominous silence.

Joseph had become, in fact, the nominal king of a country, which was in open revolt against his authority from one end to the other. In Catalonia, Valencia, Andalusia, Estremadura, Gallicia, and the Asturias, the cry of war had been raised,—the people were gathering, and fiercely declaring their resolution never to submit to the French yoke. Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed, and the new constitutional act burned by the common hangman, even in towns from which the smoke of the French camps could be seen. The rising was everywhere begun by the lower classes. The rich, the men in office, the soldiery, would have submitted, but the people forced them into insurrection, and some horrible murders were the result of their first resistance. The influence of the priests was exerted to the utmost, and in all directions. Signs and miracles, in various places, were declared to shew that the Deity had identified the cause of the Spaniards with His own. Large drops of sweat had been seen to trickle down the face of "Our Lady of battles;" and a clinking of arms was heard on the tomb of St. James. The Bishops of Santander and Oviedo, were at the head of the insurrections in their respective provinces. The country was inundated with proclamations like the following:—"To arms! are we not the children of heroes? What right then has this foreigner over us? What benefits have we to expect from the protector of Godoy? Had he not been his accomplice, would he have rescued that infamous wretch from the scaffold? Above a King of Castile, there is no one but God. To arms! to arms!—he against whom you combat is an infidel. He has raised up again the synagogues of the Jews; he has robbed the Pope of his territories; he has dispersed the sacred college of cardinals. He would shake the church, were it possible for the gates of hell to prevail against her. Ye fight for your natal soil, your properties, your laws, your king, your religion,

and the life to come! Arm your minds with the fear of God; implore the aid of the immaculate conception; the holy mother of God will never desert us in so just a cause."

Balthazar Calvo, a canon of Madrid, organised the rising in Valencia, which was pre-eminent in cruelty. He had blessed the poniards which he distributed to the people; and his career was only stopped at last by a violent death, after he had become the scourge of friends and foes.



The powerful passions of pride, patriotism, revenge, and superstition, excited the people to heroic acts of daring, and maddened them into atrocious barbarities. Some of their most virtuous countrymen were assassinated with aggravated circumstances of ferocity. The French residents were massacred. A French general was thrown alive into boiling water: many were sawed in two.

The revolt took the most formidable character, at this early period of the war, in Cadiz and Seville. The Spanish army, commanded by Solano, lately returned from Portugal, was encamped at San Roque, in the neighbourhood of those cities. Seville, important from its position, its population, and its proximity to the only army the monarchy

had still on foot, first assumed the appearance of a regularly organised system of opposition to the common enemy. After a dreadful ferment, in which the Condé d'Aguilar, a virtuous and accomplished nobleman, was dragged from his carriage, and inhumanly butchered, the influential classes saw the necessity of taking a part in the proceedings of the people. They formed a junta, composed of twenty-three members, of which Don Juan Saavedra, was called to take the presidency. It assumed the title of "The Supreme Junta of Government of Spain and the Indies." These proceedings had taken place on the 27th of May. The Supreme Junta commanded all the men, between sixty and forty-five, to take arms; called upon the troops at San Roque to acknowledge their authority; and ordered Solano to attack a French squadron of five ships of war, lying in the harbour of Cadiz. For hesitation in complying, the unfortunate general was attacked in his own house by a furious mob, headed by a young novice of the Carthusian convent of Xeres. Solano escaped by the roof, but was seen and pursued by a workman. Turning on his pursuer, he seized and threw him into the street. The man, writhing on the ground with a broken thigh, pointed out to the howling multitude the spot where a parapet concealed their victim from their sight. Several of them rushed up to the place, laid hands upon him, wounded him with their daggers, dragged him from street to street, and after subjecting him to this torture, put him to death in the square of San Juan de Dios. Castaños, on whom the command of the troops now devolved, solemnly recognised the Junta of Seville, and thus put ten thousand men at their disposal. The French squadron was seized, a negociation was opened with Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Governor of Gibraltar, and with the commanders of the British ships lying off the coast: deputies were sent to every part of Spain, and to England, to America, the Canaries, and Portugal. The English commanders did not wait for orders from their government, then at war with Spain, but furnished the patriots with arms, ammunition, and money; and the merchants of Gibraltar advanced to them a loan of forty-two thousand dollars. On the 6th of June, the Supreme Junta formally declared war against Napoleon, and solemnly protested, that they would never lay down their arms, until Ferdinand was re-established on his throne.

The Supreme Junta then proceeded to organise the whole of Spain. They ordered that in every town possessing two thousand houses and upwards, a junta should immediately be formed, consisting of six persons, under whose direction all the constituted authorities should continue their functions; and that in places of less consequence, the municipality should act. The enrolment of all males from sixteen to

forty-five, for military service, was ordered; and their pay and maintenance was provided by forced loans and assessments. In less than four-and-twenty hours from the moment that the orders arrived at every place, the juntas were universally established, such was the zeal of the people and their rage against the French. The general orders issued by the Supreme Junta throughout the kingdom, were "to avoid general actions; to march against the foe with insulated parties; never to leave him at rest; to be always hanging on his flanks and rear; to intercept his convoys, and ruin his magazines; to appear in force on the communications of Spain with Portugal and France; and to take all advantage of the natural defences and capabilities of the country."

Colonel Napier has given in his clear, simple, and vigorous style, an admirably just view of the nature and causes of this sudden rising of a whole people with united will and determined purpose. We quote the passage almost entire. "This universal and nearly simultaneous effort of the Spanish people," says he, "was beheld by the rest of Europe with astonishment and admiration. In England the enthusiasm was unbounded. Men of all classes gave way to the impulse of a generous sympathy, and forgot or felt disinclined to analyse the real causes of this apparently magnanimous exertion. It may however be fairly doubted, if the disinterested vigour of the Spanish character was the true source of the resistance; it was in fact produced by several co-operating causes, many of which were far from commendable. Constituted as modern states are, with little in their systems of government or education adapted to nourish intense feelings of patriotism, it would be miraculous indeed if such a result was obtained from the pure virtue of a nation, which for two centuries had groaned under the pressure of civil and religious despotism.

"The Spanish character, with relation to public affairs, is distinguished by inordinate pride and arrogance. Dilatory and improvident, the individual as well as the mass, all possess an absurd confidence that everything is practicable which their heated imaginations suggest. Once excited, they can see no difficulty in the execution of a project, and the obstacles they encounter are attributed to treachery; hence the sudden murder of so many virtuous men at the commencement of this commotion. With a strong natural perception of what is noble; kind and warm in his attachments, but bitter in his anger, the promise of the Spaniard is lofty, but his performance is mean; he is patient under privations, firm in bodily suffering, prone to sudden passion, vindictive, bloody, remembering insult longer than injury, and cruel in his revenge. Now the abstraction of the royal family, and the unexpected pretension to the crown so insultingly put forth by Napoleon had aroused all the Spanish pride; the protection afforded to Godoy

increased the ferment, because a dearly cherished vengeance was thus frustrated at the moment of its expected accomplishment; and then came the tumult of Madrid with the French retaliations, which, swollen and distorted, was cast like Cæsar's body before the people to urge them to phrenzy; they arose, not to meet a danger, the extent of which they had calculated, and were prepared for the sake of independence to confront; but to gratify the fury of their hearts, and to slake their thirst of blood.

“During Godoy's administration, the property of the church had been trenched upon, and it was evident, from the examples of France and Italy, that under the new system the operation would be increased; this was a matter that involved the interests of a multitude of monks and priests, who found no difficulty in persuading an ignorant and bigoted people that the aggressive stranger was also the enemy of religion, and accursed of God. With processions, miracles, prophecies, distribution of reliques, and the appointment of saints to the command of the armies, they fanaticised the mass of the patriots; monks and friars were, invariably, either leaders in the tumults, or at the side of those who were instigating them to barbarous actions.

“The continental system, which threatened to destroy the trade of the maritime towns, was another spring of this complicated machinery; the abolition of the vexatious monopolies, and internal restrictions upon trade, was another. The first enlisted with the patriots all the activity and intelligence of the merchants engaged in foreign commerce; the second, all the numbers and lawless violence of the great bands of smugglers, and about one hundred thousand excise and custom-house-officers; the ‘occupation’ of both of which classes would cease with the restrictions which had brought them into existence, and with the introduction of a system of armed revenue officers, organised after the French manner, and stimulated by a vigorous administration.

“The evils which had afflicted the country previous to the period of the French interference, also tended to prepare the Spaniards for violence. They had been taught to believe that Godoy was the sole author of the misery they suffered; that Ferdinand would redress their grievances; and as the French were the protectors of the former, and the oppressors of the latter, it was easy to add this bitterness to their natural hatred of the domination of a stranger.

“The state of civilisation in Spain, was likewise exactly suited to an insurrection; for if the people had been a little more enlightened, they would have joined the French; if very enlightened, the invasion could not have happened at all. But in a country where the comforts of civilised society are less needed, and therefore less attended to than

in any other part of Europe; where the warmth and dryness of the climate render it no sort of inconvenience to sleep for the greatest part of the year in the open air, and where the universal custom is to go armed; it was not difficult for any energetic man to keep together large masses of the ignorant peasantry. No story could be too gross for their belief, if it agreed with their wishes. 'Es verdad, los dicen,' — 'It is true; they say it,' is the invariable answer of a Spaniard, if a doubt is expressed of the truth of an absurd report. Temperate, possessing little furniture, and generally hoarding all the gold he can get, he is less concerned for the loss of his home, than the inhabitant of another country would be; and the efforts which he makes in relinquishing his house, must not be measured by the scale of an Englishman's exertions in a like case: once engaged in an adventure, the lightness of his spirits and the brilliancy of his sky, make it a matter of indifference to the angry peasant whither he wanders. If the Spaniards at first appeared heedless of danger, it was not because they were prepared to perish rather than submit; but that they were reckless of provoking a power whose terrors they could not estimate, and in their ignorance, despised."

In the beginning of June, the French possessed a moveable force of nearly fifty thousand men, and eighty guns, in Spain; besides about twenty thousand more, who garrisoned the different fortresses. They were disposed in a masterly manner; every one of the armed masses having been put in motion by the directions of Napoleon himself, at Bayonne. It had now become necessary to act on many points at once; the problem being how to combine all the movements on such a plan, as that the several corps of the army, working upon one principle, might mutually support and strengthen each other; and at the same time preserve their communication with France. Murat returned to France towards the middle of June, on account of illness, and Savary was left at the head of the troubled affairs of Spain. At this period, the insurrection had assumed a more formidable appearance in Galicia, than even in Andalusia, chiefly because the port of Corunna afforded an easy communication with England; and money, arms, and clothing, were poured into the province by British agents. That division of the Spanish army which had occupied the north of Portugal, had also joined the patriots of Galicia, and a strict communication existed between them and the patriots of Portugal. Saragossa, too, had become a place of great importance, as it might have formed a point of junction between the insurgents of Valencia and those of Arragon; and the two united, might have supported the Catalonians, now isolated and held in check by a French division, under General Duhesme.

The operations of the French army were commenced by Bessières, who was ordered to put Burgos in a state of defence; to detach four or five thousand men under General Lefebvre Desnouettes, in order to form the siege of Saragossa; to keep down the insurgents of Biscay, Asturias, and Old Castile; to observe the army assembling in Galicia; and to occupy the port of Santander, and the coast towns. A reinforcement of nine thousand men was sent to Duhesme, to enable him to overcome the Catalonians, and co-operate with a division marching from Madrid against Valencia. The reserve, consisting of four thousand men under General Drouet, watched the passes of the Pyrenees; and all the other generals were ordered to correspond with him daily. A smaller reserve was established at Perpignan. The rear of the French army being thus secured, the main body began offensive operations. Marshal Moncey marched upon Cuença, to intercept the Valencian army on its advance towards Saragossa; General Dupont was ordered with ten thousand men to take the route of Cadiz; while the remainder of his and Moncey's corps were distributed in reserve, in various parts of La Mancha. Segovia was put in a state of defence; Gobert's division was to co-operate with Bessières, on the side of Valladolid; and moveable columns were ordered to scour the country in rear of the principal bodies, uniting at stated times when required.

The operations of Bessières were completely successful; by the 23rd of June he had disarmed the provinces against which he had acted, and compelled the authorities of Segovia, Valladolid, Palencia, and Santander, to send deputies to take the oath of submission to Joseph.

The expedition of Lefebvre Desnouettes against Arragon, began in a similar series of advantages gained by the French arms, but ended very differently; for his operations concluded with the first siege, and the heroic defence of Saragossa. Twenty thousand of the citizens had proclaimed Don Josef Palafox Captain-General of Arragon, chiefly on account of his fidelity to Ferdinand, whom he had accompanied to Bayonne: he was very young, and inexperienced, but was calculated to be an object of popular enthusiasm—being handsome, accomplished, and of a noble family. Once engaged in the cause, he was never suffered to waver or turn back, for a fierce band of priests and citizens watched his proceedings, and made him their instrument. All the soldiers who had deserted from provinces occupied by the French, the engineer officers from Alcala, and the students of the university, formed the nucleus of an army, which swelled to about ten thousand. Palafox endeavoured, but in vain, to oppose the progress of the French towards Saragossa. The five thousand disciplined troops of Lefebvre, put his raw levies to flight at Mallen, and at the passage of the Xalon; and on

the 16th of June, were at the gates of Saragossa. A French battalion pursued the fugitive Spaniards into the city, and advanced along the great street of the Corso; but then, observing the preparations for defence, retreated, being afraid of an ambuscade. Their retreat emboldened the populace. During four-and-twenty hours, thousands of hands were employed in raising defences, quite sufficient to secure the city from surprise. Saragossa was surrounded by a wall of only ten feet in height, and three in thickness; but it was manned by crowds of determined men, assisted by their wives and daughters. The large convents and churches in the outskirts, were also turned into fortresses. Palafox, meanwhile, despairing of the defence, left the city to collect fresh troops, and again attacked the French in the open field, but was defeated, with the loss of two thousand men at Epila. On the 1st of July, he re-entered Saragossa, with the remains of his troops. The French army was reinforced towards the end of June. After several sorties, attacks, and defences, the outposts were taken, the Ebro was passed, and by the 12th of July, Saragossa was regularly blockaded by eight thousand men, with fifty pieces of cannon; a number, not sufficient however, to invest it closely. The defence continued with the most desperate determination.

An important battle was fought in another quarter during the progress of this memorable siege. The army of Galicia, under General Cuesta, had received formidable reinforcements towards the end of June. The English government no sooner learned the situation of affairs in Spain, than they perceived they had at last found a field of action against Napoleon on the continent of Europe. Their first proceeding was to set at liberty all their Spanish prisoners, and to land them at Corunna, armed and equipped, under the superintendence of Lieutenant-Colonel Doyle, and other English officers. They sent, at the same time, fifty thousand muskets, and suits of clothing. The army, so fitted out, effected a junction with the army of the north of Portugal, commanded by Blake, in the beginning of July, at Benevente; forming, when united, a force of about thirty thousand men. Bessières immediately collected together fifteen thousand men, and coming up with the Spanish army at Rio Seco, on the 14th of July, defeated it with great loss. A great part of the fugitives who escaped, dispersed: the two Spanish generals separated in anger, and this important victory struck such terror into the province, that submission to Joseph became general, and his entry into his capital was secured. Napoleon attached the greatest consequence to this success, and observed on the occasion, that "Bessières had placed Joseph on the throne;" but events in the south quickly altered the aspect of affairs, and disconcerted all his calculations.

Marshal Moncey and General Dupont had been despatched about the end of May from Madrid; Moncey, to pacify Valencia; Dupont, to take possession of Andalusia. The serious aspect which the insurrections in both quarters afterwards assumed, was not at that period suspected. Moncey's army amounted to between eight and ten thousand men, and it was intended that the division of General Chabran from Portugal should join him; but this junction could never be effected. When Moncey arrived at Cuenca, the insurrection was spreading in his front and rear. The atrocious actions of the monk Calvo had already desolated Valencia, and two hundred peaceable French inhabitants had been massacred in that city. After passing the Tagus, Moncey found a body of several thousand armed peasants, and eight hundred Swiss troops of the line, stationed in the defiles of the mountains to oppose his progress; but he forced their position, and put them to flight with the loss of only nine of his men. Further on, a force amounting to ten thousand confronted him in the passes of the Cabrillas; but these he also put to flight. Finally, on the 28th of June, the French army appeared before Valencia, after another desperate attempt of the Spaniards to resist them; but here the advantages of the French terminated. The resolute courage of the inhabitants rendered abortive every attempt to take the city. The approaches to the gates were literally piled with dead and wounded soldiers. The situation of the French army had become critical, and it was necessary to commence a retreat. This was effected at nightfall, and in good order, leaving the Valencians in triumph. The corps of Marshal Moncey reached Albacete early in July, having suffered severely in the expedition.

General Dupont, on his part, had only arrived at Andujar when he received intelligence of the wide-spreading insurrections of Cadiz and Seville, and learned that the Swiss regiments stationed in Andalusia had joined the Spaniards. Under these circumstances, he ought not to have proceeded without reinforcements. He marched onwards, however, towards Cordova; and after putting to flight a large force which opposed him two leagues from that city, he pursued them to the gates, and forced an entrance. The French soldiers are said to have committed terrible excesses in Cordova, but discipline was soon restored. The disastrous battle which preceded his entrance had struck such terror into the province, that had he immediately advanced upon Seville, the patriot cause would have been ruined. He, however, remained perfectly inactive for ten days, during which interval Castaños, the Spanish commander, zealously assisted by Reding, who commanded the Swiss, made the most vigorous preparations for resistance. Alarmed by the activity displayed on all sides, Dupont then resolved on a re-

treat. His dispatches to Madrid, demanding reinforcements, and breathing nothing but despondency, uniformly fell into the hands of his energetic enemies, as did the orders which, one after another, were transmitted by Savary, who lost all presence of mind under the difficulties of his position. The confidence of the Spaniards rose with the evident irresolution of the French. Dupont commenced his retreat, and returned to Andujar on the 18th of July. Here he found terrible instances of Spanish cruelty. His hospital had been attacked, and the sick and wounded, together with the medical attendants, to the number altogether of four hundred men, murdered with circumstances of extraordinary barbarity. It was here also that the unfortunate General Renè was sawed in two, after suffering frightful mutilation. Dupont took a revenge of that kind which places the French in a similar position of abhorrence on this occasion. He despatched a battalion of infantry and one of cavalry to punish the town of Jaen, from which the bands of murderers had sallied forth. These soldiers, stealing on their prey like a herd of wild beasts, committed atrocities on the wretched inhabitants, at the bare idea of which humanity shudders. All parties vied with each other, not as men, but as monsters. Meanwhile, the patriot force was gathering in great numbers.

On the 18th of July, Dupont, still in position at Andujar, found himself in front of the army of General Castaños, upwards of twenty-five thousand strong; while Reding, at the head of twenty thousand more, occupied Balen, and large numbers of armed peasantry co-operated with the armies. Generals Videt and Gobert had, however, joined Dupont, and the whole French force amounted to upwards of twenty thousand men, but it was weakened by unskilful division. After an ill-fought action, in which he lost two thousand of his men, General Dupont effected a retreat to Baylen, and there entered into a convention, by which eighteen thousand French soldiers laid down their arms, on condition of being sent back to France by sea.

The immediate effect of the disaster of Baylen was very great; but its ulterior results were incalculable. Events comparatively trifling in themselves, are often productive of vast consequences. In the present instance, it was the moral impression of the event which gave it importance. The imperial eagles were disgraced; the hitherto dreaded soldiers of France had laid down their arms before an army of ill-disciplined, raw levies. All the Spanish pride and self-confidence was roused afresh; and England, with renewed enthusiasm, supported the patriot cause.

The Spanish commanders, at first, scarcely understood the extent of the advantage they had obtained: when they had recognised it in its full consequences, they forgot all honour in the height of their exultation;



and shamefully broke the terms of this equally shameful capitulation. Dupont, with the other generals, alone returned to France. Numbers of the troops were maltreated and murdered; the rest were cast on board the hulks at Cadiz, or transported to the desert island of Cabrera: only a few hundreds of all that fine army survived at the end of the war. Dupont was accused by his men of treacherously sacrificing them to preserve the plunder he had collected; and it is said that while the Spaniards subjected them to the indignity of searching their knapsacks, they pointed to the wagons which were carrying off the riches to which they had been sacrificed.

General Dupont, and all the officers concerned in the capitulation of Baylen, who were permitted to return to France, were arrested and held in prison. Napoleon deeply appreciated the importance of the reverse which his arms had sustained; but he still more bitterly felt the disgrace. It is said that to the latest period of his life he manifested uncontrollable emotion at the mention of this disaster. Subsequently, an imperial decree appeared, which prohibited every general, or commander of a body of men, to treat for any capitulation while in the open field; and declared disgraceful and criminal, and, as such, punishable with death, every capitulation of that kind, of which the result should be to make the troops lay down their arms.





SIEGE OF SARAGOSSA.

When the bad news reached the capital, Joseph called a council of war, and after some deliberation, it was determined to abandon Madrid, and retire behind the Ebro. Little more than a month had elapsed between the proclamation of Joseph as King of Spain, and this retreat, which took place on the 1st of August. Napoleon had, meanwhile, conferred the vacant throne of Naples upon Murat.

Saragossa, hard pressed by the French, and suffering from famine and sickness, still held out. The besiegers had effected several practicable breaches on the 4th of August; they entered the city, overthrowing all opposition, and carried the strong position of the Convent of Santa Engracia. Lefebvre dated, from his new quarters, a summons to the town in these words:—"Santa Engracia:—Capitulation?" The answer returned was:—"Saragossa:—War to the knife's blade!" The actions of the besieged amply sustained the daring resolution of their words. The French were now in the city; but every house was a fortress which could only be carried by storm. "The citizens fought," says Scott, "from street to street, from house to house, from chamber to chamber; the contending parties often occupied different apartments of the same house; the passages which connected them were choked with dead." The besiegers had lost two thousand five hundred men in the course of the contest; the besieged, two thousand. The city must, at length, have fallen, but it was saved by the defeat of Dupont. The siege was raised, and the French army retreated, by orders of King Joseph, on the 12th of August, leaving the heroic defenders triumphant.

Very shortly after the affairs of Spain had taken a turn so disadvantageous to Napoleon, events still more decisive had occurred in Portugal. After the subjugation of that country by Junot, he quickly assumed the appearance of a despotic conqueror. He collected all his stragglers, and maintained his army in fine condition by exorbitant demands on the resources of the people. The well-stored arsenal of Lisbon was used to the greatest advantage under his able management: his artillery was in admirable condition, and he armed and refitted two line-of-battle ships, three frigates, and seven lighter vessels, which served to overawe the town. He also organised an efficient police, a measure highly advantageous to the inhabitants, no less than to the conquerors, but which was strongly conducive to his unpopularity. Nothing that he did in Portugal gave greater offence than his clearing the streets of Lisbon of the swarms of wild dogs with which they were infested, and cleansing the city effectually. He was created Duke of Abrantes, by Napoleon, in December, 1807, and continued in his command. Upon this, he suppressed the council of regency, and openly seized the reins of government. The arms of Portugal were replaced by those of France; but not without an out-

break of popular indignation. Eight thousand men, under the command of the Marquis d'Alorna and Gomez Freire, were sent out of the kingdom; five thousand were attached to the French army; and the rest were disbanded. Besides the expenses of his government, Junot was an oppressive ruler, because, being a man of dissolute and extravagant habits, he was necessarily rapacious. To add to the misery of Portugal, Napoleon laid it under a contribution of four millions sterling, to which he gave the extraordinary title of a ransom for the state. Even Junot perceived the exorbitance of such a demand, and prevailed on him to reduce it one half. The royal family had drawn large sums from the people before their departure for Brazil, and had carried off the greater part of the church plate, and all the bullion of the kingdom, leaving the public functionaries, the army, private creditors, and even domestic servants, unpaid. The remainder of the valuables of the church, the confiscated English property, and all the money that could be collected, now went to Napoleon. It may readily be supposed that a people so oppressed, hailed with joy the first sound of the Spanish insurrection. Junot's situation became difficult and precarious as it progressed. He had possessed, in March, 1808, an army of fifty thousand men, of whom rather more than half were Spaniards and Portuguese: but in June, a successful revolt against the French took place at Oporto, which was joined by the Spanish division quartered there. The corps commanded by the unfortunate General Solano, and, after his death, by Castaños, was already, as we have seen, co-operating with the Junta of Seville. By an effort of extreme promptitude and address, Junot succeeded in disarming all the remainder, and placing them as prisoners on board the hulks in the Tagus. Junot's army was thus reduced at once to eight-and-twenty thousand men, among whom were about four thousand Portuguese. A Russian squadron, however, containing six thousand seamen and marines, lay in the Tagus; but to counterbalance this advantage, the Portuguese were deserting fast.

In the month of July, a student named Zagalo, by a bold and able stroke, made himself master of the fort of Figueras, at the mouth of the Mondego, and maintained his position there with a small garrison of Portuguese, supported by a party of English marines, landed by Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, who blockaded the coast. Meanwhile, an insurrectionary spirit was gradually spreading. The people had even made several desperate efforts in arms against the French troops; but a crowd of half naked peasants, led, perhaps, by some fanatic friar, were only taken out to slaughter. In these murderous contests, the French are accused of great barbarity, and, too probably, with justice; though the accounts are considered by Napier to have been

much exaggerated. The Portuguese had not, like the Spaniards, regular troops, or large provinces in their interest. Junot would have maintained himself in the country, had not powerful enemies shortly arrived.

The English government formally made peace with Spain in the beginning of July. Deputies from Oporto, at the same time, pressed them for help for Portugal. Large sums of English money, arms, and clothing, had already been lavishly distributed in different parts of the Peninsula; and General Spencer, with a force of about five thousand men, had been despatched to the south of Spain, without any precise orders, and had not landed, partly owing to distrust among the Spaniards,—partly from uncertainty on what point to commence any hostile attempts.

The Tory ministry of 1808, at length perceived that stronger measures were necessary. They accordingly nominated Sir Arthur Wellesley commander-in-chief of an expedition to Spain, placing nine thousand men at his disposal, with whom he sailed from Cork, for Corunna, on the 12th of July. This armament was shortly afterwards followed by eight battalions, under General Anstruther; and five, under General Acland. Sir John Moore, with eleven thousand men, arriving at that moment from the Baltic, received the same destination. As the ministry had proceeded on no settled plan in the commencement of the expedition, great confusion resulted in their orders and arrangements. It was not thought proper that Sir Arthur Wellesley should retain the chief command of the large force they had now despatched. Sir Hew Dalrymple was therefore nominated commander-in-chief, and Sir Harry Burrard second to him. Sir Arthur Wellesley, however, arriving first, acted with that promptitude and decision for which he has always been distinguished, and thus averted the pernicious consequences likely to have followed these ill-concerted measures. He quickly perceived that Portugal was the most vulnerable point, and succeeded in landing his troops safely at Figueras, at the mouth of the Mondego, notwithstanding the westerly gales and heavy swell, on the 5th of August. General Spencer opportunely arrived at the same time, and landed his division, having been directed to the Mondego by Sir Charles Cotton. The united British forces consisted of twelve thousand three hundred men. Sir Arthur Wellesley began his march towards Lisbon on the 9th and 10th, holding by the sea coast for the sake of supplies: he was joined at Leiria, on the 12th, by the Portuguese army, from Oporto, under Bernardin Freire, amounting to about six thousand men, five thousand of whom were destitute of muskets, and required to be armed by the English. Besides this insignificant force, about three thousand

men only were under arms on the north side of the Tagus. The Portuguese insurrection was therefore very weak in itself, and depended entirely upon England.

Junot had received immediate intelligence of the landing of the British. His situation was very embarrassing. Lisbon was extremely unquiet, and his army dispersed in different directions to maintain order in the country. His disposable force, after leaving a sufficient number of men to hold possession of Lisbon, did not exceed fourteen thousand men. He never, however, for a moment conceived the idea of retreating without hazarding a battle. He ordered all his generals to bring up their detachments, and prepared to meet the British army. The Portuguese took alarm at the fierce demonstrations of the French, and Freire declared he would not advance a step beyond Leiria until reinforcements arrived. Sir Arthur Wellesley attempted to shame him out of his resolution, and at length prevailed on him to keep in the rear of the army until the result of the first battle, and to suffer fourteen hundred of his men to be incorporated with the English. The advanced guard entered Caldas on the 15th. On the same day, Junot quitted Lisbon to join his army already in the field. He had with him a reserve of two thousand infantry, six hundred cavalry, and ten pieces of artillery, and carried with him his grand park of ammunition, and a military chest containing forty thousand pounds. General Travot held Lisbon, both sides of the Tagus, Palmela, the Bugio Fort, and the heights of Almada, with a force amounting to about seven thousand men.

The British troops attacked the French position at Obidos, on the 15th; but after gaining a decided advantage, they met with a repulse, owing to the rash precipitancy of a portion of the troops. On the 17th, they reached Rorica, where General Laborde was strongly entrenched. After a sharp action, in which Laborde displayed great skill and courage, the French troops retreated before the steady attack of the superior numbers of the British, and gained the position of Montechique, leaving the road to Torres Vedras open to Sir Arthur Wellesley, who prepared to take possession of that place, which would have secured an entrance into the mountains; but hearing that the divisions of Generals Anstruther and Acland were off the coast, he was obliged to alter his dispositions, in order to protect their disembarkation. On the 20th, Sir Arthur Wellesley took a strong position at Vimiero, his army now amounting to sixteen thousand men, exclusive of the Portuguese; Junot meanwhile occupied Torres Vedras.

At seven o'clock on the morning of the 21st, the French, led by Junot in person, appeared in order of battle before the English army, which had been under arms since day-break. The French

commenced the attack, with the usual confidence and impetuosity of Napoleon's soldiers; advancing in column, according to the system which had so often overturned all before them. The English received the attack in line; and returned it with a heavy fire and resolute bravery. Junot displayed all the reckless courage of his character throughout the day, but was foiled in every attempt. He had completely lost the battle by twelve o'clock, and commenced his retreat, leaving two thousand dead and wounded on the field, some hundred prisoners, and thirteen pieces of cannon. Two of the English brigades had never been brought into action, and the Portuguese had not fired a shot; the loss in killed and wounded did not amount to a thousand; it was therefore with extreme surprise, that Junot found himself permitted to make his retreat unmolested. Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had ordered an immediate pursuit, no longer commanded in chief. Sir Harry Burrard had arrived the night before the action, but did not interfere until its conclusion, when he assumed the first place, and declared his determination to remain at Vimiero, till the arrival of Sir John Moore: this unexpected cessation of hostilities, enabled Junot to regain his former position of Torres Vedras. Sir Hew Dalrymple disembarked, and superseded Sir Harry Burrard on the 22nd, so that the British army was placed under the command of three different generals, in the space of twenty-four hours, during which a battle had been fought. We cannot conclude the subject of the battle of Vimiero, without noticing the inaccuracy of one of the modern popular French historians. "The English general," says Norvins, "at the head of twenty-six thousand men of the two nations, marched on Vimiero, where the brave Junot, at the head of ten thousand only, accepted the combat." The English force was sixteen thousand; the Portuguese six thousand, and these did nothing: the French army, according to Foy and Napier, amounted to something between twelve and fourteen thousand.

While Sir Hew Dalrymple was preparing to advance, General Kellermann appeared at head-quarters on the part of Junot, to demand a cessation of arms, and to treat for a convention under which the French should evacuate Portugal without further resistance. The conditions were formally considered, and finally granted. The definitive treaty was signed at Lisbon on the 30th of August, 1808.

By this important arrangement, commonly called the Convention of Cintra, it was agreed that the whole of the French forces at that time in Portugal, should be transported in English ships to France, without being considered prisoners of war, carrying with them their public and private property: French residents in Portugal, or Portuguese who had served the French, being guaranteed from political

persecution. These were conditions highly favourable and honourable to the vanquished; but the advantages to the victors were commensurate. Portugal was at once liberated, with all its fortresses, arsenals, &c. Four or five thousand Spanish soldiers, prisoners on board the vessels in the Tagus, were set free. Finally, all further sacrifice of life, to have been expected in carrying the different French positions, and all danger of losing communication with the fleet, were at an end, and the English had obtained a firm footing in the Peninsula. A separate treaty was concluded with the Russian squadron in the Tagus. The ships, it was agreed, were to be held by England in deposit, until six months after the conclusion of a peace; the admiral, officers, and seamen, to be transported to Russia in English ships, without any restriction as to their future services.

The Duke of Abrantes, with his staff, embarked on the 13th of September; the different divisions of the French army progressively followed; and by the 30th, Portugal was freed from the presence of its invaders. The joy of the inhabitants was unequivocally testified. Even while Junot continued to occupy Lisbon, songs of triumph had been sung on the occasion; and thousands of small lamps had been openly manufactured, for the avowed purpose of illuminating the streets at his departure.





CHAPTER V.

TURKISH REVOLUTION—CONFERENCE AT ERFURT—NAPOLEON LEADS HIS ARMY INTO SPAIN—RAPID VICTORIES—SURRENDER OF MADRID—SIR JOHN MOORE ADVANCES—IS OBLIGED TO RETREAT—BATTLE OF CORUNNA—NAPOLEON LEAVES SPAIN—SURRENDER OF SARAGOSSA, AND VICTORIES OF THE FRENCH ARMIES.



BEFORE resuming the history of the general politics of Europe, it becomes necessary to notice the revolution which took place in Constantinople, in the year 1807. The Sultan Selim, the ally of France, was in that year deposed, and imprisoned in the interior of the seraglio, by the janissaries; and his nephew, Mustapha, proclaimed in his stead. General Sebastiani, the French ambassador, however, contrived to open a communication with Selim, and influenced the Vizier Barayctar

to advance upon Constantinople with the army which he commanded on the Danube, for the purpose of restoring the dethroned sultan. Barayctar only arrived in time to lament over the lifeless body

of his master, who had been strangled by Mustapha. The troops revenged his death by executing his murderer, and then raised Mahmoud, his cousin, to the throne. The revolution was injurious to the interests of Turkey at the moment, for Russia took immediate possession of the provinces evacuated by the army of Barayctar; and France made the change of sovereigns a pretext for abandoning the country to the designs of the Emperor of Russia.

The events of 1808, in the Peninsula, had imposed upon Napoleon, on his return from Bayonne, the novel task of announcing to France the disasters and reverses which had befallen his arms. As much was concealed by him as was compatible with the necessity of preparing for fresh exertions, and great stress was laid on English interference. M. de Champagny, who had superseded Talleyrand as war-minister, put forth two lengthened reports on the subject, and the details were laid before the senate. Talleyrand had accepted the office of Vice Grand Elector, and retired from the ministry before the interference of Napoleon in the affairs of Spain. Some historians have affirmed that Talleyrand would have prevented this interference: the truth seems to be that he first advised it, but that he would have conducted it skilfully and successfully, by means of intrigue and negotiation, and averted violence.

The appearance of danger suddenly arose in another quarter, in the summer of 1808. The Austrian government, relinquishing the ancient military routine of the empire, established a law of conscription, and a national guard; increased the armies of the line to a great extent; formed armies of reserve; and, in short, assumed the attitude of an impending war; though, in reply to the demands of Napoleon for an explanation, the most positive assurances of pacific intentions were given.

Under these circumstances, Napoleon addressed the senate on the 4th of September, in these terms:—"I am resolved to prosecute the affairs of Spain with the greatest activity, and to destroy the armies which England may land in that country. My alliance with the Emperor of Russia, leaves England no prospect of success in her projects. I believe in the peace of the continent; but I will not, and cannot depend on the errors and false calculations of other courts: and since my neighbours are increasing their armies, it is my duty to increase mine." The reply was the vote of two conscriptions, each of eighty thousand men. "The will of France," said the senate, in its address, "is the same with the will of her Emperor. The war with Spain is politic, just, and necessary."

Before putting into action the immense resources thus placed at his disposal, it was necessary for Napoleon to test the stability of his

amicable relations with the Emperor of Russia. If Alexander remained faithful to the treaty of Tilsit, the French armies might be safely withdrawn from Germany; if he were wavering in his friendship, he might be expected to find a pretext for a change of policy from the fresh designs of Napoleon on Spain. The French ambassador at St. Petersburg, was therefore directed to propose a meeting between the two emperors at Erfurt, in the dominions of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, which was accepted, and fixed for the approaching month of October.

Napoleon left Paris for Erfurt in the end of September, and was attended, throughout his route, by the continued rejoicings and acclamations of the people. He had made the most splendid preparations for the reception of his imperial guest, who was already at Weimar, awaiting the tidings of his approach. The meeting of the two sovereigns was attended by all the pomp and splendour of military parade and royal luxury, and bore every outward appearance of perfect cordiality. The daily political conferences were always followed by fêtes and entertainments, which, together with all other current expenses, were defrayed by Napoleon. A troop of cooks, stewards, and lackeys, had been accordingly sent to Erfurt from Paris. The intellectual pleasures of his guests had also been considered. The company of the *Theatre Française* was present for the purpose of performing the masterpieces of French dramatic literature. A crowd of kings and princes attended to pay their court to the powerful Emperor of France. The kings of Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Westphalia, the Prince Primate, the princes of Anhalt-Coburg, Saxe-Weimar, Darmstadt, Baden, Nassau, and Mecklenburg, were present. The Arch-Duke Constantine accompanied his imperial brother. The King of Prussia was represented by his brother, Prince William. The Emperor of Austria strove to account for his own absence by a letter, transmitted by Colonel Vincent, and filled with protestations of continued amity: "I eagerly embrace the occasion of your approach to my frontier, to renew the testimonials of friendship and esteem which I have sworn to you, and to convey to you the assurance of these unalterable sentiments." Such is the tenor of a letter, from dictating which, the conscientious emperor probably turned to observe the progress of his armaments, and calculate the shortest period at which he could commence another war against France.

It may be supposed with what anxiety this assemblage of sovereigns watched the outward signs of the probable issue of the negotiations between the two potentates, who held their fate in their hands. Every word or look became of importance. During the representation of the tragedy of "*Œdipe*," at which they were present together,



it was observed, and eagerly repeated, that Alexander turned towards Napoleon and gave him his hand, at the occurrence of the line—

“The friendship of a great man is a benefit from the gods.”

On another occasion, when Alexander, on arriving at a dinner party, found that he had forgotten his sword, Napoleon begged of him to accept his. Alexander took it eagerly, saying, “Your Majesty is well assured that I shall never draw it against you.” All the kings, officers, and courtiers, naturally regarded the apt presentation as a great compliment and a profound courtesy,—and it was intended they should; though it is difficult to conceive that Napoleon did not inwardly smile as he saw the flattered Alexander sit down to dinner with the useless encumbrance. A grand fête was given to Napoleon by the Duke of Weimar, on the battle-field of Jena, a piece of courtesy in which obsequious submission to a powerful visitor was certainly carried to the highest pitch. On this occasion, Napoleon paid the most marked attention to the Duchess of Weimar, well remembering the courage and fortitude she had shewn on the occasion

which was necessarily uppermost in all memories. His own dignified, yet calm and unassuming deportment, while thus forming the centre of attraction for all homage and devotion from those of the highest and most commanding station, has been well described by some competent witnesses.

One day, while entertaining many of these guests at his table, he began a sentence in these words;—"When I was a simple lieutenant in the second company of artillery,"—at which a marked expression of uncomfortable surprise was observed among his royal listeners. Scott relates this anecdote with a kind of horror; Hazlitt, with triumph, as an "instance of just and well-placed pride, thus to speak of himself in the presence of all Europe, as it were, assembled at a banquet of kings." We should sympathise more fully with such a manifestation of Napoleon's consciousness that he held his high place by Nature's patent, had he carried out the feeling in his actions, and on all occasions done honour to real nobility, in opposition to conventional rank. Wieland has given an interesting description of him at the ball which followed the entertainment on the field of Jena. "I was presented," he says, "by the Duchess of Weimar, with the usual ceremonies: he then paid me some compliments in an affable tone, and looked stedfastly at me. Few men have appeared to me to possess, in the same degree, the art of reading, at the first glance, the thoughts of other men. He saw, in an instant, that, notwithstanding my celebrity, I was simple in my manners and void of pretension; and, as he seemed desirous of making a favourable impression on me, he assumed the tone most likely to attain his end. I have never beheld any one more calm, more simple, more mild, or less ostentatious in appearance; nothing about him indicated the feeling of power in a great monarch: he spoke to me as an old acquaintance would speak to an equal; and what was more extraordinary on his part, he conversed with me exclusively for an hour and a half, to the great surprise of the whole assembly." Wieland has related part of their conversation, which is, as it could not fail to be, highly interesting. They touched on a variety of subjects; among others, the ancients. Napoleon declared his preference of the Romans to the Greeks. "The eternal squabbles of their petty republics," he said, "were not calculated to give birth to anything grand; whereas the Romans were always occupied with great things, and it was owing to this they raised up the Colossus which bestrode the world." This preference was characteristic; the following is anomalous:—"He preferred Ossian to Homer." * * "He was fond only of serious poetry," continues Wieland; "the pathetic and vigorous writers; and, above all, the tragic poets. He appeared to have no relish for anything

gay; and in spite of the prepossessing amenity of his manners, an observation struck me often,—he seemed to be of bronze. Nevertheless, he had put me so much at my ease, that I ventured to ask how it was that the public worship he had restored in France was not more philosophical, and in harmony with the spirit of the times? ‘My dear Wieland,’ he replied, ‘religion is not meant for philosophers: they have no faith either in me or my priests: as to those who do believe, it would be difficult to give them or to leave them too much of the marvellous. If I had to frame a religion for philosophers, it would be just the reverse of that of the credulous part of mankind.’” Müller, the celebrated Swiss historian, who had a private interview with Napoleon at this period, has left a still fuller account of the impression he received. “The Emperor began to speak,” says Müller, “of the History of Switzerland; told me that I ought to complete it; that even the more recent times had their interest. He proceeded from the Swiss to the old Greek constitutions and history; to the theory of constitutions; to the complete diversity of those of Asia, and the causes of this diversity in the climate, polygamy, &c.; the opposite characters of the Arabian and the Tartar races; the peculiar value of European culture, and the progress of freedom since the sixteenth century; how everything was linked together, and in the inscrutable guidance of an invisible hand; how he himself had become great through his enemies; the great confederation of nations, the idea of which Henry IV. had; the foundation of all religion, and its necessity; that man could not bear clear truth, and required to be kept in order; admitting the possibility, however, of a more happy condition, if the numerous feuds ceased, which were occasioned by too complicated constitutions (such as the German), and the intolerable burden suffered by states from excessive armies.” These opinions clearly mark the guiding motives of Napoleon’s attempts to enforce upon different nations uniformity of institutions and customs. “I opposed him occasionally,” says Müller, “and he entered into discussion. Quite impartially, and truly, as before God, I must say, that the variety of his knowledge, the acuteness of his observations, the solidity of his understanding (not dazzling wit), his grand and comprehensive views, filled me with astonishment; and his manner of speaking to me, with love for him. By his genius, and his disinterested goodness, he has also conquered me.”

Nothing could proceed more amicably than the political conferences between the two emperors. Napoleon, on his part, consented to leave Alexander undisturbed in his operations against Sweden and Turkey, and satisfied him on the subject of Poland, by engaging to attempt nothing in its favour; while Alexander recognised the new kings of

Spain and Naples; and promised not to interfere in the approaching war in the Peninsula. The two emperors also wrote a joint letter to the King of England, proposing a general peace on the principle of *uti possidetis*, which would leave all the contracting parties in possession of what they had gained during the war. The English government, however, demanded that Sweden and Spain should be admitted as parties to the treaty; which, not suiting either of the sovereigns who had opened the negotiation, all further proceedings were dropped. The conferences at Erfurt concluded on the 14th of



October. Napoleon returned to Paris without delay, and by the 26th, was on his way to Spain; a powerful army of two hundred thousand men already waited his approach on the frontiers. They were composed of the veteran troops withdrawn from Germany and Italy, the new levies having supplied their places, and included a numerous and splendid cavalry, and a large body of the imperial guard.

In the mean time, the Spaniards had vested the management of their affairs in a central or supreme junta, stationed at their recovered capital of Madrid. The determined spirit of opposition to French interference continued as strong as ever; but the power to act in concert, or maintain well directed efforts in a common cause, already

appeared doubtful. The Supreme Junta found it difficult, sometimes impossible, to enforce obedience on their generals; and the provincial juntas were too apt to act independently, and assert their own right to separate command. The English government, at the same time, though promising aid, and making large preparations to afford it, yet continually procrastinated; and when Napoleon invaded the country, the native forces alone were in the field. Three armies had been formed, all intended to co-operate, and amounting to about one hundred thousand men, but, unfortunately, all under independent generals. Blake commanded the army on the western frontier, which extended from Burgos to Bilbao. General Romana, who commanded one of the auxiliary divisions of Spanish soldiers in the French service, had dexterously contrived to escape from the Island of Funen, and had been landed in Spain, with ten thousand men, by British ships. His corps was attached to that of General Blake. The head-quarters of the central army, under Castaños, were at Soria; those on the eastern side, under Palafox, extended between Saragossa and Sanguesa. The Spanish armies were therefore arranged in the form of a long and weak crescent, the horns of which advanced towards France. The fortresses in the north of Spain were all in the possession of the French, and strongly garrisoned.

Napoleon was at Bayonne on the 3rd of November, and by the 8th, he had directed the movements of the last columns of his advancing army across the frontier: on the same evening, he arrived at Vittoria, where Joseph held his court. The civil and military authorities met him at the gates, and prepared to conduct him with pomp to the house prepared for his reception; but he leaped off his horse, entered the first inn he observed, and called for maps and detailed reports of the position of the armies. In two hours, he had arranged the plan of the campaign; and by day-break on the 9th, Soult took the command of Bessières' corps, and began to push forward his columns upon the plains of Burgos, against an auxiliary corps, under the Count de Belvidere, designed to support the right flank of Blake's army. Belvidere was completely defeated at Gomenal: one of his battalions, composed entirely of students from Salamanca and Leon, refused to fly, and fell in their ranks. Blake was then routed at Espinosa, by General Victor, and again at Reynosa, by Soult, whence the wrecks of his army fled in disorder, and took refuge in Santander. Nearly the whole of Romana's corps perished in the cliffs of Espinosa, after the battle. Palafox and Castaños had, meantime, united their forces, and waited the attack of the French under Lannes, at Tudela, on the 22nd of November. The Spaniards were on this occasion, also, utterly defeated, with the loss of four thousand killed,



POLISH LANCERS AT SOMO-SIERRA

and three thousand prisoners. Castaños fled, after the action, in the direction of Calatayud; and Palafox once more threw himself and the remains of his troops into Saragossa, where he was immediately invested closely by Lannes.

The road to Madrid was now open to Napoleon. He advanced at the head of his guards and the first division of the army, and reached the strong pass of the Somosierra Chain, about ten miles distant from the city, on the 30th of November. The way lies through a very steep and narrow defile, and twelve thousand men, with sixteen pieces of cannon, which completely swept the road, were strongly posted to dispute his passage. On the 1st of December, the French began the attack at daybreak, with an attempt to turn the flanks of the Spaniards. Napoleon rode into the mouth of the pass, and surveyed the scene. His infantry were straggling along the sides of the defile, and making no efficient progress; but the smoke of the sharp skirmishing fire, mingling with the morning fog, was curling up the rocks, and almost hid the combatants from view. Under this veil, he ordered the Polish lancers of the guard to charge up the road in face of the artillery. They obeyed with impetuous courage. The Spanish infantry, panic struck, fired, threw down their arms, and fled: the Poles dashing onward, seized the cannon in an instant. The whole of the Spanish force fled in disorder, taking different routes, or dispersing among the mountains. On the 2nd of December, the French soldiers celebrated the anniversary of the coronation, under the walls of Madrid. The city had been prepared for defence. Six thousand regular troops, and crowds of the citizens, together with the peasantry of the country round, were within the gates, and in arms. The pavement had been taken up to form barricades; the houses on the outskirts loopholed; and a spirit of defiance, which promised to rival that of Saragossa, prevailed. The French officer who was sent to summon the town, narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the mob. The place was regularly invested on one side before midnight, and again summoned in vain. In the morning, the Retiro, and the palace of the Duke of Medina Celi, were stormed and taken by the French; and Napoleon, availing himself of the terror which now began to prevail, summoned the city a third time. Shortly afterwards, Don Thomas Morla, the governor, came out to demand a suspension of arms, but confessed that fear of the ferocity of the citizens prevented his openly talking of a surrender. Napoleon, who was anxious to avoid the horrors of the assault, gave a little longer time to the distracted city, whence there issued, throughout the night, "a sound," says Napier, "as if some mighty beast was struggling and howling in the toils." At eight in the morning of the

4th of December, the gates were opened to the conqueror; the Spaniards were disarmed, and the place filled with French soldiers. In a few days, tranquillity was restored; and business and amusement were taking their usual course.

Napoleon now issued edicts proclaiming a general amnesty, with ten exceptions. He also put in force his new constitution. An assemblage of the nobles, clergy, corporations, and tribunals of Madrid, waited on him and presented an address, in which they expressed their wish to have Joseph among them again. The reply of Napoleon is a condensed exposition of his principles in regard to the government of Spain; and the rejection by the people of advantages and reforms so great, affords a clear example of the power of passion, and of prejudice and ancient habit. "I accept," said he, "the sentiments of the town of Madrid. I regret the misfortunes that have befallen it; and I hold it as a particular good fortune that I am enabled, under the circumstances of the moment, to spare that city, and to save it from yet greater misfortunes. I have hastened to take measures fit to tranquillise all classes of citizens, knowing well that to all people, and to all men, uncertainty is intolerable. I have preserved the religious orders, but I have restrained the number of monks; no sane person can doubt that they are too numerous. I have provided for the wants of the most interesting and useful of the clergy,—the parish priests. I have abolished the Inquisition, that tribunal against which Europe and the age alike exclaimed. Priests ought to guide consciences; but they should not exercise any exterior or corporal jurisdiction over men. I have suppressed the rights usurped by the nobles during civil wars, when the kings have been too often obliged to purchase tranquillity at the sacrifice of their own rights, and the well-being of the people. I have suppressed the feudal privileges; and all persons can now establish inns, mills, ovens, weirs, and fisheries, and give free play to their industry; only observing the laws and customs of the place. The self-love, the riches, and the prosperity of a small number of men, was more hurtful to your agriculture than the heats of the dog-days. As there is but one God, there should be in one estate but one justice; wherefore, all the particular jurisdictions having been usurped, and being contrary to the national rights, I have destroyed them. I have also made known to all persons that which each can have to fear, and that which they may have to hope for.

"The English armies I will drive from the Peninsula. Saragossa, Valencia, Seville, shall be reduced, either by persuasion or by the force of arms. There is no obstacle capable of retarding, for any length of time, the execution of my will. But that which is above my power, is to constitute the Spaniards a nation, under the orders



NAPOLEON BEFORE MADRID.

of the king, if they continue to be imbued with the principle of division, and of hatred towards France, such as the English partisans and the enemies of the continent have instilled into them. I cannot establish a nation, a king, and Spanish independence, if that king is not sure of the affection and fidelity of his subjects."

The vast preparations which Napoleon now set on foot, seemed to indicate that he intended to invade Galicia, Andalusia, and Valencia, by his lieutenants, and to carry the war to Lisbon in person. The victories he had gained had cost him very few lives, and reinforcements to his army had successively crossed the frontier. He had two hundred and fifty thousand men under arms; and there can be no doubt that the whole Peninsula was at that moment on the point of subjugation, had not circumstances thwarted his combinations.

After the vexatious delays of the English government had retarded the movements of the British forces till the favourable moment had been lost, Lord Castlereagh at length placed Sir John Moore in a position to advance from Portugal into Spain, with an army of twenty thousand men, composed of the choicest troops of Great Britain; while Sir David Baird, who had recently landed at Corunna, had orders to march through Galicia, and effect a junction with him at Salamanca. The difficulties of the roads had obliged the English commander-in-chief to separate himself from his artillery, which was conducted in safety by Sir John Hope, through great dangers and most critical circumstances, to head-quarters. The object of the fine English army now assembled at Salamanca, was to co-operate with the Spanish armies; but the Spanish armies were utterly destroyed, the capital was besieged by Napoleon, and his overwhelming force ready to act wherever he thought fit. The situation of Sir John Moore was embarrassing in the extreme; he had been appointed to conduct important operations without a plan, or the means of making one. He was very scantily supplied with money, and without magazines. He had trusted to the ministerial assurance that a hundred thousand Spanish soldiers covered his march, and that the people were enthusiastic and prepared for every exertion; but the reverse proved to be the fact. He could only accommodate his measures to events, and these events were altogether new and unexpected. All the means within his power were put into requisition, though Sir Walter Scott has made several assertions to the contrary, with what Napier calls "that intrepidity of error which marks his work." Animadversions on Moore's conduct have been numerous, though his difficulties have seldom been fairly estimated. He resolved to retreat into Portugal, feeling that the safety of the fine army under his charge must not be compromised to a cause evidently lost for the present. He was,

however, subsequently induced to alter his determination, by the strong representations of the Spanish authorities, seconded by Mr. Frere, the English commissioner at Madrid. He was assured that the capital would hold out to the last, that Romana was rapidly collecting another army, and that the people were all in arms, and ready to support him. He could not be sanguine of the cause, but he took the only course open to him. He formed his plan to attack Soult, who was posted behind the Carrion: by defeating him, he would have intercepted the communications of the Emperor's left flank, given Romana time to forward his operations, created a formidable diversion in favour of the south of Spain and of Madrid, and at worst could still secure a retreat to Corunna, where the English transports waited. The news of the surrender of Madrid reached him before the commencement of his march, but this did not alter his resolution. The forward movement of the British army commenced on the 11th of December. It consisted of twenty-three thousand five hundred and eighty men, with sixty pieces of artillery.

No sooner did Napoleon learn that Moore was in motion, than leaving Madrid, and giving up all his other plans for the moment, he marched rapidly at the head of fifty thousand men to attack him, and to crush the English, whom he reckoned with reason by far the most formidable of his opponents in Spain, and whose long and unvarying hostility had roused in him a passionate sense of injury. His head-quarters were rapidly transferred to Astorga, Benevente, and Tordesillas.

Moore would have been hemmed in between Napoleon and Soult had he continued his advance. He was not taken by surprise, for this was exactly the danger he had apprehended; but it had become necessary to commence his retreat instantly, and to conduct it by forced marches, in consequence of the extraordinary rapidity of Napoleon's advance. The weather was dark and tempestuous, the roads through the mountainous province of Galicia difficult in the extreme, the country poor, the army without magazines, and Soult pressed closely on his rear. It was under these circumstances that Sir John Moore commenced his disastrous retreat to Corunna. The baggage and ammunition were abandoned; the sick and wounded left to the mercy of the pursuers; the soldiers, losing all discipline, became marauders, abandoned their ranks, spread over the country, and in search of plunder inflicted the most dreadful atrocities on the inhabitants. Nothing recalled them to their duty but the report that the French were upon them, and that it was necessary to make a stand. They were always restored in a moment to order and steadiness when the trumpet sounded a charge, and repeatedly repulsed their assailants: on one of these occasions, General Lefebvre Desnouettes was taken prisoner. The tempestuous state of the weather retarded the



progress of Napoleon through the Gaudarama mountains, and favoured the escape of the English. A deep snow choked the passes, and at one time the general commanding, reported that the road was impracticable; but the Emperor placed himself at the head of the column, and led the way himself amidst storms of hail and sleet. Notwithstanding his excessive exertions, he was, however, too late. Sir John Moore had made good his retreat. On the 5th of January, 1809, the English army had reached Nogales, and had gained twelve hours' start of their pursuers. "At this period of the retreat," says Napier, "the road was covered with baggage, sick men, women, and plunderers. Under the most favourable circumstances, the toil of a retreating force exhibits terrible scenes of distress; and on the road near Nogales, the followers of the army were dying fast from cold and hunger. The soldiers, barefooted, harassed, and weakened by their excesses, were dropping to the rear by hundreds; while broken carts, dead animals, and the piteous appearance of women with children, struggling, or falling exhausted in the snow, completed a picture of war, which, like Janus, *has a double face*." The disorganisation and consequent loss increased from the 9th to the 11th of January; nevertheless, fourteen or fifteen thousand men were still in column, and by great exertion Sir John Moore led them by an orderly march to Corunna. As they approached the sea coast, the

general's eyes were anxiously directed towards the harbour; but an open expanse of water painfully convinced him that fortune was against him still. The English fleet was detained by contrary winds at Vigo. He led his exhausted troops into Corunna, and prepared to face the pursuing enemy. The transports from Vigo hove in sight on the evening of the 14th, and the sick, the dismounted cavalry, the best horses, and fifty-two pieces of artillery were embarked in the night; but on the 15th, the French had collected in force, their batteries commanded the town, and it became necessary for Moore to choose between the two alternatives of negotiating with Soult for leave to retire to his ships upon terms, or to hold himself in readiness to force his way: he chose the latter. The night of the 15th was again employed in shipping all the encumbrances of the army, but at two o'clock on the afternoon of the 16th, a general movement along the French line gave notice that the attack was about to begin; and the British infantry, only fourteen thousand five hundred strong, were immediately ranged in order of battle. The action was furiously contested, and notwithstanding the superiority of the French force, the close of day left the British not only in possession of the ground, but their line considerably in advance of their original position, while the French were falling back in confusion. The loss had been greater on the French than the English side, which latter is estimated at eight hundred, and included in its numbers the brave commander-in-chief. "Sir John Moore," says Napier, "was struck on the left breast by a cannon-shot; the shock threw him from his horse with violence, but he rose again in a sitting posture, his countenance unchanged, and his stedfast eye still fixed upon the regiments engaged in his front, no sigh betraying a sensation of pain. In a few moments, when he was satisfied that the troops were gaining ground, his countenance brightened, and he suffered himself to be taken to the rear. Then was seen the dreadful nature of his hurt. The shoulder was shattered to pieces, the arm was hanging by a piece of skin, the ribs over the heart were broken and bared of flesh, and the muscles of the breast torn into long strips, which were interlaced by their recoil from the dragging of the shot. As the soldiers placed him in a blanket, his sword got entangled, and the hilt entered the wound; Captain Hardinge, a staff-officer, attempted to take it off, but the dying man stopped him, saying, 'It is as well as it is. I had rather it should go out of the field with me;' and in that manner, so becoming to a soldier, Moore was borne from the fight."

Sir David Baird having also been severely wounded, the command now devolved on Sir John Hope, who lost no time in embarking the army, an operation which was safely effected; and by the 18th, the fleet was under weigh for England. Sir John Moore died shortly after he had been carried from the battle. The last words he was heard to say were, "I

hope the people of England will be satisfied! I hope my country will do me justice!" His corpse, wrapped in his military cloak, was hastily buried by the officers of his staff on the ramparts of the citadel of Corunna; but the French, with a generous spirit of respect for a brave enemy, paid his funeral honours; their guns fired the salute over his grave, and Soult nobly raised a monument to his memory.

Napoleon had come up with the troops in pursuit of Moore at Benavente, where he was gratified by the sight of an English army in full retreat. In his hurried advance, he had been quartered at Tordesillas, in the exterior portion of the convent of Santa Clara, where Jane, the insane mother of Charles V. had died. The abbess, an aged lady of seventy, was presented to the Emperor, who, in spite of his excessive haste, and the anxieties of impending events, received her with respect, listened to her conversation, and granted several requests.



It was expected that Napoleon would immediately return to Madrid, and prosecute the plans from which the pursuit of Moore had diverted him; but to the astonishment of all the world, he turned his face not towards Madrid but Paris, travelling with headlong speed, riding on post-horses, and on one occasion seventy-five miles in five hours and a half. He reached Paris on the 23rd of January. The cause of this sudden journey was a sufficient one, and soon transpired; the warlike preparations of Austria no longer left a doubt that the Emperor Francis was on the eve of breaking the treaty of Presburg.

Napoleon had left to Joseph and his generals the task of finishing the subjugation of the Peninsula, but the absence of the master-spirit raised the hopes of the Spaniards, and encouraged England to fresh efforts. For a time, however, the French continued to gain important successes. Ferrol and Vigo were taken by Soult in January. Saragossa fell on the 21st of February, after a resistance of eight months: during the last twenty days, the enemy were in the city, and the desperate defence was carried on with rage and despair from house to house, by men, women, and even children. When, at length, Marshal Lannes found himself master of Saragossa, it was no longer a city of the living, but of the dead. Forty thousand victims had there been immolated; and the putrid corpses which choked every avenue, had already begun to add the ravages of pestilence to those of war. It is due to the memory of Lannes to add that the most strenuous efforts to save the survivors, immediately followed the horrors of the attack.

The victories of Vels, Ciudad-Reale, and Medelina, gave the French arms further advantages, and the expedition of Soult into Portugal was crowned by the success of his arms at Lanhoso, and by the surrender of Oporto on the 29th of March.





CHAPTER VI.

ADVANCE OF THE AUSTRIANS—NAPOLEON PLACES HIMSELF AT THE HEAD OF HIS ARMY—
BATTLES OF ABENSBERG AND ECKMUHL—RATISBON TAKEN—BOMBARDMENT AND CAPITU-
LATION OF VIENNA—NAPOLEON TAKES POSSESSION OF THE PAPAL TERRITORY—WAR IN
ITALY, POLAND, GERMANY, AND THE TYROL—PASSAGE OF THE DANUBE—BATTLE OF
ESSLING—DEATH OF LANNES—THE FRENCH ARMY ENTRENCHED IN THE ISLAND OF LOBAU.



THE Archduke Charles crossed the Inn and invaded Bavaria on the 9th of April, 1809, at the head of one hundred and eighty thousand men. At the same time, the Archduke Ferdinand was stationed in Galicia with thirty thousand men; and the Archduke John, with an army, eighty thousand strong, penetrated into Italy, by the passes of Carinthia and Carniola. No justification of this shameless breach of national faith was so much as attempted; nor do the

historical admirers of legitimate governments offer any. Scott, in particular, on this occasion, most deliberately avows the unprincipled mode of action pursued by all the states of Europe in their dealings with France. "Their military disasters," says he, "often prevented their being able to keep the flag of defiance flying; but the cessions which they were compelled to make at the moment of defeat, only exaspe-

rated their feelings of resentment, and made them watch more eagerly for the period when their own increasing strength, and the weakness of the common enemy, might enable them to resume the struggle. The question for Austria to consider, was not the justice of the war, but its expediency; not her right of resisting, but practically whether she had the means of effectual opposition. An opportunity now presented itself which seemed in the highest degree tempting. Bonaparte was absent in Spain, engaged in a distant conquest, in which, besides the general unpopularity of his cause, obstacles had arisen which were strangers to any previous part of his history, and resistance had been offered of a nature so serious, as to shake the opinion hitherto entertained of his invincibility."

Napoleon was on his way to the frontiers a few hours after the telegraphic dispatch announced the invasion of Bavaria. He reached Strasburg on the 16th, at four in the morning, accompanied by Josephine, whom he left there; and he then proceeded onwards to Dillingen, where he met the King of Bavaria, who had been compelled to retire from Munich with all his family. Josephine remained some time at Strasburg, anxiously watching the progress of a campaign the termination of which was destined to bring about events fraught with melancholy importance to herself.

The army which Napoleon commanded was considerably inferior in numbers to the immense masses of Austria; besides which, on his hurried arrival at the seat of war, he found his forces unskilfully disposed, through an error originating with Berthier. His army extended in a long line from Augsburg to Ratisbon, presenting to the enemy a weak centre, through which they might have penetrated with ease, and divided his force. He immediately stationed himself in this point of danger, at the head of the Bavarians, and the troops of the Confederation of the Rhine, and sent exact and urgent orders to Massena and Davoust, commanding the two wings of the army to advance by a lateral movement towards their common centre, by forced marches, with vigilance and speed. The order for these daring movements was given on the 17th of April. On the 20th, when, according to his calculations, the necessary time for effecting them had elapsed, Napoleon made a sudden assault on two Austrian divisions at Abensberg, commanded by General Hiller, and the Archduke Louis. In the middle of the battle, Davoust appeared on the right flank of the Austrians; and, almost at the same moment, Massena attacked their rear, broke their line, and threw them into disorder. They were totally defeated, with the loss of eight thousand men. Napoleon afterwards spoke of this manœuvre as one of the finest of his conceptions in the art of war. A more striking example could scarcely be found of the confidence of



Napoleon in his power of making successful combinations of masses, at various distances, so as to bring them to act consecutively, or at the same time, upon a given spot; since he had thus commenced a battle when his two wings were not in sight, yet upon the arrival of which within a brief space the good result depended. He followed up his victory the next day at Landshut, where the fugitives lost nine thousand prisoners and thirty pieces of cannon, besides ammunition and baggage.

The Archduke Charles had meanwhile concentrated his principal army, consisting of one hundred thousand men, at Eckmühl. On the 22nd, he was attacked by Napoleon with his whole force. The French army advanced in divisions by different routes, and appeared on the field with the regularity of the movements in a game of chess. The Austrians were driven from all their positions, and retreated in disorder, leaving all their wounded, great part of the artillery, fifteen stand of colours, and twenty thousand men, in the power of the French.

The archduke attempted to cover the retreat of his army by defending Ratisbon. The ancient city was stormed by the pursuing French. A breach was quickly effected in the walls; but the Austrians, crowding to the point of danger, poured so deadly a fire upon the assailants, that

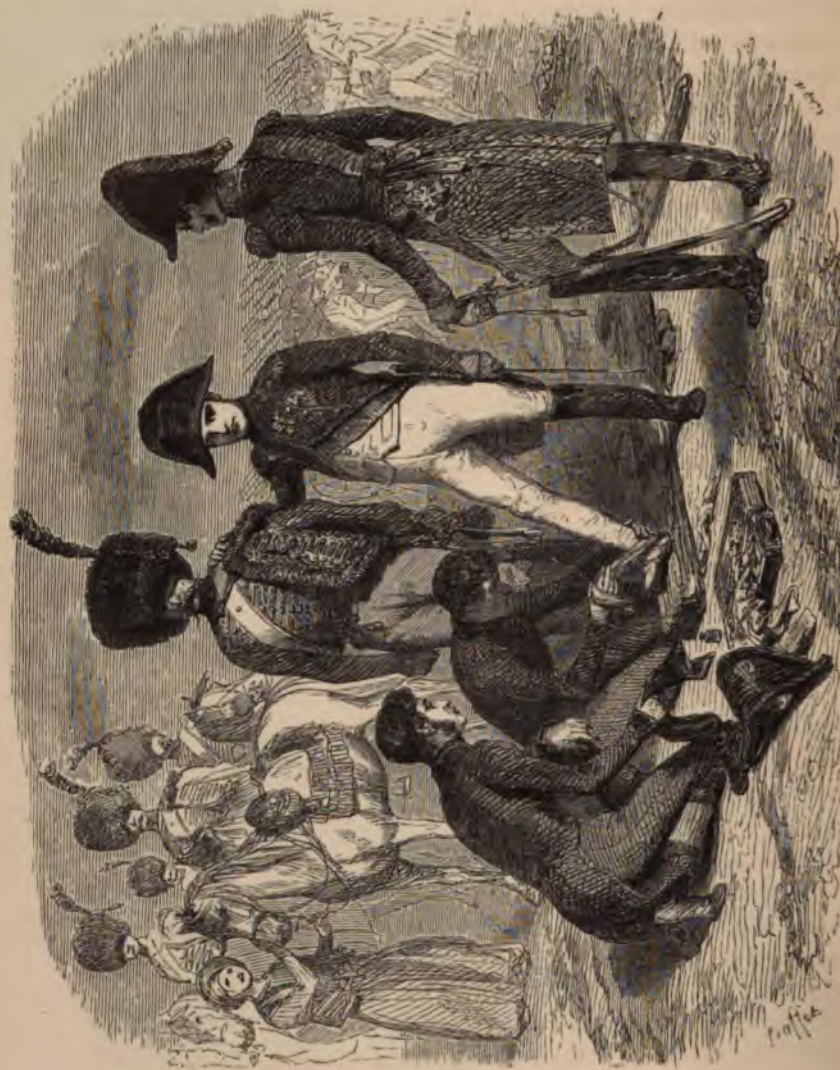
they began to slacken the attack. At this moment, Lannes, seizing a ladder, rushed forward, and fixed it against the wall, exclaiming,—“I will shew you that your general is still a grenadier.” The wall was surmounted in an instant; the soldiers overbore all opposition, and the combat now raged in the streets of the town. While watching the operations of his troops, Napoleon was struck on the toe of the left foot by a musket-ball, which inflicted a very painful though not a dangerous wound. He made his surgeon dress it on the spot, and mounted on horseback immediately afterwards, anxious to dispel the alarm of the soldiers. With all his precaution, however, a panic had begun to spread among them. All those who happened to be near had crowded round him; it was vain to try to keep them off. The report that the Emperor was wounded spread from mouth to mouth, and every man, from the first to the third line, hurried towards him, so that a moment of confusion occurred; but order was restored when they saw he was safe. The Austrians were driven from the town, which remained in possession of Napoleon, with a great many prisoners, and much baggage and artillery.

A curious pause in the work of destruction occurred during the heat of the battle in Ratisbon. A body of French, rushing forward to charge a body of Austrians who occupied one end of a burning street, were impeded in their career by some wagons. “They are tumbrels of powder,” cried the Austrian commander; “if the flames reach them, both sides perish!” The fighting ceased by mutual consent, and the men who were deadly enemies the moment before, now exerted themselves side by side to convey the dangerous wagons out of the reach of the flames, and succeeded.

Napoleon fixed his head-quarters at Ratisbon, and remained there for two days to recover from his wound, and recruit the strength of his soldiers. He employed the time in reviewing the troops, and distributing honours and rewards. Davoust was here created Prince of Eckmühl. The campaign had lasted only five days, and in that short period the nature of the war had been entirely changed. The Austrians, who began it as proud aggressors, were now forced to continue it in desperate self-defence. Even Scott here assumes the character of an enthusiastic eulogist of Napoleon. “At no period in his momentous career,” says Sir Walter, “did his genius appear more completely to prostrate all opposition; at no time did the talents of a single individual exercise such an influence on the fate of the world. The forces which he had in the field had been not only unequal to those of the enemy, but they were, in a military point of view, ill placed and imperfectly combined. Napoleon arrived alone, found himself under all these disadvantages, and we repeat, by his almost unassisted genius,

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NAPOLEON WOUNDED AT BATTLE.

came, in the course of five days, in complete triumph out of a struggle which bore a character so unpromising. It was no wonder that others,—nay, that he himself, should have annexed to his person the degree of superstitious influence claimed for the chosen instruments of destiny, whose path must not be crossed, and whose arms cannot be arrested."

The Archduke Charles had retreated into Bohemia, where he held himself ready to make a protracted defence; but, in the midst of his preparations, he was startled with the intelligence that Napoleon, instead of pursuing him to the mountain fastnesses where he was intrenched, was advancing direct upon Vienna. The French army approached the capital by steady but rapid marches, carefully maintaining its own line of communications, but with quite sufficient celerity to reach its point, before the archduke could return and attempt any opposition. The Austrian general, Hiller, endeavoured to arrest the progress of Napoleon at Ebersberg, a position of very great strength. The natural defences of the place, consisting in a deep river, a long narrow bridge, and high rocky banks, did not, however, retard the victorious army many hours. Massena, who led the van, attacked and carried it by storm. The carnage on both sides was dreadful, and in the course of the struggle the town was set on fire, and reduced to ashes. The wounded were burned to death; the dead were scorched, shrivelled, and blackened. The artillery and cavalry pressing onward towards Vienna, passed over the half-consumed remains; the wheels and hoofs crushing and treading into appalling masses of horror the mangled forms which lay in heaps in their way. A heavy and intolerable stench arose from the putrefying corruption. "It became necessary," says Savary,—who frequently uses expressions which are awfully graphic from their literal simplicity and truth,—“to procure spades, such as are used for *clearing the mud from public roads*, in order to remove and bury this foetid mass."



General Hiller retreated to Saint Polten, crossed the Danube at Muntern, and, marching to form a junction with the Archduke Charles, left the high road of Vienna open to the French army, which moved rapidly onwards. The attention of Napoleon was attracted on the way by the ruins of the castle of Dierstein, where Richard I. of England, on his return from Palestine, was detained prisoner by the Emperor of Germany. Napoleon addressed some words of gratulation to Lannes and Berthier, on the progress of civilisation, as he contemplated the ancient stronghold in the distance: "such," said he, "were those barbarous times, which historians are fond of painting in glowing colours! You have seen emperors and kings in my power, as well as their capitals and their states; I never exacted from them either ransom or sacrifice of their honour!" The horrible battle field he had so lately passed over, might well have checked these complacent ideas, by reminding Napoleon, that though honour was now better observed towards kings, their subjects were still trampled in the dust; and had he been endowed with the power to look forward only a few short years, his own fate would have taught him that even an emperor might still be forced to bend to the yoke of captivity.

On the 10th of May, Napoleon was once more at the gates of Vienna, the extensive suburbs were occupied by his army, and his headquarters were again established at the palace of Schoenbrunn, in the vicinity of the capital. His summons to surrender was answered by firing from the ramparts of the ancient walls of the city; the same which had withstood the siege of the Turks in 1683. The Archduke Maximilian was governor of the place, and had under his command a large body of troops, but certainly no force sufficient to stand a siege. A formidable fire from the French batteries first made the inhabitants aware of the horrors for which they must be prepared, if they attempted opposition. The palace of the Emperor of Austria was exposed to the full storm of artillery. The emperor and the greater part of his family had fled to Buda in Hungary; but one was left behind, confined by illness; this one was the Archduchess Maria Louisa,—destined soon after to be Empress of France. When Napoleon was informed of the situation of the young princess, he ordered that the palace should be spared, and the destructive missiles pointed at other quarters. Vienna did not long endure this rough usage. The archduke and his troops evacuated the city; the capitulation was signed on the 12th of May, and for the second time, the capital of the house of Austria was in possession of Napoleon.

It must not be supposed, however, that the occupation of Vienna concluded the contest. The situation of the French army was extremely



NAPOLEON VISITING THE RUINS OF DIERSTEIN.



STANDARD OF THE EIGHTY-FOURTH REGIMENT.—"UN CONTRE DIX."

critical, and required immense exertions. The Archduke Charles was already advancing from Bohemia, with forces greatly increased, and the war was raging with various success in Italy, Dalmatia, Poland, the Tyrol, and the Peninsula; while the north of Germany was in a state of insurrection. A brief sketch of the progress of events in these various quarters, is here necessary.

The campaign in Italy, had opened unfavourably for the French interest. The Austrian army had gained some decisive advantages over the viceroy Prince Eugene, and defeated him at Sacile, when the news of the battle of Eckmühl changed the aspect of the war. The Archduke John immediately commenced a retreat, with the view of forming a junction with his brother, but was pursued in his retrograde movement by the viceroy, who effected a junction with the army of General Marmont in Dalmatia, and not only freed Italy from all further danger, but began his advance towards Vienna, to join the grand army under Napoleon. It was before this junction was effected, that two battalions of the eighty-fourth regiment, forming a part of Marmont's corps, maintained their ground against eighteen thousand Austrians at Gratz. Napoleon caused the words "*Un contre dix*" (one against ten) to be emblazoned on their colours, in honour of their courage.

The revolt of the whole of the Tyrol against the dominion of the King of Bavaria, had taken place simultaneously with the Austrian war. The cause of the Tyrolese, excited the sympathy of all foreign countries, and with justice. The mountainous strength of the country, and the temper of its inhabitants, had forced the Austrian government to respect the privileges for which, in ancient days, the Tyrolese had been obliged to contend. They wanted no change, and were indignant at finding themselves involuntarily transferred to another sovereign. Sir Walter Scott becomes, in this instance, the advocate of liberty, because it chanced to be allied with the cause of legitimacy. "The Austrians," says he, "had always governed them with a singular mildness, and respect for their customs; and the condition of the people is one of the most primitive in Europe. The extremes of rank and wealth are unknown in those pastoral districts; they have almost no distinction among their inhabitants; neither nobles nor serfs,—neither office-bearers nor dependents; in one sense, neither rich nor poor. As great a degree of equality as is perhaps consistent with the existence of society, is to be found in the Tyrol. In temper they are a gay, animated people, fond of exertion and excitation, lovers of the wine-flask, and the dance; extempore poets, and frequently good musicians. With these are united the more hardy qualities of the mountaineer, accustomed to the life of a shepherd and huntsman; and, amidst the Alpine precipices, often placed in danger of life, while exercising one or other of the

occupations. As marksmen, the Tyrolese are accounted the finest in Europe; and the readiness with which they obeyed the repeated summons of Austria in the former wars, shewed that their rustic employments had in no respect diminished their ancient love of military enterprise. Their magistrates, in peace, and leaders of war, were no otherwise distinguished from the rest of the nation, than by their sagacity and general intelligence; and as these qualities were ordinarily found among inn-keepers, who, in a country like the Tyrol, have the most general opportunities of obtaining information, many of that class were leaders in the memorable war of 1809. These men sometimes could not even read or write, yet, in general, exhibited so much common sense and presence of mind, such a ready knowledge of the capacity of the troops they commanded, and of the advantages of the country in which they served, that they became formidable to the best generals and the most disciplined soldiers."

The Bavarians and French were driven from the country, or made prisoners, or put to death, in the commencement of April; and in four days, the Tyrolese had achieved their object, and shaken off a foreign dominion. The priests were active in this movement; and Hofer, the great leader of the people, made his triumphal entry into Inspruck between two Capuchins. The Voralberg and the Val-



teline had caught the same spirit, and with equal success. The retreat of the Archduke John from Italy, however, and the success of Napoleon's arms, crushed all these insurrections for the time, and obliged the people to submit to the clemency of the King of Bavaria. The gates of Inspruck were opened to Marshal Lefebvre, at the head of a Bavarian army, very soon after the capitulation of Vienna, but not without nine days of murderous warfare in the mountain passes of the country.

The equivocal conduct of the Pope during the war in Italy, brought about an event which caused a sensation throughout Europe. Napoleon dated from Vienna a decree depriving his holiness of his temporalities; and annexing Rome and its dependencies to the kingdom of Italy. The consequences of this new struggle between a Pope and an Emperor will shortly be told: they were of a very different character to those which followed the attempt of Henry IV. to dispute the supremacy of Gregory VII., eight centuries before.

The Archduke Ferdinand had meanwhile invaded the grand duchy of Warsaw, which had been torn from Russia by Napoleon, in the former war, and annexed to the kingdom of Saxony. Prince Joseph Poniatowski, minister of war, with a very inferior force, gave battle to the Austrians at Raszin, four leagues from Warsaw, where he maintained a desperate combat for eight hours, but was obliged to retreat before the overwhelming force of the archduke. The Saxon troops in his army retired immediately into their country, but Poniatowski threw himself into Warsaw. Unable to defend it, he obtained a capitulation under the most honourable terms, and when he evacuated the city, retired to the country between the Narew and the Vistula, accompanied by the members of the senate, the ministers, the councillors of state, and all the civil authorities of the grand duchy, and there held his little army together. The Polish spirit was again raised high, and Napoleon had another opportunity of establishing the independence of Poland; but he still held by the Russian alliance, though the proceedings of the Emperor Alexander might have opened his eyes to its hollowness. He had relied on the co-operation of Russia to defend the archduchy of Warsaw, but Poniatowski had held the field unsupported since the 17th of April, when Prince Gallitzin tardily appeared in Galicia, in the end of May, with fifteen thousand men, instead of a hundred thousand, which had been promised; and this small force had received orders not to pass the Vistula. The Polish scouts, about this time, intercepted a letter from a Russian general to the Archduke Ferdinand, congratulating him on his success, and expressing a hope soon to act in concert with him. This letter was forwarded to Napoleon, who sent it to Alexander. The czar, however,

contented himself with recalling the writer. Bourrienne, who understood the dispositions of the different courts of Europe, remarks, "I never could conceive how Napoleon could be so blind as to expect assistance from Russia, in his quarrel with Austria. He must indeed have been greatly deceived as to the footing on which the two courts stood with reference to each other; their friendly footing, and their mutual agreement to oppose the overgrowing ambition of their common enemy." Unopposed by the Russians, the Archduke Ferdinand pushed forward to Thorn, and summoned Prussia to arms. The King of Prussia, discouraged by the memory of former disasters, remained



perfectly passive, but his subjects were ripe for revolt against the thralldom of France. The youth of the north of Germany were almost to a man united in the *Tugend-bund*, or holy band, for the deliverance of their country from a foreign yoke; Schill and Katt, two Prussian officers, were actually in arms, and had collected troops and followers, unauthorised by their government. Schill maintained a war of plunder, and at one period menaced Hamburg, but he was held in check, and finally defeated and killed in battle by General Gratien. Katt had attacked Westphalia, where he had found a treacherous coadjutor in the person of Colonel Doernberg, an officer of the guard; but the designs of both were discovered and defeated by King

Jerome. The Duke of Brunswick-Oels also, the son of the old enemy of the French revolution who was killed at Jena, commanded a body of troops furnished by Austria, and armed and equipped by England. They wore a black uniform, and their caps bore a death's head on the front, to figure forth the spirit of deadly revenge which animated their leader. The English landed an armament at Cuxhaven, to act in concert with the Brunswickers, but the whole plan was defeated, the British re-embarked, and the Duke of Brunswick escaped to England. As the French held all the Prussian fortresses, and the King of Prussia, after the battle of Eckmühl, disavowed all the proceedings against Napoleon, the Archduke Ferdinand made no progress in his attempt to excite a war in Prussia; but the spirit of the country was evident, and combined with other causes to render the circumstances of the French Emperor grave and arduous. All Europe was intent upon the issue of the battle, which was evidently impending between him and the Archduke Charles, who now approached the left bank of the Danube, while the French army occupied Vienna and the right bank of that great river, which, swollen by the spring rains and the melting of the snow on the mountains, divided the two armies, as if by an impassable barrier,—all the bridges above and below Vienna having been destroyed by the Austrians.

Any protraction of the war was unfavourable to the interests of Napoleon, while in an enemy's country, and in danger of obstruction to his communications. He resolved, therefore, to effect the passage of the Danube, and bring the contest to an issue. He first attempted this enterprise at Nussdorf, half a league above Vienna, where the stream flows in a deep but comparatively narrow channel, and the remains of a bridge still existed; but a party of five hundred men, who were pushed forward under the command of General St. Hilaire to commence the operation, were attacked and cut to pieces by the Austrians, and this locality was in consequence abandoned. The next attempt was made at Ebersdorf. The Danube is divided, at this spot, into five branches, by several islands, one of which, named Lobau, is very large. Here Napoleon collected with extraordinary diligence all the boats, small craft, and other materials, that could be obtained, resolving to cross the river by a succession of bridges, thrown across the different streams between the banks and the islands. This chain of bridges was in sufficient forwardness to be passable by the 19th of May. The Archduke Charles meanwhile offered no opposition whatever to these proceedings. The result shewed that his inactivity was maintained for a settled purpose.

On the 20th of May, the French army began the passage of the Danube, and debouched on the left bank upon the plain extending be-



tween the villages of Essling and Asperne. Having passed over about thirty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry, Napoleon ordered a redoubt to be constructed to cover the extremity of the bridge, on the left side: this last portion of the line of communication was united at its other end with the large Island of Lobau. These operations were not concluded before the evening, when the French troops occupied the two villages of Asperne and Essling.

Contradictory reports were brought in during the night, and it was found impossible to decide concerning the numbers and intentions of the Austrians. Many lights were seen on the distant heights, which induced Lannes and other generals to believe their enemies were concentrated there; but much nearer, and in the very front of the French army, a pale streak stretched across the sky, of about a league in length, the reflection of multitudes of watch fires. Massena, judging from this indication, maintained that the whole Austrian army was before them.

Napoleon was on horseback by daybreak on the 21st, to decide by personal observation; but the Austrian light cavalry thickly covered the ground, and rendered it impossible to reconnoitre. He sent pressing orders to expedite the passage of the remainder of his army from the right bank, but various accidents had occurred to the bridges during

the night, and notwithstanding all the ardour of the troops, they were retarded.

While the army of Napoleon was thus divided, and the obstacles to its concentration were yet unconquered, the veil of Austrian skirmishers was suddenly withdrawn, and the army of the Archduke Charles was seen advancing in five columns, nearly ninety thousand in number, and possessing two hundred and twenty pieces of artillery. The impending battle commenced with a furious attack on the village of Asperne which was defended with steady courage by Massena. It was taken and retaken many times during the day. The struggle was obstinate, and the slaughter dreadful. The peaceful farmyards, gardens, and terraces, became so many fields of battle: the implements of industry and domestic comfort were converted into means of defence. Wagons, harrows, ploughs, carriages of all sorts, were used to construct barricades. When nightfall ended the furious conflict, Massena remained master of one part of the ruined and burning village, but the Austrians occupied the church and churchyard. During the latter part of the day, Essling had sustained three general attacks from the Austrians, but Lannes who defended this post, repulsed them as often. Once, however, he must have given way, had not Napoleon saved him by a well-timed charge of cavalry. The two armies, exhausted with fatigue sunk into sleep, surrounded by heaps of dead and wounded.

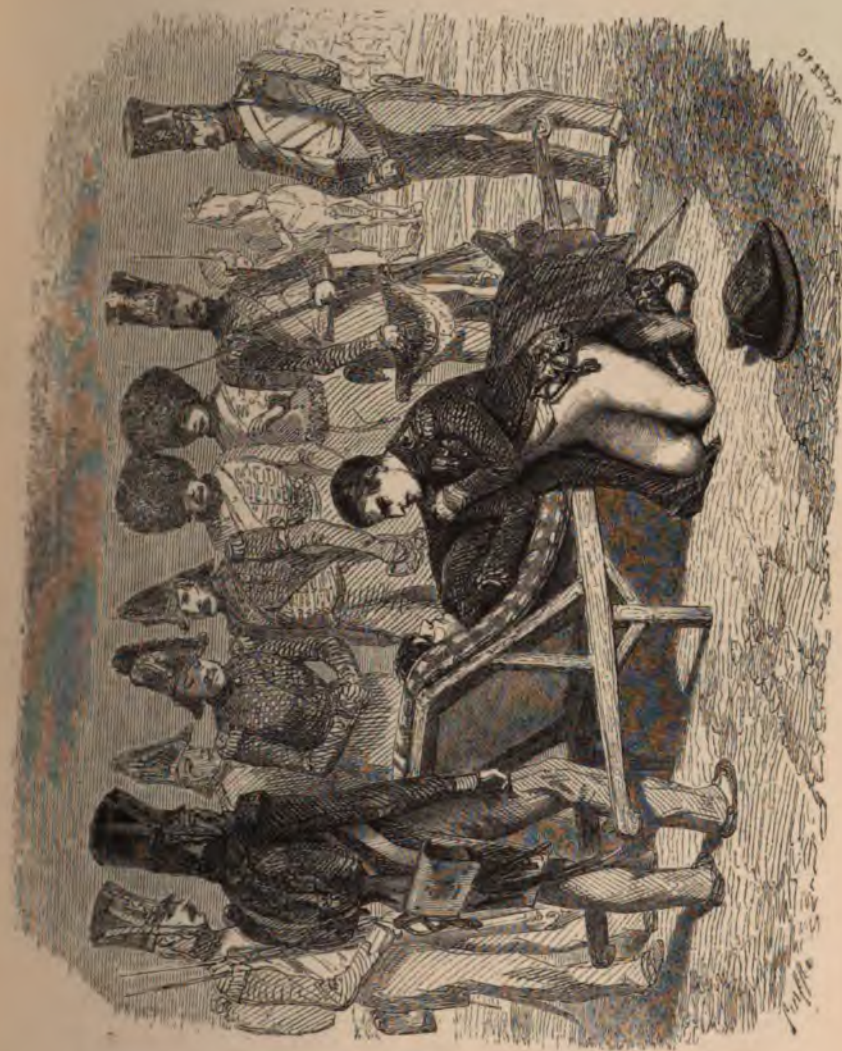
The bridges had been rendered passable, and reinforcements began to reach the French army by early dawn on the 23rd. Napoleon now prepared to assume the offensive, having fifty thousand men on the field; and having ordered the corps of Davoust to advance from the right bank. At the moment when the Austrian commander had weakened his centre and right, to re-commence the attack on Asperne, the French columns poured down upon the vulnerable points with fury. The Archduke Charles exerted great courage and energy at this critical moment, when his army was in imminent danger of being divided; and Napoleon, in the excitement of the attack, exposed himself to the hottest of the fire; so much so, that General Walther, who commanded the grenadiers of the guard, exclaimed,—“Sire, retire, or I will order my grenadiers to carry you away.” At this crisis of the battle, when all depended on the support of his reserves, Napoleon received the disastrous intelligence that a considerable portion of his bridge had been carried away by the flood, and that large barges filled with stones, beams of windmills, and boats filled with combustibles, had been drifted down the stream by the Austrians. The communication between the two banks of the Danube was thus entirely cut off.

The situation of Napoleon was now critical in the extreme, and it was necessary to form his decision on the instant. The portion of

the bridge which connected the left bank with the Island of Lobau, was perfectly uninjured, and he resolved to effect his retreat to that island, and thence to recover his communication with the remainder of his army. The Austrians soon perceived the fire of their enemies begin to slacken, and shortly learned the cause. A dreadful combat then raged for twelve hours, leaving the French at midnight, in possession of the two villages, and of their entire original position, but with a fearful loss of numbers. Twenty thousand dead and wounded covered the ground. Generals D'Espagne and St. Hilaire were killed, and Lannes, the companion of all Napoleon's triumphs, had both his legs shot off by a cannon-ball during the action. "The Emperor," says Savary, "had quitted the field of battle, and was engaged in pointing some artillery in the Island of Lobau, for the purpose of protecting the retreat of our columns, when he perceived a litter coming from the field of battle, with Marshal Lannes stretched upon it. He ordered him to be carried to a retired spot where they might be alone and uninterrupted. With his face bathed in tears, he approached and embraced his dying friend. Exhausted by the great loss of blood, Lannes could only articulate a few broken words."

The loss of the Austrians in the dreadful battle of Essling is computed to have been equal with that of the French. They claimed the victory, but certainly without warrant. Neither side could, in fact, claim it with truth. During the night, Napoleon effected the retreat of his remaining troops, together with the whole of his wounded, into the Island of Lobau. Before daybreak, he himself, together with Berthier, crossed the Danube in a boat, to visit the division of Davoust, which had been cut off from taking a share in the battle, by the disaster of the morning, and which still remained on the right bank of the river.





DEATH OF MARSHAL LANNES.



CHAPTER VII.

OPERATIONS OF THE HOSTILE ARMIES—NAPOLEON EXCOMMUNICATED—PASSAGE OF THE DANUBE—BATTLE OF WAGRAM—ARMISTICE—THE ENGLISH EXPEDITION TO THE SCHELDT—BATTLE OF TALAVERA—THE POPE CARRIED TO FRANCE—ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE NAPOLEON—PEACE OF VIENNA.



ON the morning of the 22nd of May, Napoleon was cooped up, with his wearied and diminished forces and all his wounded, in the Island of Lobau, and another smaller island adjoining,—which was divided from the left bank of the Danube by a narrow channel, not above forty yards in width,—while his communication with Davoust and the rest of the army, was entirely cut off. At this moment, the Archduke Charles had an opportunity of driving him to the last extremity by a vigorous

attack; but no such attack was made. The Archduke remained stationary. Napoleon acted vigorously. By the second day after the battle, he had repaired the broken bridge so thoroughly as to defy further danger of accident; had re-established his line of communication; set on foot the necessary measures for procuring reinforcements; converted the Isle of Lobau into an entrenched camp of extraordinary strength, defended by battering cannon; and had actually commenced

the construction of three floating bridges, which he destined to serve as the means of passing his whole army across the river, from Lobau to the left bank, at a point lower down the stream than that which he had chosen on the 20th. The Archduke Charles, who never suspected this new plan, employed himself in entrenching his army strongly in the villages of Entzerdorf, Essling, and Asperne, and erecting fortifications of immense strength, to oppose any attempt to cross by the original bridge. In this manner elapsed the whole month of June.

Meanwhile, all the powers of Europe, now coalesced against France, had conceived fresh hopes from the doubtful event of the battle of Essling. English squadrons threatened the coast of Italy, and a strong British armament was prepared to effect a descent on the coasts of Holland and Belgium. The Tyrolese resumed their arms; and, under the command of Hofer, once more drove the French from their country. Finally, Pope Pius VII. fulminated a bull of excommunication against the Emperor of France. It is possible that his Holiness, seeing Napoleon in a dangerous position, and anticipating his fall, was anxious to have it attributed to the maledictions of the church.

Napoleon paid so little regard to the spiritual terrors of the court of Rome, that he laid aside the consideration of his further proceedings with regard to his Holiness, till he had settled the more arduous struggle with Austria. His army now numbered one hundred and fifty thousand men, with four hundred pieces of cannon. His last reinforcement had been completed by the junction of the army of Italy under Prince Eugene, who had pursued the Archduke John to the frontiers of Hungary, after defeating him in a pitched battle at Raab, on the 14th of June. The Archduke John crossed the Danube, at Presburg, and advanced with the intention of forming a junction with the Archduke Charles; but Napoleon did not give him the opportunity.

The operation of establishing the bridges between the French camp and the left bank of the Danube, commenced on the night of the 30th of June; and during the night of the 4th of July, the whole French army debouched on the plain of Marchfeld. Napoleon was on horseback, and in the midst of them, by daylight: all the Austrian fortifications, erected to defend the passage at the former bridge, were turned; the villages occupied by their army were quickly taken, and the Archduke Charles found himself menaced both in flank and rear, the French line of battle being formed upon the extremity of his left wing. Under these circumstances, the archduke attempted to outflank the French right, while Napoleon bore down upon his centre, stationed at Wagram. This village became the scene of a sanguinary struggle, and one house only remained standing when night closed in. The archduke sent courier after courier to hasten the advance

of his brother. Napoleon passed the whole night in concentrating the mass of his forces upon his centre, and forming the disposition of his different divisions. At six o'clock on the morning of the 6th of July, he commanded the attack in person. This was one of those decisive occasions on which he disregarded all risk, and appeared throughout the day in the hottest of the fire, mounted on a snow-white charger, called Euphrates, a present from the Shah of Persia.



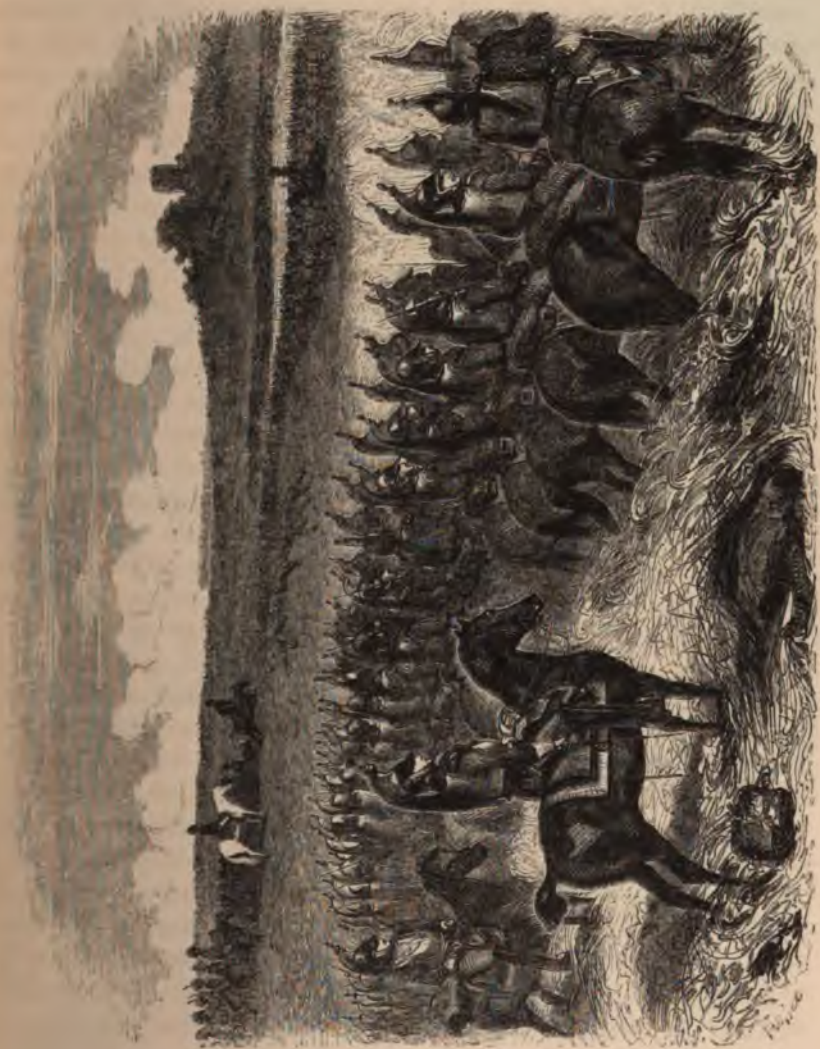
Wherever he appeared he became a stimulus to energy among his own soldiers, and a mark to the enemy; yet he remained unhurt. The Archduke Charles, in the very commencement of the action, committed that error which the enemies of Napoleon had not even yet learned was invariably fatal to them: he extended his line too great a length, and weakened his centre, but at the same time opening a tremendous attack on the extremities of the French line, which suffered dreadful loss at both points. Napoleon formed his plan on the instant. He ordered Lauriston to advance upon the Austrian centre, with a hundred pieces of artillery: at the same time, he formed two whole divisions of infantry in column. The artillery rapidly traversed the ground, and opened a

murderous fire, within half cannon-shot of the opposing army. The steady charge of infantry, led by Macdonald, followed: the Austrian line was broken, and the centre driven back in confusion. The right, sharing the sudden panic, commenced a retrograde motion: the French cavalry then bore down upon them. The fate of the battle was decided from that moment, though it raged for two hours afterwards; but the archduke only fought to secure his retreat, which he at length effected in good order. It was then only ten o'clock in the morning; by twelve, the whole Austrian army was by degrees abandoning the contest. Their defeat was so irretrievable, that the Archduke John, who came up before the battle was over, was glad to retire with the rest, unnoticed by the enemy. By evening, the field of Wagram was possessed solely by the conquerors.

The whole population of Vienna had watched the progress of the battle, from the roofs and ramparts of the city; and saw the retreat of their army with fear and gloom. Between three and four hundred thousand men, in all, had been engaged, and the loss on both sides was very great, and nearly equal. About twenty thousand dead, and thirty thousand wounded, strewed the ground. The wounded were all carefully conveyed to the hospitals of Vienna. The French generals, Lasalle, Gauthier, and Lacour, were killed; and Bessières together with twenty commanders of high rank were wounded. Napoleon saw Bessières struck from his horse, in the heat of the action; but his mind reverting to the death of Lannes, he turned away, saying hurriedly, "Let us go; I have no time to weep: let us avoid another painful scene." He was soon, however, informed that the hurt was not serious.

The loss of Bessières as a leader, and the absence of Murat, were severely felt by the army, and visibly affected the operations of the cavalry. Twenty thousand Austrians were taken prisoners, but the number would have been greatly higher, had the French cavalry acted with their usual spirit. Bernadotte behaved as ill as he had done at Auerstadt, and afterwards issued a boastful bulletin, almost assuming to himself the merit of the victory. He was in consequence removed from his command. Macdonald was created a marshal of the empire, on the morning after the battle: he had been in a kind of disgrace for some years, but the splendid charge which decided the victory of Wagram, entirely made his peace with the Emperor. "Shake hands, Macdonald," said he; "no more animosity between us; we must henceforth be friends."

The conquered army retreated in the direction of Znaim, followed by the French; but all attempt at further resistance was now abandoned by the Emperor of Austria. The Archduke Charles solicited an armistice on the 9th, which was granted. Hostilities ceased, and



BATTLE OF WAGRAM

Napoleon, returning to Vienna, took up his residence once more in the palace of Schoenbrunn, while plenipotentiaries on both sides settled the terms of peace. Meanwhile, nearly a third of the dominions of Austria was occupied by the troops of France. The Tyrolese refused to comply with the terms of the armistice, which, with little sympathy from the sovereign in whose cause they had so lately risen, coldly included their free mountains among the other cessions to France. The Tyrol was in consequence invaded by a large French and Bavarian army, amounting to forty thousand men, during the month of July. This great force, however, could not compel the heroic defenders of their country to yield: abandoned by Austria, they now fought for independence, and defeated and destroyed their invaders. We quote the description of the defence of the valley of the Inn, from Scott. Not one of his own romances, contains a passage of more terrible interest:—

“A division of ten thousand men, belonging to the French and Bavarian army, advanced in a long column up a road, bordered on the one side by the river Inn, there a deep and rapid torrent, where cliffs of immense height overhang both road and river. The precipices, becoming more and more narrow as they advanced, seemed about to close over their heads. No sound but of the screaming of the eagles disturbed from their eyries, and the roar of the river, reached the ear of the soldier; and on the precipices, partly enveloped in a hazy mist, no human forms shewed themselves. At length, the voice of a man was heard calling across the ravine, ‘Shall we begin?’—‘No;’ was returned in an authoritative tone of voice, by one who, like the first speaker, seemed the inhabitant of some upper region. The Bavarian detachment halted, and sent to the general for orders; when presently was heard the terrible signal, ‘In the name of the Holy Trinity, cut all loose!’ Huge rocks, and trunks of trees, long prepared and laid in heaps for the purpose, began now to descend rapidly in every direction; while the deadly fire of the Tyrolese, who never throw away a shot, opened from every bush, crag, or corner of a rock, which could afford the shooter cover. As this dreadful attack was made on the whole line at once, two-thirds of the enemy were instantly destroyed; while the Tyrolese, rushing from their shelter with swords, spears, axes, scythes, clubs, and all other rustic instruments which could be converted into weapons, beat down and routed the shattered remainder.”

The peace, which shortly followed, concluded this fierce struggle. Austria made no effort to secure the indemnity of the Tyrolese by any stipulation in the treaty, but sent them an exhortation to lay down their arms, which, as they were unable to contend singly against

the whole power of France, they obeyed. Hofer and about thirty others of the leaders in the late war were put to death upon the submission of the country to Bavaria. It is impossible to decide whether the heartless passiveness of the Emperor Francis, or the tyrannous revenge of the Emperor Napoleon, is the more to be execrated in this transaction.

The English ministers displayed at this time another instance of their extraordinary spirit of procrastination, combined with their unceasing hostility to France. Exactly eight days after the armistice of Znaim, which could not but give them assurance that Austria was no longer in a position to profit by or co-operate with their proceedings, they sent a powerful armament, under the command of Lord Chatham, to besiege Antwerp. The troops disembarked on the islands of South Beveland and Walcheren. Flushing surrendered on the 15th of August, but here the successes of the expedition terminated. Bernadotte had meanwhile been sent to undertake the defence of Antwerp. Fouché, who acted as minister of the interior in Napoleon's absence, conferred this appointment, which was naturally displeasing to the Emperor, in consequence of recent circumstances. Bernadotte, however, put Antwerp in a complete state of defence; assembled thirty thousand men within and around its walls; inundated the country by opening the sluices, and erected strong batteries on both sides of the Scheldt. The passage of the river was thus rendered nearly impassable; the British naval and military officers disagreed as to the management of their forces; the original objects of the expedition were abandoned; the navy returned to English ports, while the military, concentrated, for no conceivable purpose, in the Island of Walcheren, perished by thousands of the malignant fevers generated in its marshes. At length, after the loss of more lives than might have been sacrificed in three battles, the fortifications of Flushing were blown up, and the British forces returned to their own country. In this manner were the blood and treasures of England wantonly wasted. "The marine and land forces combined," says Napier, "numbered more than eighty thousand fighting men, and those of the bravest;—the object in view was comparatively insignificant, yet was not attained; and this ill-fated army with spirit and strength and zeal to have spread the fame of England to the extremities of the earth, perished in the pestilent marshes of Walcheren."

The operations against Naples, which were carried on at the same time, proved equally abortive, much more owing to delay and incapacity in the mode of conducting them, than to any energy on the part of Murat. In Spain alone, the efforts of the English arms were crowned

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LORD WELLINGTON.

with success. Sir Arthur Wellesley won the battle of Talavera on the 28th of July. The consequences of his victory were, however, deprived of a great part of their importance by the difficulties with which he was surrounded, the bad conduct of the Spaniards, and the scanty supply of money afforded him by his own government. The French troops assembling from all quarters, left him no alternative but a retreat on Portugal, and for want of means of transport, which the Spaniards ought to have provided, he was obliged to leave fifteen hundred of his wounded behind. They met with the greatest care and attention from Soult, but the circumstance is sufficient to shew the extent of the Spanish ingratitude by which his operations were thwarted. Had even a part of the forces and means wasted on the two unfortunate expeditions to the Scheldt and Italy, been placed under his able command, the long-protracted war in the peninsula might at that period have been brought to a close. Sir Arthur Wellesley was elevated to the peerage, with the title of Lord Wellington, immediately after the battle of Talavera.

Napoleon found leisure to attend to the affairs of the Pope, while he remained at Schoenbrunn. We quote from Bourrienne the curious document containing the decree of excommunication issued against him by his Holiness:—"By the authority of the Almighty God, the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own, we declare that you and all your co-operators, by the act you have just committed, have incurred excommunication; into which (according to the form of our apostolic bulls, which, on such occasions, are posted up in the frequented places in this city) we declare all those have fallen, who, since the last violent invasion of our city, have been guilty, either in Rome or in the ecclesiastical states, of acts against which we have remonstrated. We also declare as excommunicated all those who were promoters, advisers, and counsellors of those acts, or whoever has co-operated in their execution." These spiritual threats were accompanied by corresponding acts. The Pope barricaded himself in his palace. The French troops were insulted in the streets, and great danger existed of a popular commotion bursting forth. General Miollis, authorised by Napoleon, had repeatedly urged upon his Holiness the wisdom of an opposite course; using every argument to persuade him to submit to the Emperor. He now adopted a measure which is usually ascribed to Napoleon himself, but which, from the best examination of facts and dates, appears to have been hastily acted upon in the stress of circumstances, and afterwards sanctioned by him. The French General Radet forcibly entered the Quirinal palace on the night of the 5th of July (the eve of the battle of Wagram), and seizing the person of the Pope,



conveyed him to Florence, and thence by Alexandria and Mondovi across the Alps to Grenoble. The people of the north of Italy did not see, unmoved, the head of the church travelling rapidly as a state-prisoner, under a guard of soldiers. Crowds prostrated themselves to implore his benediction as he passed.

Whether the Emperor would have ordered this step, remains doubtful; it is certain that he gave it his approval; and, subsequently, caused Pius VII. to be brought to Fontainebleau. To unite the whole peninsula of Italy into one state, of which Rome should again be the capital, its ancient monuments preserved and restored to their former splendour, had long been a favourite dream with Napoleon; and the removal of the Pope seemed to bring it nearer to its accomplishment.

The negotiations for the treaty lingered on; and though it is evident that Napoleon sincerely desired peace, he kept himself prepared for war. He established a large intrenched camp in front of Vienna, on the left bank of the Danube, and he visited and inspected all his different corps in the encampments. He reviewed the corps of Marshal Davoust on the field of Austerlitz; and went over all the localities of the remarkable events of this great battle. It was shortly after his return to Schoenbrunn, and towards the end of September, that, while passing in review some regiments of the line in the court of the palace, Napoleon was suddenly addressed by a young man, who sprang from the crowd assembled as usual to see what was going on, and spoke a few words to him in broken French. Not understanding what had been said, the Emperor referred

the young man to General Rapp, who, considering him a troublesome petitioner, desired the gendarmes to remove him. The trifling interruption had been entirely forgotten when, at another point of his progress along the line of troops, Napoleon was again confronted by the same youth, who now held his right hand in his breast, as if to draw out a petition, and again uttered a few broken sentences. "I cannot comprehend what you say," replied the Emperor; "speak to General Rapp." Berthier now seized the young man by the arm somewhat roughly, and gave him in charge to an officer, saying, "You are importunate, sir; you have before been referred to General Rapp." The hand which had held the supposed petition, was removed from its position by Berthier's grasp, and the handle of a large kitchen knife became distinctly visible. It was quickly drawn out by a gendarme, and the blade was found to be enclosed in a scabbard, made of several sheets of brown paper, sewed together with coarse thread. The bearer of this dangerous weapon was quickly removed to the quarters of General Savary: he was found to be a youth of eighteen or nineteen, of delicate appearance, and feminine cast of countenance. He answered to his interrogators, that he was the son of a Protestant minister at Erfurt, named Staps, and avowed that he had determined to kill the Emperor Napoleon in order to restore peace to his country. He had left Erfurt without imparting his intentions to any one; had written to his father, saying that he had undertaken a journey, and that something would shortly be heard of him. He had remained two days in Vienna, to obtain information respecting the Emperor's habits; and had been at the parade on a former occasion to rehearse his part, and fix upon the spot where he should station himself. He then sought out a cutler, of whom he purchased the large knife found upon him, and returned to the parade for the purpose of accomplishing his terrible design. He was asked what had been the nature of his studies; what books he usually read? He replied,—“History; and of all I have read, nothing has so much excited my emulation as the life of the Maid of Orleans, because she freed France from its enemies, and I felt a desire of following her example.”

When Napoleon was informed of the peril from which he had escaped, he desired to see the intended assassin, who was shortly brought into his presence. He was surprised at the youth and gentle appearance of the young German: so much so that he exclaimed in a tone of compassion,—“Oh, the thing is quite impossible! this is but a lad.” He then asked him if he knew the Emperor? “Yes, sire,” replied the stranger, with the utmost composure. The dialogue which followed, and which is detailed by Savary, who was present, is too

puted that the Emperor Francis gave up territory to the amount of forty-five thousand square miles, with a population of nearly four millions; he also paid a large contribution in money; yet, the terms granted by the conqueror were universally esteemed as singularly lenient, when compared with the completeness of his triumph at Wagram. Whatever moderation he displayed was, however, explained by subsequent events, of no very distant date.

Napoleon departed from Vienna the day after the signing of the treaty; having left directions with Berthier to blow up the ramparts of Vienna, and the fortifications of Brunn, Raab, and Gratz. His orders were punctually obeyed. He reached Paris on the 26th of October, having visited Munich on his way, and was received with all the acclamations due to his glory and success.





CHAPTER VIII.

THE DIVORCE OF NAPOLEON FROM JOSEPHINE—HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE ARCHDUCHESS MARIA LOUISA OF AUSTRIA—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NAPOLEON AND LOUIS BONAPARTE—HOLLAND INCORPORATED WITH FRANCE—BERNADOTTE ELECTED CROWN-PRINCE OF SWEDEN—SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN OF LORD WELLINGTON IN PORTUGAL—BIRTH OF A SON TO NAPOLEON—VICTORIES OF THE FRENCH IN SPAIN—THE GUERRILLA SYSTEM—A FRESH CONSCRIPTION OF ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN.



NAPOLEON had rested at Fontainebleau on his way to Paris from the campaign of Wagram. He was quickly joined by Josephine, who hastened from St. Cloud, with her usual eagerness to welcome him. She perceived a certain restraint and embarrassment in his manner towards her, and found the doors of communication between their apartments entirely closed; these were the first intimations she received of the approach of an event which had long haunted her imagination. A splendid court was

assembled at Fontainebleau, but the two principal personages in the brilliant festivities of nearly every-day occurrence, concealed beneath their outward demeanour a painful sense of mutual reserve and distrust. No explanation took place between them until they changed their residence for Paris, towards the middle of November, and even then,

Napoleon shrunk from taking upon himself the task of converting the fears of Josephine into certainty. The resolution to divorce himself from her was now irrevocably formed in his mind, but he intrusted the communication of it to her son, Eugene Beauharnais.

The attendants who waited on the Emperor and Empress did not fail to observe that on the 30th of November Josephine wore a large hat so arranged as to endeavour to conceal the traces of weeping, and that scarcely a word was uttered by either during dinner. Scarcely a minute had elapsed after they were left alone, when M. de Bausset, the prefect of the palace, was hastily recalled by Napoleon, who said eagerly,—“Come in Bausset; close the door.” The Empress was stretched on the floor, venting pitiable cries, and exclaiming,—“No, I shall never survive it!” Napoleon then said,—“Are you strong enough to lift up Josephine and convey her to her own apartment, where she may have the assistance and attention her situation requires?” M. de Bausset immediately raised Josephine in his arms with the assistance of Napoleon, the latter leading the way with a lamp which he had snatched from a table through a passage opening on the private staircase. Josephine had apparently fainted, and to convey her safely in the descent, Napoleon took hold of her feet, giving the lamp to another attendant. In this manner she was carried into her room, and was as quickly as possible attended by Corvisart, her daughter Hortense, Cambacérès, and Fouché. She rapidly recovered herself, and was never again known to yield to any outward demonstration of violent grief on this subject. She has herself related the words which so overcame her, in describing the circumstance to Bourrienne a year after it had occurred. “As soon,” she said, “as Bonaparte had taken his coffee, he dismissed all the attendants, and I remained alone with him. I saw in the expression of his countenance what was passing in his mind; and I knew that my hour was come. He stepped up to me, took my hand, pressed it to his heart, and after gazing at me for a few moments in silence, he uttered these fatal words:—“Josephine! my dear Josephine! you know how I have loved you!—To you, to you alone, I owe the only moments of happiness I have tasted in this world. But Josephine, my destiny is not to be controlled by my will. My dearest affections must yield to the interests of France.” “Say no more,” I exclaimed, “I understand you: I expected this, but the blow is not the less severe. I know not what happened after; I seemed to lose my reason, and became insensible.”

The motives which induced Napoleon thus to tear asunder the closest tie of his domestic life, were two-fold; arising mainly out of what he considered to be the “interests of France.” There seems no doubt that he was sincere in the matter, though we, judging after

the events, and knowing the abortive result, may be able to pronounce that he was wanting in the best wisdom when he thus acted. He anxiously desired to avoid any danger of a disputed succession, and this he feared would be the consequence of his leaving no issue; he imagined, also, that by allying himself with one of the ancient dynasties of Europe, he should secure a lasting peace, if not to himself, at least to a son, if he had one, who would be related to this royal house by the ties of blood.

The imperial constitution expressly permitted Napoleon to name his successor; and it is well known that he had intended to fix his choice on the eldest son of his brother Louis. It is not easy to conjecture why the death of that child, in 1807, should have made him feel as though he should now have no heir; because the second son, Prince Napoleon Louis, born in 1804, was well known to have been a great favourite with the Emperor. We are aware of the scandalous reports by which the exclusive preference is attempted to be explained; but we have already declared our repudiation of all statements originating in mere conjectures or calumnies. Savary hints that Napoleon feared jealousies among his other relations, who had sons, might interfere with that entire unanimity which could alone provide for the safety of the empire. The same writer even asserts that Napoleon had inclined to nominate Eugene Beauharnais as his successor. After all, it seems likely that the desire, common to all men, of leaving a son of his own to inherit his power and acquisitions in the world, mingled strongly with the solicitude of Napoleon for the "interests of France." His idea that a royal alliance with legitimacy would ensure peace and stability to his empire, was a current opinion at the time, throughout France and other countries. Even Bourrienne, who had always anticipated the return of the Bourbons, confesses that he began to think the event would be rendered very doubtful by such an alliance. The idea, however, was only another demonstration of the same false estimate which made Napoleon, in the treaty of Tilsit, prefer the hollow friendship of an emperor to the honest love and co-operation of two free nations like Sweden and Poland.

When the projected divorce became publicly known, Josephine ceased to appear as Empress, and Madame Mère, the mother of Napoleon, did the honours. It was officially announced by the Emperor on the 15th of December, 1809, at the Tuileries, in the presence of Cambacérès, as arch-chancellor of the empire; Count Regnaud, as secretary; and all the members of the imperial family. Napoleon addressed the assemblage, in a loud voice, explaining his intentions and motives, during which his countenance displayed unusual emotion. Josephine then spoke, and declared in few words, interrupted by au-

dible sobs, her acquiescence in the Emperor's will. The senate was apprised of the divorce on the following day; and, on this occasion, Prince Eugene spoke as follows:—"When my mother was crowned, before all France, by the hands of her august husband, she contracted the obligation to sacrifice all her affections to the interests of France: she has fulfilled this first of duties with noble courage and dignity. The tears which this resolution has cost the Emperor, are a sufficient tribute to the honour of my mother." The spiritual ceremony of the divorce took place on the 12th of January, though there existed no absolute necessity for it, as Napoleon and Josephine had been married only according to the civil form prescribed by the new constitution of France, and never by the religious rite; moreover, the public proclamation was couched in terms borrowed from the Council of Trent:—"that every marriage is null which is not made in presence of the curate of one or other of the contracting parties, or his vicar, assisted by two witnesses:" so that, in order to accomplish what he wished, without any church difficulties or delays, Napoleon actually suffered the heartless assertion to be made, that he had never been married to Josephine at all; and, to complete the farce (a completion worthy of the richest pieces of sarcasm in Voltaire's romances), he gravely paid a fine of six francs to the poor, for having neglected his religious duty!

The Emperor retired for a few days to Trianon, as soon as the business was completed; and Josephine went to Malmaison, where she fixed her residence. She retained the rank of Empress during life, with a dowry of two millions of francs (upwards of eighty thousand pounds), to which Napoleon afterwards added a third more, that she might experience no inconvenience from the habits of expense, which had now become almost necessary to her. All authorities concur in one tribute of admiration and love for her character; and it does honour, both to her and the courtiers of Paris, to record that for some time after her descent from her high dignity, the road towards Malmaison presented the appearance of a procession: all those who belonged to the rank which authorised their visiting her, conceiving it their bounden duty to present themselves there at least once a week. "In quitting the court," says Savary, "she drew the heart of all its votaries after her: she was endeared to all by a kindness of disposition which was without a parallel. She was profuse of her bounties; and bestowed them with such good grace, that the partakers of them would have deemed it an act of incivility to refuse her: no applicant ever left her presence with empty hands. She never did the smallest injury to any one in the days of her power: her very enemies found in her a protectress. She placed many families in a state of comparative independence; and was surrounded of late years by a swarm of children, whose mothers had

been married and settled in life, through her bounties." Napoleon once said, "I only gain battles, while Josephine gains all hearts." He never ceased to regard her with affectionate respect, and frequently visited her.

A grand council was assembled on the 1st of February, 1810, to assist the Emperor in the selection of a new consort; but the intervening six weeks had not been lost. Napoleon had already transmitted to St. Petersburg a proposal for the hand of the Grand-Duchess Anne Paulowna, sister to the Emperor Alexander, then only sixteen years of age; but certain delays and demurs, relative to her youth, made it apparent that the czar did not warmly covet the alliance. Meantime, the Austrian court had eagerly caught at the prospect for one of their princesses, the idea having been indirectly hinted through the intrigues of diplomatists and ambassadors. The choice of the council falling in consequence on an Austrian alliance, Prince Eugene was commissioned to propose to the ambassador from Vienna, at Paris, a marriage between the Emperor Napoleon and the Archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter to the Emperor of Austria. The offer was immediately accepted, and adjusted between plenipotentiaries on either side within the space of twenty-four hours. The marriage took place by proxy, at Vienna, on the 11th of March, 1810, Berthier representing the person of the Emperor Napoleon, while the Archduke Charles, who had so often stood opposed to him in the field, now officiating at the ceremony for the Emperor Francis, gave away his royal niece to his ancient enemy.

Two days afterwards the new Empress departed from Vienna, accompanied by a numerous train of courtiers and attendants, and travelled straight to Braunau, a town situated on the frontiers of Austria and Bavaria. Here a building of wood had been erected by the orders of Napoleon, splendidly fitted up for the purpose of performing the ceremony of transferring his bride to her new empire. The Queen of Naples, with a numerous escort of personages of the highest rank in France, here awaited their new sovereign. The building was divided into three compartments; one for the Austrian court, another for the French, while the middle one remained neutral, and was intended as the scene of the ceremony. Every minute and petty detail of the proceedings was dictated by Napoleon himself. The following extract from this lengthy document will be sufficient to shew its ludicrous and almost incredible frivolity. "The French commissioner alone, accompanied by the Austrian and French masters of the ceremonies, shall advance towards the Empress, and after having made three reverences, shall address a complimentary speech to her Majesty, explaining the object of his mission. After her Majesty's reply, the Austrian master of the ceremonies shall point out to the French commissioner

the Austrian commissioner: the two commissioners shall then salute and mutually compliment each other: the first compliment shall be paid by the Austrian commissioner." Commenting on the singular union "of the most gigantic combinations and petty details in the same understanding," Hazlitt remarks, that "it seems as if the mind, the more it does, the more it can do, and that as by inaction it rusts and grows torpid, so the principle of activity in it is multiplied as it is called forth, without its being possible to assign the utmost limits of the human capacity." It is possible, also, that to employ his attention on such trifling pantomimes, was a kind of relief or rest to Napoleon from the pressure of his ordinary weight of important business; but his turning for relaxation to the pageants of royalty and legitimacy was a fatal symptom.

The appearance of the young Empress prepossessed all hearts in her favour. She was just eighteen; her person tall and graceful, rather inclining to *embonpoint*; her hair flaxen; her eyes blue, and expressive of openness and innocence; and her whole countenance breathing health and good nature. She took leave of all her court and attendants after the ceremony; put off her German dress, and was habited entirely in the French fashion. With a kind of high-flown gallantry, Napoleon had ordered that the chevalier of honour, whose immediate duty it was to wait on the Empress, should never touch her hand, even in ascending or descending a flight of steps; but his precaution was quite frustrated, for the whole of her German escort, from the highest to the lowest, kissed this jealously-guarded hand on taking leave. She travelled towards France by Munich, accompanied by the Queen of Naples. At every night's resting-place, she found a courier awaiting her with a letter from the Emperor. At Strasburg, she received from him a present of the choicest flowers of the season, and some pheasants of his own shooting. He was waiting her arrival at Compiègne, where a splendid court was assembled, and had arranged that she should halt on the last night at Soissons; but his impatience disconcerted all his own fine arrangements. Instead of waiting for the ceremony of the next day, at which he was to meet her at an appointed spot,—when "the Empress should prepare to kneel, and the Emperor should raise her, embrace, and seat her beside him,"—he ordered the escort straight forward to Compiègne that night, and stealing out of the palace, accompanied only by the King of Naples, set off in a plain carriage to meet her. He passed through Soissons, and alighted at the little village of Courcelles, where the carriage of the Empress was to change horses. Here he waited under the porch of the village church, to shelter himself from a pouring rain, anxiously watching for her arrival. When, at



length, her carriage drew up, he rushed to the door, opened it himself, and without further ceremony, stepped in; the Queen of Naples hastily exclaiming,—“It is the Emperor!” with a view to calm the extreme surprise of the Empress at this abrupt entrance of an apparent stranger. They reached Compiègne together at ten o'clock; and, it appears, that having once broken the ice of etiquette, Napoleon did not wait for the two other marriage ceremonies which were still to be performed, but following the example of Henry IV., when he espoused Mary de' Medici, passed the night with his bride.

The ceremonies of the civil and religious marriage took place on the second and third days subsequently, at Paris. The Emperor and Empress made their public entry into the city on the first of these days, and were received by an immense concourse of the population with transports of enthusiasm. The religious marriage was conducted with gorgeous magnificence. The procession passed from St. Cloud to the Tuileries, amidst the population of all Paris and the adjacent country, and through the great gallery of the Louvre, which was lined on each side by a triple row of ladies of the middle classes of Paris. The saloon at the termination of the gallery was converted into a chapel, and here a triple row of all the ladies of distinguished rank and fashion were stationed round the walls in richly-ornamented stalls. The ceremony was performed by Cardinal Fesch, in presence of all

the chiefs of the army, and dignitaries of the state and church of France. The cardinals alone (with the exception of two, who attended) absented themselves from the marriage of an excommunicated Emperor, for which insult they were sent out of Paris, and banished to a distance of at least fifty leagues from the capital.

Josephine had left Malmaison previous to these events: that residence was too near, and she had found the very atmosphere intolerable. The Emperor had presented her with a splendid estate in Navarre; and there she retired for a while, spending her time and money in beautifying and improving not only the place itself, but all the country round. The population, which had been miserably poor and degraded, was raised, under her care, to comfort and a state of enjoyment. Napoleon, on his part, found much satisfaction in his new domestic relations. Maria Louisa was warmly attached to him; and, in speaking of him, always called him "mon ange" (my angel). She was of a gentle, complying, and artless nature; and anxiously desirous to please him. He used, in comparing his two wives, to call the first "Grace," and the second "Innocence." The simplicity and affability of Maria Louisa rendered her very popular, though her qualities were not such as to excite the strong attachments which had been inspired by Josephine. Nothing was heard of now, however, but fêtes and rejoicing. Even Ferdinand of Spain, in his splendid prison of Valençay, is said to have drunk, at a banquet, "To the health of Napoleon the Great, and his august spouse Maria Louisa!"

About the 17th of April, the Emperor and Empress set off on a tour to the northern departments, visiting Antwerp and the chief cities of Belgium. They were received everywhere with acclamations, the whole journey appearing like a continued procession. At one small hamlet they passed under a triumphal arch, on the front of which was inscribed "Pater Noster," and on the reverse side "Ave Maria, plena gratia!" Hazlitt remarks that we may see from such a thing as this, "how easily enthusiasm runs up into superstition;" or, in other words, how easily we may account for the commencement of idol worship. The only adverse occurrence connected with these festivities was a dreadful fire which occurred at the house of Prince Schwartzburg, the Austrian ambassador, on the occasion of a grand ball which was given soon after the imperial pair returned to Paris, and at which they were present. Napoleon carried the Empress from the ball-room in his arms, and having placed her in her carriage returned to the scene of confusion, where his prompt directions saved one or two lives. Many of the guests were seriously injured, and the Princess of Schwartzburg perished in the flames. It was remarked as an evil omen that an accident of the same kind had happened soon after

the marriage of Louis XVI. with another Austrian Princess, the unhappy Marie Antoinette; and, though Napoleon said nothing at the time, the event sank deep into his mind. When, some years afterwards, Moreau was killed in the Battle of Dresden, the false report that it was the Prince of Schwartzburg who had fallen, spread around: Napoleon was presently heard to say, "Then the omen pointed at him, not at me," as if glad to cast off the presage from himself, to another.

Omens enough were around him, while to all outward appearance he was at the zenith of power and prosperity. The war in Spain smouldered on; the Emperor of Russia looked coldly and suspiciously at his proceedings, and is reported to have said, when he heard of the marriage, "Then, the next task will be to drive me back to my forests;" and the continental system was creating widely-spread discontent. The quarrel between Napoleon and his brother Louis, the King of Holland, which occurred about this time, was one of the consequences of this last-mentioned canker in the state of France. Commerce, which must be an object of essential importance to every state, was the very life of Holland; and Louis saw that he must bring ruin on the people over whom he was placed, if he enforced the prohibitory decree of the Emperor. The two brothers had formed perfectly opposite theories of right in this matter. Napoleon considered that the first duty of Louis, as a King of Holland nominated by himself, was towards France. Louis thought his first duty was towards Holland: hence had arisen many mutual complaints, and, at last, extreme harshness, on the part of Napoleon towards Louis, whose nature was gentle, and who was truly conscientious and desirous to do right, and much beloved by his subjects.

Napoleon had, however, adopted the continental system as a principle, and was not to be deterred from it by any considerations of a local or particular nature. He continued to demand the co-operation of Louis in terms of increasing severity. At length, he seized on the maritime provinces, including the mouths of the Rhine and the Scheldt; and marched an army of twenty thousand men into the country to enforce obedience to his decrees. Louis, unable to contest with the iron will of his brother, abdicated the throne in favour of his son on the 3rd of July, 1810. Napoleon, who was deeply offended at this act, totally disregarded the provision in favour of his nephew, and annexed Holland to France by an imperial decree of the 9th of the same month. This measure created a great sensation throughout Europe; and it was not without reason Napoleon affirmed at St. Helena, that "it contributed not a little to lay the foundation of his misfortunes." Rightly considered, however, it was only one consequence of the inextinguishable animosity between England, and the empire which had grown out of the Revolution, dragging into ruin the weaker states which

chanced to come within the range of its mortal struggles. The Emperor took an early opportunity of proclaiming that public considerations alone had swayed him in refusing the kingdom of Holland to the son of Louis. At a grand court, held at St. Cloud, on the 20th of July, he placed the young Prince Napoleon Louis on his knee, and addressing him



with considerable emotion, said,—“Come to me, my son, I will be your father; you shall not be a loser. The conduct of your father afflicts my heart. When you are a man, you shall pay his debt and your own. Never forget, in whatever position my politics, and the interest of my empire may place you, that your first duties are towards me; your second towards France; all your other duties, even towards the people that I may confide to you, must come after these.” Louis retired to the baths of Tœplitz, in Bohemia; and afterwards to Gratz, in Styria. It should here be stated, that inexorable as he was with all other people on the subject of English intercourse, even Napoleon himself was obliged indirectly to sanction it, by the pressing necessity which existed for certain commodities in his empire. He granted licenses, purchased for large sums of money, by which trading vessels were permitted to import a certain quantity of colonial produce, on condition of exporting an equal proportion of French manufactures. Large sums flowed into his treasury through this system, but he after-

wards regretted having permitted it. The working of it was curious enough. So high a duty was laid in England on the French manufactures thus received in exchange, that they were generally unsaleable, and frequently thrown into the sea, in preference to discharging the duty; the prime cost was therefore laid, of course, on the colonial produce imported into France, and whatever profit the French manufacturers received was paid, not by the English market, but by the French consumers of sugar, rum, and coffee. This extreme case may serve as an illustration of the real effects of all restrictions on the free course of trade. Smuggling, also, another invariable consequent of prohibition, was carried on to an extraordinary extent. Bourrienne relates some stratagems which were discovered at Hamburg, where the preventive duty was strictly performed. "Between Hamburg and Altona," he says, "there were some sand-pits. At this time, it was proposed to repair a great street of Hamburg: the smugglers overnight filled one of the sand-pits with brown sugar, and the little carts which usually conveyed the sand into Hamburg, were filled with sugar, care being taken to cover it with a layer of sand about an inch thick. This trick was carried on for a length of time, but no progress was made in repairing the street. The officers of the customs at length perceived that the work did not proceed; and one fine morning the sugar-carts were stopped and seized." On another occasion, an extraordinary number of funeral processions were observed to proceed from a certain suburb, towards the cemetery of Hamburg. The suspicions of the custom-house officers were gradually roused by the sudden mortality, and opening one of the hearses, they found it filled with sugar, coffee, indigo, &c. So much for systems of restriction!

Almost at the same moment that a French prince lost the throne of one European state, a French marshal was promoted to another. After the deposition of the rash and unfortunate Gustavus IV. of Sweden, in 1809, by the universal will of his subjects, the uncle of the dethroned sovereign was elected king, with the title of Charles XIII., and the succession or dignity of Crown Prince of Sweden, fixed on a prince of the house of Holstein, upon whom the chief cares of the state fell, the king being aged. The new government of Sweden signed a treaty of peace with France, and promised to adhere to the continental system. On the 28th of May, 1810, the crown prince died suddenly. This event once more obliged the Swedes to deliberate upon the choice of their future sovereign. The king of Denmark, the Duke of Oldenburg, and the son of Gustavus IV., all became competitors for the expected throne. But the Swedes resolved to take the best measures towards strengthening their alliance with the Emperor of France, by electing some member of his family. Bernadotte, the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, was allied to the imperial

house, being married to a sister of the Queen of Spain. He had also acquired a high reputation in the north of Europe, when governor of Hamburg, and administrator of Swedish Pomerania; the Swedish people accordingly invited him to accept the dignity of crown prince. They were not aware of the many causes of jealousy and distrust which had existed between him and Napoleon, from the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, onwards. Bernadotte was a republican in theory: he had determined to govern Sweden on Swedish, not on French principles, and conceived the continental system to be injurious to the interests of Sweden. Napoleon was well aware of all this, but he did not oppose the election; and when Bernadotte, affecting a dependence on the wishes of the Emperor, which he did not really feel, expressly asked his consent before accepting the offered honour, he replied that "He should never oppose the election made by a free people," adding, that the present one received his assent and good-will, but that a secret presentiment, nevertheless, rendered it painful and gloomy to him. At their last interview, Bernadotte desired to be released from his oath of allegiance as a French subject, to which the Emperor agreed, but made a slight preliminary effort to induce him to take a pledge never to bear arms against him. He did not, however, insist on so impossible a condition from an independent sovereign, but said quickly, and in a low and agitated tone of voice,—“Go, our destinies will soon be accomplished;” and thus they separated. Savary, and other admirers of Napoleon, tell us that he gave Bernadotte a million of francs (upwards of forty thousand pounds) on this occasion: Bourrienne affirms that he cheated him out of that sum, having owed him double the amount for his principality of Ponte-Corvo. The fact is, that what Bernadotte claimed as a right, Napoleon gave as a favour; conceiving that the principality of Ponte-Corvo, which had been his gift, might have been resumed unconditionally, when his former marshal renounced his allegiance, and became a sovereign prince. Napoleon no doubt either promised, or implied the intention to give the larger sum at first, and was induced by after circumstances to retract his generosity; this is one among many examples of the difficulty of unravelling the truth in history. Bernadotte, who had already embraced the Protestant religion, took the oaths as Crown Prince of Sweden, on the 1st of November, 1810.

It will be remembered that Lord Wellington retreated into Portugal after the battle of Talavera, on the 28th of July, 1809. In the month of November following, the province of Andalusia was opened to the French by the victory of Ocana, gained by Marshal Soult, over the Spanish army. Soult occupied successively Baylen, Jaen, and Cordova. General Sebastiani conquered the Spaniards again under the walls of Grenada, on the 7th of January, 1810, and

entered the city; Malaga fell on the 9th; and Seville surrendered to Soult on the 1st of February. The Supreme Junta then fled to Cadiz, which contained a garrison of twenty thousand men, English, Spaniards, and Portuguese, under the command of General Graham. Soult disposed his forces to form the siege of this important place. Meanwhile Lord Wellington had fortified himself in Portugal, in the strong position of Torres Vedras. His army consisted of only twenty-five thousand men; but he had an auxiliary force of thirty thousand Portuguese, who had been admirably trained under Marshal Beresford. In May, 1810, Napoleon ordered Massena to advance upon Portugal, with a fine army, upwards of eighty thousand strong, and numbering among its chiefs the names of Ney, Junot, and General Reynier. The frontier strongholds of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida surrendered to the French in July and August; and Massena advanced upon Lisbon, Wellington slowly retreating before him. The English commander had advanced to the frontier, but with the resolution rather to observe the motions of the French, and to retard their progress, than to offer any decided resistance. It was his design to draw them onwards to a distance from their supplies. Massena followed boldly, trusting to former good fortune; and with a view to precipitate the English retreat, he made a rash and sudden attack upon them at Busaco, on the 27th of September. He was completely defeated, with the loss of nearly three thousand killed, and a large amount of wounded. Coimbra, containing his hospitals and stores, also fell into the hands of the British. This victory did not alter the plan of Lord Wellington. He immediately re-commenced his slow and steady retreat towards Lisbon, the French army following. The retreat of the English army ended at the lines of Torres Vedras, which strong position had been rendered almost impregnable by the utmost exertion of skill and labour. The lines secured more than five hundred square miles of mountainous country lying between the Tagus and the ocean, by means of intrenchments, inundations, and redoubts. Massena found himself held in check by an army greatly inferior in point of numbers, but which effectually barred his approach to Lisbon, the great object of his whole enterprise. He lay for four months before the English lines, trying in vain by various feints and demonstrations, to draw them from their place of advantage. At length, it became necessary for him, if he desired to save the remains of his army, already diminished by sickness and hunger, to resolve upon a retreat. He commenced this movement on the 4th of March, 1811; pursued in his turn by Wellington. The operations of both armies, on this occasion, are celebrated in the annals of war, for the extraordinary skill displayed by their leaders: the vanquished in effecting his escape, and the conqueror in closely and unremittingly pursuing; while the unfortunate

inhabitants of the country through which they passed will long remember the horrors perpetrated by an army enraged by defeat, and rendered brutal by hunger, fatigue, and incessant harassment. The district of Beira had been purposely laid waste. The Portuguese auxiliaries had been employed to enforce the orders of the regency, that all the inhabitants should retire to the capital. Horrible barbarities



were practised in this service. The peasants, whose attachment to their accustomed homes, made them resist the order to burn their dwellings, and devastate their fertile fields, were pitilessly massacred, hanged, or shot down. The French, who suffered by the frightful desolation thus spread around, have recorded these atrocities, otherwise they might have passed unnoticed among many other necessary measures of "glorious war." The French were completely driven out of Portugal, retaining only the fortress of Almeida, which Wellington immediately invested. Massena obtained reinforcements, and attempted to relieve it, which brought on the action of Fuentes d'Onoro, in which he was worsted. He then ordered the commandant of Almeida to evacuate



the place, and blow up the fortifications, which operations were skillfully effected.

While bad fortune attended the French army in this distant quarter, an event had occurred which filled all France with joy, and made Napoleon forget every care and disappointment for the time. The Empress Maria Louisa gave birth to a son on the 19th of March, 1811. The birth was attended with circumstances of extreme danger; so much so that Dubois, the medical attendant, thought it necessary to warn the Emperor that it might be necessary to sacrifice either the child or the mother. Napoleon, who was suffering extreme anxiety, replied without hesitation, "Save the mother, certainly—it is her right: forget that she is an empress, and act with her as you would towards the wife of a shopkeeper in the Rue St. Denis." He then accompanied Dubois to the bedside of the Empress; encouraged and soothed her as much as he could, and held her in moments of the greatest pain. The child appeared dead when he was born, and nearly ten minutes elapsed before all the means that could be devised produced any effect. When, after this period of intense dread, Napoleon saw his living and breathing child before his eyes, he was unable to restrain himself: he hastily snatched up the infant, and rushing into the apartment where the whole court and great officers of state were assembled, he exclaimed aloud, "It is a King of Rome," and was answered by a burst of joy and congratulation. Twenty-one guns were to have been fired for the birth of a daughter: one hundred for that of a son. At the sound of the first gun, all Paris was astir; the public walks, the parks, the streets were crowded; but at the discharge of the twenty-second, the air was rent with loud acclamations. Most of the European powers sent ambassadors to compliment Napoleon on the occasion; among others, the Emperor Alexander. The old King and Queen of Spain made a journey to Paris, to offer their congratulations in person.

The result of the campaigns of 1810 and 1811, in Spain, left nearly every city and fortress of the country in the power of the French. Many battles had been fought with various success. Soult had taken Tortosa, Olivenza, and Badajos; which last city was retaken by Beresford, who gained the hard fought and murderous battle of Albuera, to protect his conquest. Badajos was, however, again abandoned to the French, after the junction of Soult and Marmont. Cadiz alone resisted every attempt of the French. On the eastern side of the peninsula, General Suchet had taken Tarragona by storm; won the battles of Sagonte and Murviedro, over Blake and O'Donnell; made himself master of Barcelona and Saragossa; and, finally, had taken Valencia, where Blake and the remainder of his army became prisoners of war. The close of the year 1811, therefore, left Napoleon in military possession of Spain; but Portugal had been wrested from him, and was protected by Wellington, who

lay on the frontier ready to assume the offensive at the first favourable opportunity. Even Spain, though ostensibly in Napoleon's power, was throughout armed against him. The general system of guerilla or partisan warfare had organised the whole country. If the Spaniards had lost their fortresses, they still had their mountains and forests and deserts, their loyalty, superstition, and fierce revenge: they were led by chiefs of skill and courage; among whom Mina and the Empecinado will be long remembered,—as well as the ingratitude with which their heroism has been rewarded. Some chiefs led flying parties of a thousand or two thousand men; others, of ten or twenty. If too weak a French detachment was moved from one place to another, it was cut off; if a small garrison were left in a fortress, it was overpowered and the place taken: a courier could not move without a large escort; even King Joseph could not hunt in the neighbourhood of his capital without a guard of fifteen hundred soldiers. Pursuit of the guerillas was vain, and the places of the killed were immediately supplied. The French generals attempted to check their hydra foe by excessive severity; but the horrible retaliations immediately practised made them glad to endeavour to reduce the evil to the ordinary rules of war. This state of the country, though apparently conquered, induced Joseph to entreat Napoleon to place the crown of Spain on another head.

The attention of the Emperor was however turned to objects so important, that he postponed the consideration of his brother's request. The close of the year 1810 had been marked by a conscription of one hundred thousand men; the year 1811 ended with the same demand upon the people of France; and many anxious thoughts and speculations were bestowed on the question of the purpose for which these vast armaments were in preparation.





CHAPTER IX.

CAUSES OF THE RUSSIAN WAR—ALLIANCE OF AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA WITH FRANCE, AND OF SWEDEN AND TURKEY WITH RUSSIA—NAPOLEON AT DRESDEN—THE FRENCH ARMY ENTERS POLAND—PASSAGE OF THE NIEMEN—ENTRY INTO SMOLENSKO—BATTLE OF THE MOSKOWA—NAPOLEON AT MOSCOW—THE BURNING OF MOSCOW—RETREAT—NAPOLEON LEAVES THE ARMY, AND RETURNS TO FRANCE.



WE must revert to the treaty of Tilsitt for an exposition of the causes of the war with Russia. "The whole treaty" as we have previously explained (vol. ii., p. 52), "was based on the principle of a firm and lasting alliance between Napoleon and the Emperor of Russia; the former relying in good faith upon the intention of the latter to co-operate with him in his projects and policy. Hence he permitted the aggrandisement of Russia on the side of Sweden, neglected the interests of Poland,

and abandoned Turkey." Napoleon's continental system had become the very pivot of his policy. It had occasioned the invasion of the Peninsula, and was now about to lead to the invasion of Russia; for the Emperor Alexander found that to keep faith with Napoleon in the observance of this "system" was too oppressive to be endured; and he, therefore, determined to break off from the terms of the treaty.

The erection of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, to which Alexander had submitted in the moment of defeat, was another source of hostile feeling towards the Emperor of France, as being an apparent earnest of an intention at some future period to restore the whole of Poland to independence. In the interval between the treaty of Tilsitt and 1812, the Emperor of Russia gave to France the following causes of complaint against him. First:—The inefficient assistance rendered by the Russian army in the campaign of Wagram. Secondly:—The ukase of January, 1811, which opened the ports of Russia to English commerce, and thus deserted the continental system; and at the same time greatly augmenting his military force, as if to defend the proceeding. Alexander had previously forbidden the introduction of French wines and silks into his empire; and the ukase of January clearly shewing that he was returning to the English interests, Napoleon immediately annexed the Hans towns, and the district of Oldenburg, to the French empire, in order to prevent their becoming emporiums of English commerce. Thirdly:—Assembling armies on the frontiers of Lithuania, and threatening to seize the grand-duchy of Warsaw, by way of indemnification for the seizure of Oldenburg by Napoleon; which, had the intentions of Russia been friendly, would have rather been made the subject of a negotiation than the cause of assuming arms. The expedition to Moscow, in 1812," says Hazlitt, "arose out of the inability or disinclination of Alexander to keep the engagements he had entered into at Tilsitt and Erfurt. Those stipulations might be hard and galling in their consequences; but they were the penalty of defeat, and the price of peace at the time. He had also accepted Finland as an equivalent, and had leave to march upon Turkey unmolested, which opened a different channel for his warlike preparations, if he felt a disposition that way. It was, to be sure, ridiculous to see fifty millions of people prevented from trading with England, because it interfered with the pleasure of a single individual: a prohibition, apparently so arbitrary and so strictly enforced, might be thought to reflect on the spirit and independence of the country" [truly, it might], "and certainly bore hard upon its interests. But England would not make peace with France, while she had any means left of carrying on war; and there was no mode of compelling her to a course she abhorred (and the necessity had been acknowledged by Alexander himself), but by excluding her commerce entirely from the continent. Whether she was right in assuming this attitude of bold defiance and interminable war, is another question; but she by this virtually outlawed France; and Napoleon and his allies (such as he could find or make) only followed the example she had set, in adhering in their turn to the continental system. It was, however, a hopeless case; and it would have

been better to have let go the only hold he had upon England, than by continuing to grasp it (in spite of warning and every day's experience of its inefficiency and danger) to suffer himself to be dragged to the edge of a precipice. Alexander gave the first umbrage in not fulfilling the conditions of his treaties with Napoleon; and by his want of frankness and candour, manifested no disposition to come to an explanation or good understanding. It was a sullen challenge, and Napoleon thought proper to accept it."

It was now that Napoleon began to see the error of his policy; and to avow his conviction that the independence of Poland ought to be secured, and that Europe had no secure frontier on the Asiatic side, so long as this object was not attained. The slightest appearance of such an opinion alarmed the czar, who next pressed for a declaration from Napoleon, that the kingdom of Poland should never be re-established. This, Napoleon refused to make; though he offered to compromise the matter by a promise to remain neutral, in any attempt to consummate that act of justice. While thus virtually yielding the great point as to Poland, he demanded the repeal of the obnoxious ukase of January, 1811. Meeting with no success in this demand, he began to march large masses of troops across Germany, still protesting his desire for peace. Alexander, in like manner, prepared for war, while still proclaiming pacific intentions. A letter from Napoleon, expressing a desire to accommodate matters, at length drew forth Alexander's ultimatum. He required, in addition to his former demands, that France should yield up Dantzic, and evacuate the grand-duchy of Warsaw. Napoleon considered this ultimatum equivalent to a declaration of war.

"Alexander, doubtless," continues Hazlitt, "began to feel that the other had no immediate claim to dictate a line of policy to any one with his influence, and the distance at which he was. This is true; neither would Bonaparte have had any pretext to do so, had he never come to seek him, and thus given his rival advantages, and laid himself under obligations; not arising out of his natural position, nor the real interests of his country. He had put it in Napoleon's power to give the law to him by making himself a party to the affairs of others: he had no consistent right, therefore, to cancel the obligations he had thus laid himself under by retiring upon his own resources, and saying that he was bound by none but Russian interests. He had come out of his fastnesses into the common arena, thinking to make a gallant figure, and to throw Russia as a casting weight into the scale of European policy; he had no right to say then, 'In Russia I am unassailable; I want nothing to do with your quarrels or disputes;' since in that case he ought to have staid there. To say nothing of the parti-

tion of Poland, and the encroachments on Turkey, Russia had lately appropriated Finland, had thrice gone to crush France, and yet Alexander talked of nothing but the honour of sovereigns, and the desire of Russia to remain quiet. The fear that Bonaparte entertained of Russia, was affected or chimerical as to practical purposes; her great strength was in the *vis inertiae* she opposed to foreign blows: his real motive was anger at not having been able to make her come into his schemes, either by art or arms; and a determination to make Alexander see that what he had failed in by persuasion, he could make good by force. Still he was sensible of the immense hazard and difficulty of the undertaking; made more careful inquiries; consulted more opinions, and hesitated longer than about any other of his enterprises. This very hesitation might have decided him against it: had there been dishonour or danger in the alternative, he could not have hesitated. In his situation, there were only two motives that should have induced him to undertake new plans; either absolute necessity, or the certainty of success. In weighing the objections to the war, Bonaparte did not, and would not allow the disproportioned odds, against which he contended. Had he entered the lists as a legitimate sovereign—as a *parchment* emperor, he might have gone forth, and had a tilting bout with Alexander, either on the Niemen or the Don, in summer or winter, and returned as he came, not much the better or worse; with a battle lost or won; with more or less fame; with so much influence or territory added or taken off: but in his case, he never fought but for his existence. *His retreat was*, in technical language, *always cut off*. He should, therefore, have defied them to catch him at a disadvantage. He did not like to contemplate the lodged hatred, and rankling hostility, of which he was, and must necessarily be the mark. His elevation prevented him from seeing the depth below: yet he trod upon a precipice where any false step was ruinous. The very extent of his power shewed the precarious and ungrateful tenure by which he held it; for he could only have attained it by a triumph over the last resources and efforts of his enemies. No ordinary objects of ambition or interest would have brought them to that pass: it was a deadly quarrel, which made them risk their last stake before they would give in. But the principle remained unaltered; and however coiled up in its dusky folds, or severed into unsightly fragments, would reunite, and spring into action again with the first opportunity of revenge. That Bonaparte did not dwell on this view of the subject, was but natural; that he ever acted on the contrary one, was inexcusable.

“There was another general consideration which Napoleon overlooked. All that related to the statistics of the question he was perfectly master of; population, productions, number of towns, rivers,

bridges, extent of country, &c.; but it was trying an unknown ground,—a new species of warfare. He knew what resistance civilisation could make; did he know equally well what resistance barbarism could make? It appears by the result—not: and yet the burning of Moscow was in this undetermined order of events, to which his failure was properly owing. Notwithstanding the grasp and manly strength of his mind, the air of Paris had, perhaps, made him lay rather too much stress on artificial advantages; but there is an extreme resource in the very dearth of resources; and a despotic power over mind and matter acquired by the very ignorance, poverty, and subjection of a people. Bonaparte himself says that “he had no more right to anticipate the burning of Moscow than he could be required to foretel an earthquake:” and that is true, supposing that capital to have stood anywhere but where it did; but there was something in the idea of its gilded domes rising out of barren boundless wildernesses, that placed it out of the routine of ordinary calculation, and might have prevented its being counted upon as substantial winter-quarters. These are the only points on which I think Bonaparte erred,—in not weighing the consequences if he failed; and not considering the possibility that he might do so, from the untrodden path he was about to enter. As to ordinary political, or military calculations, I should suppose that he was completely justified; that is, he was prepared to overcome all the obstacles of a kind to be foreseen.”

The vast resources of France at the moment, were sufficient to blind Napoleon to the real extent of the difficulties of his undertaking. The French army alone, amounted to the extraordinary number of eight hundred and fifty thousand men, and the army of Italy to fifty thousand. France could reckon among its dependencies and allies, the grand-duchy of Warsaw, with an army of sixty thousand men; Bavaria, numbering an army of forty thousand; Saxony, of thirty thousand; Westphalia, fifteen thousand; Baden, nine thousand; the Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, twenty-three thousand; Naples, thirty thousand. The King of Prussia, unwillingly subjected to France, promised his alliance, and furnished twenty thousand men; the Emperor of Austria, united to Napoleon by the new tie of marriage in addition to that of conquest, furnished thirty thousand. These forces, taken from the estimate made by Boutourlin, amount in all to one million one hundred and eighty-seven thousand men; and, deducting from the gross amount about three hundred and eighty-seven thousand for those in hospitals, on furlough, or otherwise deficient, the overwhelming number of eight hundred thousand men is left as the physical force at the disposal of Napoleon. To counterbalance the advantages of so mighty a power, towards securing the

success of a new war, Napoleon had to remember that he could not direct it all on one point. The struggle in Spain continued, and might fairly be estimated as employing upwards of two hundred thousand of his best troops. The whole of the German contingents also, with the exception of the Saxons, were unwilling auxiliaries, and not to be depended on in case of disaster; the Prussians more especially. Napoleon was not deceived on this point; but he had yet to learn that Austria also ought to be reckoned in the list of hollow friends. Another circumstance of great importance remains behind: France, and its extensive acquisitions, could not be left defenceless under the danger of an attack from England, during the absence of the Emperor and his army. For this danger, Napoleon provided by a new levy of national guards, in three divisions, to be called the "ban," the "second ban," and the "arriere ban." The first was to contain all men from twenty to twenty-six years of age; the second, all capable of bearing arms, from twenty-six to forty; the third, all able bodied men from forty to sixty. The levies from these classes of men were not to be sent out of the country, but were to be called out in succession. A last attempt at obtaining peace from England was made by Napoleon, in a letter to Lord Castlereagh. But England would not desert the cause of Ferdinand VII., and on this point chiefly the negociation failed.

The important advantages which a strict alliance with the three frontier nations of Sweden, Turkey, and Poland, would have conferred on Napoleon, were lost to him by various causes. We have stated that Bernadotte took possession of his new authority, with feelings adverse to the continental system, and with a sense of old jealousy against Napoleon, and difference of opinion on matters of principle. As Crown Prince of Sweden, he now in fact exercised the royal authority in that country; and his dislike to the prohibitions on commerce increased, as he became personally conversant with their ruinous consequences to his subjects. He, consequently, inclined both on public and private grounds to an alliance with England, rather than with France; and the negociations between him and Napoleon shortly assumed an unfriendly aspect. Bernadotte demanded impossible conditions, such as the annexation of Norway to Sweden, which would have implied the wresting of great part of his dominions from the King of Denmark, the faithful ally of France. Napoleon replied in a haughty and impatient strain, without sufficiently bearing in mind that his former marshal was now an independent prince. At length, the intentions of Bernadotte became so evident, that a French army was ordered to occupy Swedish Pomerania, in January, 1812; and Sweden, unable to obtain any reparation from France, signed a treaty

of peace with Russia, and declared war against France in March. At the court of Constantinople, the diplomatists of France were outwitted by those of England; and contrary to all natural expectation, Turkey signed a peace with Russia, at Bucharest, in May. The cause of the great mistake which Napoleon committed, in omitting to seize on the instrument of power ready to his hand, viz., the enthusiastic longing of the Poles for liberty, must be sought in the constitution of his own mind; it is erroneous to ascribe it to any stipulations made by Austria. He had expressly provided that Austria should receive the Illyrian provinces, in return for that territory which would be lost to it, in case of the kingdom of Poland being restored. Hazlitt gives an example of his usual subtle insight into mental causes, when he says of Napoleon's neglect of the Polish enthusiasm, that "of this he did not choose to avail himself, but stopped up its sluices, as he was not fond of giving a loose to those elements and movements of power, of which he could not calculate the extent, or controul the direction. In making war on serfs, he should have raised up a nation of free men; and instead of considering the liberation of Poland as the consequence, have made it the instrument and the pledge of his success in Russia. But regrets are vain on this subject; were it to do over again, he would follow the same course." Meanwhile, he sent the Abbé de Pradt, as his ambassador to Warsaw, to give the Poles words, instead of liberty.

It was not without many remonstrances from friends and counsellors that Napoleon commenced the Russian war. Fouché, though in a kind of honourable exile at this period, ventured to write an able memorial, expository of the hazards of the undertaking, which he presented himself in an audience at the Tuileries. He had laboured at this work in perfect secrecy (as he supposed), and expected it to have made a great impression. He was therefore not a little surprised and disappointed when the Emperor, with an air of easy indifference, began the audience by saying, "I am no stranger, Monsieur le Duc, to your errand here. You have a memorial to present to me—give it me—I will read it, though I know already its contents. The Russian war is not more agreeable to you than that with Spain." Many conversations have been detailed on the subject. The words with which Napoleon closed one of these are too characteristic to be omitted. After replying to the different points of remonstrance addressed to him by the Dukes of Frioul and Vicenza, and Count Segur, he answered their representation of the danger to his own life as follows:—"Do you dread the war as endangering my life? It was thus that, in the times of conspiracy, attempts were made to frighten me about Georges; he was everywhere to be found upon my track: that wretched being was sure to fire at me. Well, suppose he had!

He would at the utmost have killed my aide-de-camp: but to kill me was impossible! Had I at that time accomplished the decrees of fate? I feel myself impelled towards a goal, of which I am ignorant. As soon as I shall have reached it, so soon shall I no longer be of service—an atom will then suffice to put me down; but till then, all human efforts can avail nothing against me. Whether I am in Paris, or with the army, is therefore quite indifferent. When my hour is come, a fever, or a fall from my horse in hunting, will kill me as effectually as a bullet: our days are registered.” His uncle, Cardinal Fesch, one day made a strong appeal to him on the subject, and on the affairs of the Pope, who was brought to Fontainebleau, about this period. Napoleon answered by leading the cardinal to the window, and inquiring,—“Do you see that star above us?” “No, sire.” “Look again.” “Sire, I do not see it.” “Very well! *I* see it!” said Napoleon. His auditors scarcely knew how to understand his words. They seem, however, clearly enough to imply,—the glare of day, that prevents you from seeing the star, which nevertheless is there, does not hide it from me. My imagination can realise its presence.

When all was ready for the approaching campaign, Napoleon had the ceremony performed of christening his infant son. It took place in March, 1812, in the church of Notre Dame, with extraordinary splendour, and great rejoicings in the city of Paris. The young Napoleon was now thirteen months old, and a beautiful and promising child. His title of King of Rome, has been criticised as affording a proof that Napoleon had ceased his intention to give Italy a separate and independent existence; but no inference of this kind can be fairly made. It is certain that Napoleon intended Italy to fall to his second son, if he had one; and it is affirmed, that in any case, the succession to the empire, would not have implied the succession to the kingdom of Italy for his eldest son.

Bonaparte left Paris for Dresden on the 9th of May, 1812. The Russian ambassador took his departure a few days after. The French Emperor did not join his armament with his usual rapidity, but made the most splendid preparations, as though by external displays he would give additional proofs of his being a king of kings. The imagination of Scott seems overpowered by the circumstance, and makes him forget, amidst these intolerable glories, that they were but a worldly altar, upon which legitimacy was laid, as the fuel for its ascending flames. “Dresden was appointed,” says Scott, “as a mutual rendezvous for all the kings, dominations, princes, dukes, and dependent royalties of every description, who were subordinate to Napoleon, or hoped for good or evil at his hands. The Emperor of Austria, with his empress, met his mighty son-in-law upon this occasion, and the city was crowded

with princes of the most ancient birth. The King of Prussia was also present. Amidst all these dignitaries, no one interested the public so much as he, for whom and by whom the assembly was collected; the wonderful being who could have governed the world, but could not rule his own restless mind. When visible, Napoleon was the principle figure of the group; when absent, every eye was on the door



expecting his entrance." Napoleon was usually at work in his cabinet; the other crowned heads were allowed to wander about and amuse themselves: he left them little else to do. All the banquets, balls, fêtes, and theatrical amusements, were at the expense of the French Emperor, and conducted upon a scale of the most brilliant and lavish magnificence. The young empress made a prominent figure on many of these occasions. "The reign of Maria Louisa," said Napoleon, when in Elba, "has been very short, but was full of enjoyment. She had the world at her feet."

While the French armies were marching through the dominions of their allies to the general rendezvous, Napoleon ordered General Narbonne to proceed to the head-quarters of the Emperor Alexander, and assure him of the pacific wishes of France. Narbonne stated, when he returned, that "he had found the Russians neither depressed nor boasting; that the result of all the replies of the Emperor was,—that

they preferred war to a disgraceful peace; that they would take special care not to risk a battle with an adversary so formidable; and, finally, that they were determined to make every sacrifice to protract the war, and drive back the invader."

Napoleon left Dresden, and hastened to the shores of the Niemen, passing through Prague, where he took leave of the Empress. He then visited Königsburg and Dantzic, of which latter place General Rapp held command. Napoleon had perceived signs of discontent among some of his chief officers with regard to this Russian expedition, and asked Rapp if he had not observed something strange in the appearance of Murat? "What was the matter with him—was he



ill?" "Sire," replied Rapp, "he is not ill; but melancholy." "Why so?" asked Napoleon; "is not he content with my having made him a king?" "Sire," rejoined Rapp, "he says he is *not* altogether a king." "'Tis his own fault," said Napoleon. "Why is he so much of a Neapolitan; why is he not wholly French? When he is in his kingdom, he commits nothing but follies: he permits trading with England: I will not endure that." Next day, Napoleon invited Berthier, Murat, and Rapp, to supper. The three generals sat with grave reserve. "I see very clearly, gentlemen," said Napoleon, "that you are no longer desirous of going to war. Murat would prefer never again to leave the fine climate of his kingdom; Berthier wants to hunt over his estates at Grosbois; and Rapp is impatient to return to his hotel in Paris." It was very true. A silence followed,—first broken by Rapp, who honestly confessed the fact.

It now remained for Napoleon to reinfuse the fire which had animated his officers at Lodi, Montenotte, and Arcola, but whom the enjoyments of a court, the splendours of royalty, and the habits of luxurious repose, had since enervated, and rendered indisposed to share the fresh labours and hardships of their inexhaustible leader. Perhaps, however, this was only the case with those officers who had become kings and princes; had everything to lose, and nothing more to attain. But even those soon forgot their crowns in the excitement of actual warfare.

All the stupendous preparations for the expedition had been completed. At Koningsberg, he inspected for the last time his immense magazines; and, "here also were collected stores of provisions, enormous as the enterprise for which they were designed. No detail had been neglected. The active and ardent mind of Napoleon was wholly intent on this most important and difficult part of the expedition. The day was swallowed up in dictating instructions on this subject; and at night, he rose to repeat them. One general alone received in a single journey six dispatches from him, all expressive of his anxious vigilance. In one of these, he says—"The result of all my movements will be the concentration of four hundred thousand men upon one point: nothing can then be expected from the country; and consequently we must carry everything with us."

"From Koningsberg to Gumbinnen, Napoleon passed in review several of his armies, talking to the men with gaiety, frankness, and a soldier-like bluntness. As his custom was, he walked leisurely along the ranks. He knew the wars in which every regiment had been engaged with him. He stopped for a few moments before some of the oldest soldiers; and to one he recalled the battle of the Pyramids, to another that of Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, or Friedland, by a single word accompanied with the most familiar address. The veterans thus recognised by their Emperor, felt elated before their junior comrades, who looked up to them with admiration and envy. Napoleon continued his round. He did not neglect the young: he shewed an interest in all that concerned them, and was well acquainted with their smallest wants. This individual attention to the soldiers absolutely charmed them. They remarked to each other that their great Emperor, who decided on the fate of kingdoms in a map, descended in respect to themselves into the most minute particulars: that they were his old, his genuine family. It was thus that he attached them to war, to glory, and to himself."

"The army now proceeded from the Vistula towards the Niemen. That river, from Grodno as far as Kowno, flows parallel with the Vistula. The river Pregel runs from one to the other: it was covered

with boats and provisions. Two hundred thousand men arrived there from four different points."

In the general numerical estimate, together with the specific disposal of bodies for command, historians are very nearly all agreed. The following is chiefly taken from Savary:—

The entire army amounted to upwards of four hundred thousand men. French, Austrians, Prussians, Poles, Saxons, Westphalians, Wirtembergers, Dutch, Confederate Princes of the Rhine, Swiss, Italians, and Neapolitans, all contributed to swell its ranks. The French artillery alone reckoned twenty thousand draft horses, and the cavalry upwards of a hundred thousand. If to this number be added the horses belonging to officers and the baggage, some estimate may be formed of the daily consumption of provisions.

The army had crossed the Vistula in the following order, commencing with the left wing:—The Prussians were under the command of Marshal Macdonald. The Bavarians, and three French divisions, under Marshal Oudinot and General St. Cyr. Italians, under Eugene Beauharnais, Viceroy of Italy. Two French *corps d'armée*, under Marshal Ney, and Marshal Davoust. The Wirtembergers and Westphalians, under Jerome their king, and Junot. The Poles, under Poniatowski. The Saxons, under General Reynier. The Austrians, under Prince Schwartzberg. The cavalry, under the King of Naples. The infantry of the guard, under Marshal Lefebvre. The cavalry of the guard, under Marshal Bessières. Marshal Victor was organising a corps of reserve in the rear. Six bridge equipments, one for siege, some thousands of provision wagons, innumerable herds of oxen, thirteen hundred and sixty-two pieces of cannon, and thousands of artillery and hospital wagons were attached to the expedition.

While this prodigious armament was approaching the Russian empire, a reserve was kept up in France of a hundred thousand national guards, collected on the most vulnerable points. Marshal Augereau was stationed in Germany to maintain its tranquillity.

The prodigious preparations made by Napoleon for supplying his vast invading army, proved inadequate from a variety of contending causes. It was found impossible to introduce the necessary discipline among carters and wagon drivers, and when bad roads were further impeded by dead horses and broken carriages they fell into confusion, and great delays occurred. Numbers of the heavy wagons never reached the Vistula, and more failed before they passed the Niemen. At the very outset, therefore, the soldiers were obliged to commence that course of systematic plunder so familiar to the French army, under the name of "laying contributions on the inhabitants." The fertility of the soil, and the friendly disposition of its inhabitants, rendered

this a matter of no great difficulty during the march of the army from the Vistula to the Niemen; but the province of Lithuania, which lay beyond, had been wasted by the Russians that it might afford no subsistence to the French army, and it was of especial importance to Napoleon to conciliate its population, whom he might reasonably expect to be able to number among his allies. The Lithuanians in common with the people of all the provinces which had been wrested from Poland by Russia, regarded the French as deliverers, and secretly rejoiced at their approach. It was quite certain, however, that in his progress across their territory, such a host as Napoleon brought with him must exasperate them to the last degree by oppressions and exactions. It has naturally therefore been argued, that he ought here to have paused until his convoys came up. That he did not do so, was doubtless owing to his expectation that the Russians would quickly give him battle, and that he should conclude the war at a blow. It was in this spirit that he harangued his troops on the eve of approaching the Russian frontier:—

“Soldiers,” said he, “the second Polish war is commenced. The first was concluded at Friedland and at Tilsit. At Tilsit, Russia swore to eternal alliance with France, and war against England. She has violated her oath; she refuses to give an explanation of her singular conduct till the French eagles shall have repassed the Rhine, and consequently left our allies at her discretion. Russia is driven onwards by fatality; her destinies are about to be accomplished. Does she believe we have degenerated? Should we be no longer the soldiers of Austerlitz? She has placed us between disgrace and war; the choice cannot be for an instant doubtful! Let us then march forward, cross the Niemen, and carry war into her territories. The second Polish war will be glorious to the French arms like the first; but the peace which we shall conclude will carry its own guarantees with it, and will put an end to the fatal influence which for the last fifty years Russia has had on the affairs of Europe.”

The plan of the campaign was founded on Napoleon's usual system of warfare. His first object was to accumulate a great force on the centre of the Russian line,—to break it, and cut off its sundered divisions in detail; to possess himself of some of the large towns of the empire,—if possible, of Petersburg or Moscow, and there to dictate a peace. The plan of defence adopted by Barclay de Tolly, whom Alexander had made his generalissimo, was skilfully adapted to foil Napoleon at his own game, and was one evidence, among others, that the great master of the art of war had given too many lessons to his enemies. The Russian plan was to attempt no defence of the frontier; to avoid a general action, but to confine all the operations

of their army to partial skirmishes at favourable opportunities; to retreat before the French advance until the length of their lines of communication rendered them liable to be broken, and fatigue, loss of numbers, and want of supplies, had deprived them of their original strength and spirit. The delay would prove in all respects as advantageous to Alexander as it was disastrous to Napoleon; giving time for recruiting his army, and for completing the peace with Turkey. The Russian forces actually in the field amounted to nearly three hundred thousand men. The centre commanded by Barclay extended from Wilna and Kowno to Lida and Grodno, resting its right on Vilia, and its left on the Niemen. To the south of Grodno was Prince Bagration with the second division, to which Platoff, with twelve thousand of his cossacks was attached. The presence of this great army kept the ancient Polish provinces of Volhynia, Lithuania, Courland, and Livonia, in check, otherwise they would have joined the French. A reserve commanded by Tormazoff was destined to oppose the Austrians; but Alexander apprehended no very formidable attack from them. A vast intrenched camp, was established at Drissa, protecting St. Petersburg. The Emperor Alexander had established his head-quarters at Wilna, the capital of Lithuania. Napoleon considered that the Russian position was neither well chosen for attack, nor defence, nor even for retreat. The army extended over a line of sixty leagues, and was therefore open to be surprised and broken. Bagration was, in fact, already separated from the main army; and instead of remaining in close communication with it, was forty leagues distant on the right. From Wilna, the Emperor Alexander published a proclamation to his troops, in which he enlarged on the fruitless efforts he had made to maintain peace, and concluded in the following words:—"It now only remains, after invoking the Almighty Being who is the witness and defender of the true cause, to oppose our forces to those of the enemy. It is unnecessary to recal to generals, officers, and soldiers, what is expected from their loyalty and courage; the blood of the ancient Sclavonians circulates in their veins. Soldiers, you fight for your religion, your liberty, and your native land. Your emperor is amongst you, and God is the enemy of the aggressor."

On the 23rd of June, before daybreak, the French army approached the Niemen. Napoleon rode rapidly forwards to reconnoitre, and when he had nearly reached the river, his horse fell and threw him on the sand. Upon this accident, either he himself or some bystander was heard to exclaim,—“That is a bad omen: a Roman would go back!” He afterwards surveyed the ground at leisure, accompanied only by General Haxo, and passed unnoticed by wearing, it is said, a Polish cloak and cap. After a careful examination, he



PASSAGE OF THE NIEMEN.



fixed on a spot near the village of Poniemen above Kowno, for the passage of the army.

He then ordered that three bridges should be thrown across on the same evening, and passed the rest of the day in his tent, motionless, and oppressed with the heat which was excessive.

The first of the French troops who crossed the Niemen, to establish the bridges according to the Emperor's orders, was a party of sappers in a boat. All was vacant and silent on the foreign soil which they invaded, and no enemy appeared to oppose their proceedings, with the exception of a single Cossack officer on patrol, who drily asked, with an appearance of grave surprise, who they were, and what they wanted? The imperturbable behaviour of this one man in the face of an advancing army of four hundred thousand enemies, seems ominous of the events which ensued. The sappers replied,—“Frenchmen!” and one of them briskly added, “come to make war upon you; to take Wilna; to deliver Poland.” The Cossack withdrew, and three French soldiers discharged their pieces into the gloomy depths of the woods where they had lost sight of him. Their fire was not returned; and no other sound announced the approach of the great struggle which thus strangely commenced.

That first signal of war, feeble as it was, roused Napoleon. Three hundred voltigeurs were immediately sent across to protect the erection of the bridges. At the same time, dense masses of the French columns began to issue from the valleys and forests, and to approach the river under cover of the darkness, in readiness to cross it at dawn

of day. All fires were forbidden, and perfect silence was enjoined. The men slept with their arms in their hands, on the green corn, heavily moistened with dew, which served them for beds, and their horses for provender. Those on watch, passed the hours in reading over the Emperor's proclamation, and speculating on the prospect which the daylight would disclose. The night was keenly cold, and pitch dark. The silence maintained amidst such a prodigious mass of life—felt to be there, while nothing could be seen—rendered the hours unspeakably solemn.

Before dawn, the whole array was under arms; but the first beams of the sun shewed no opposing enemy; nothing but dry and desert sand, and dark silent forests. On their own side of the river, men and horses and glittering arms covered every spot of ground within the range of the eye, and the Emperor's tent in the midst of them stood on an elevation. At a given signal, the immense mass began to defile in three columns towards the bridges. Two divisions of the advanced guard, in their ardour for the precedence, nearly came to blows. Napoleon crossed among the first, and stationed himself near the bridges to encourage the men by his presence. They saluted him with their usual acclamations. He seemed depressed for a time, partly owing to his previous exertions and want of rest, partly from the excessive heat of the day, but no doubt still more from the passive desolation which met his forces, when he had expected a mortal enemy to contend with him in arms. This latter feeling was presently manifested in its reaction, and with a fierce impatience he set spurs to his horse, dashed into the country, and penetrated the forest which bordered the river; "as if," says Segur, "he were on fire to come in contact with the enemy alone." He rode more than a league in the same direction, surrounded throughout by the same solitude. He then returned to the vicinity of the bridges, and led the army into the country, while a menacing sky hung black and heavy over the moving host. The distant thunder began to roar and swell, and the storm soon descended. The lightning flamed across the whole expanse above their heads; they were drenched with torrents of rain; the roads were all inundated; and the recently oppressive heat of the atmosphere was suddenly changed to a bitter chilliness. Some thousands of horses perished on the march, and in the bivouacs which followed: many equipages were abandoned on the sands; and many men fell sick and died.

The Emperor found shelter in a convent, from the first fury of the tempest, but shortly departed for Kowno, where the greatest disorder prevailed. The passage of Oudinot had been impeded by the bridge across the Vilia having been broken down by the Cossacks.

Napoleon treated this circumstance with contempt, and ordered a squadron of the Polish guard to spur into the flood, and swim across. This fine picked troop instantly obeyed. They proceeded at first in good order, and soon reached the centre of the river; but here the current was too strong, and their ranks were broken. They redoubled their exertions, but the horses became frightened and unmanageable. Both men and horses were soon exhausted. They no longer swam, but floated about in scattered groups, rising and sinking, while some among them went down. At length, the men, finding destruction inevitable, ceased their struggles, but as they were sinking, they turned their faces towards Napoleon, and cried out, "Vive l'Empereur!" Three of these noble spirited patriots uttered this cry, while only a part of their faces were above the waters. The army was struck with a mixture of horror and admiration. Napoleon watched the scene apparently unmoved, but gave every order he could devise for the purpose of saving as many of them as possible, though with little effect. It is probable that his strongest feeling, even at the time, was a presentiment that this disastrous event was but the beginning of others, at once tremendous and extensive.

Marshal Oudinot with the second corps crossed the Vilia, by a bridge at Keydani. Meanwhile the rest of the army was still crossing the Niemen, in which operation three entire days were consumed. Napoleon pressed forwards with the guard, and reached the plain of Wilna in two days. Here he had expected that Alexander would make a stand; but, to his surprise, he received intelligence that the city was undefended. He moved onwards thoughtful and gloomy, and accused his generals of the advanced guard of having permitted the Russians to escape. As he approached Wilna, he surrounded himself with the Polish regiments, and was received in the city with joyful acclamations; but he was too much occupied about the Russian retreat to attend to them, and hurried on to the positions lately occupied by the Russian army. He found them entirely deserted; the bridges and magazines burnt; and, according to the best information, it appeared that Alexander was retreating upon his intrenched camp at Drissa. A fine detachment of French hussars, quite unsupported, had come up with the rear of the Russians in a wood, and had been cut to pieces. Napoleon sent forward Murat and his cavalry to follow in the Russian track; threw Ney upon his left to support Oudinot, who had driven back the Russian lines from Witgenstein to Wilkomir; and then returned to occupy Alexander's place at Wilna.

An enthusiastic spirit of joy was spread throughout the whole province. The national banners were re-erected, and an immense concourse assembled round them. The windows were crowded with

spectators; the old men appeared dressed in their national costume; the people embraced and congratulated each other on the public roads. Their oppressors had fled, and Napoleon with his liberating army had taken their place. The Diet had constituted itself into a general confederation, and declared the kingdom of Poland re-established; had invited all Poland to unite; summoned all the Poles in the Russian army to quit Russia; maintained the established order; caused itself to be represented by a general council; and finally sent a deputation to the King of Saxony, and an address to Napoleon.



The senator Wibicki presented the address to Napoleon at Wilna. Its expressions and style were dictated by a real enthusiasm; and therefore, although it was high-flown according to our standard of outward manifestation, and liable to be denounced as profane from its tone of figurative eulogy, it was nevertheless deserving of deep attention. "The Poles," it declared, "had neither been subjected by peace nor by war, but by treason; that they were therefore free in their own right before God and man; that being so now, *de facto*, their right became a duty; that they claimed the independence of their brethren, the Lithuanians, who were still slaves; that they offered themselves to the entire Polish nation as the centre of a general union; but that to him who prescribed its history to the age, in

whom resided the force of Providence, they looked to support the efforts which he could not but approve; that on this account, they came to solicit Napoleon the Great to pronounce these few words: 'Let the kingdom of Poland exist!' and that it then would exist; that all the Poles would devote themselves to the orders of the fourth French dynasty, to whom ages were but as a moment, and space no more than a point."

Napoleon replied to these impassioned expressions in the following cold and guarded terms:—"Gentlemen, Deputies of the Confederation of Poland, I have listened with deep interest to what you have just told me. Were I a Pole, I should think and act like you; I should have voted with you in the assembly of Warsaw; patriotism is the first duty of civilised man. In my position, I have many interests to reconcile, and many duties to fulfil. Had I reigned during the first, second, or third partition of Poland, I would have armed my people in her defence. When victory supplied me with the means of re-establishing your ancient laws in your capital, and a portion of your provinces, I did so, without seeking to prolong the war, which might have continued to waste the blood of my subjects. I love your nation. For sixteen years I have found your soldiers at my side on the plains of Italy and Spain. I applaud what you have done; I authorise your future efforts; I will do all which depends on me to second your resolutions; but in countries so distant and extensive, it must be entirely on the exertions of the population which inhabits them that you can justly ground hopes of success. From the first moment of my entering Poland I have used the same language. To this it is my duty to add, that I have guaranteed to the Emperor of Austria the integrity of his dominions, and that I cannot sanction any movement tending to disturb the peaceable possession of what remains to him of the Polish provinces. Only provide that Lithuania, Samogitia, Witepsk, Polotsk, Mohilef, Volhynia, the Ukraine, Podolia, be animated by the same spirit which I have witnessed in the Greater Poland, and Providence will crown the good cause with success. I will recompense that devotion of your provinces which renders you so interesting, and displays so many titles to my esteem and protection, by every means that can, under the circumstances, depend upon me."

Thus did Napoleon for the second time throw away the proffered devotion of a whole people! His coldness confused and surprised the deputies, and the effects were soon apparent. The whole Polish nation had been on the point of undertaking a perilous enterprise. This doubtful language killed the enthusiasm which could alone have carried them through it. They lost confidence at once in him and themselves. It was in vain that he constituted a provisional government in Lithuania:

only a few thousands, out of a population reckoned at four millions, seconded him; and out of a hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms, only three generals followed him. These disheartening events made no change in the sentiments of Poniatowski. He had been disinterested enough to deprecate the Russian expedition, though its success would have given him the throne of Poland; but he did not despair of the cause, and was always among the foremost and bravest throughout the campaign. His division of Poles was always distinguished for enterprise and conduct.

Napoleon remained twenty days at Wilna, directing the movements of his generals,—while, in this central point, with his maps stretched out before him, he eagerly watched the motions of the Russian army. This army was now divided into two unequal masses. The first, commanded by Alexander and Barclay, was in full retreat towards the camp at Drissa, pursued by Murat at the head of the cavalry of the advanced guard, seconded by Oudinot and Ney with the second and third corps. The smaller division of the Russian army, under Prince Bagration, was still on the Niemen; and consequently in imminent danger of being entirely cut off from communication with the main body. Napoleon perceived that Bagration would attempt a junction by the narrow interval left between the Dwina and Dnieper (or Boristhenes), where these two rivers diverge and form the boundary of Lithuania. To oppose this movement, Napoleon despatched Davoust to occupy Minsk with two divisions of infantry, the cuirassiers of Valence, and several brigades of light cavalry; while the King of Westphalia, with his army, had orders to press upon the army of Bagration in front, and throw it upon Davoust, who was to attack it in flank and rear. Davoust executed his part of the plan with skill and energy, and the Russian division, amounting to forty thousand men, was in the utmost danger of being surrounded in the marshy defiles of the Beresina; but owing to the want of skill and enterprise displayed by King Jerome, it failed. Bagration, who conducted his retreat in a masterly manner, contrived to cross the Dnieper at Nevoi-Bikoff, and effected his escape into Old Russia, where he waited the opportunity to rejoin the rest of the army. While the success of his plan was still doubtful, Napoleon had resolved to press forward on Witepek with the guard, the army of Italy, and the Bavarian army, thus advancing between the two great lines of operation: its failure, therefore, irritated him excessively, and caused him to send Jerome back to his dominions in disgrace, without the attendance even of a single guard. He himself at length left Wilna on the 16th of July, to join his army, now on the banks of the Dwina, holding in check the army of Barclay, in its intrenched camp at Drissa. His long stay at Wilna has

been much censured, and is attributed to various causes; among others, to bad health, and the gradual breaking up of his constitution; but as he evinced no want of energy in the difficult and arduous campaigns which succeeded this in Russia, the last reason seems scarcely admissible. Alexander had sent a flag of truce by an officer to Wilna, offering to treat if Napoleon would repass the Niemen, but this offer was rejected.

On the 18th, Napoleon had reached Klubokoe. Here he was informed that Barclay had abandoned the camp at Drissa, and was marching towards Witepsk. He immediately ordered all his corps upon Beszenkowiczi; and so admirable and precise were his combinations, that the whole of his immense mass of armies reached that place in one day. Segur has graphically described the apparent chaos of confusion which seemed to result from that very regularity itself. The columns of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, presenting themselves on every side; the rush, the crossing, the jostling; the contention for quarters, and for forage and provisions; the aides-de-camp bearing important orders vainly struggling to open a passage. At length, before midnight, order had taken the place of this apparent anarchy. The vast collection of troops had flowed off towards Ostrowno, or been quartered in the town, and profound silence succeeded the tumult. The Russian army had got the start of Napoleon, and now occupied Witepsk.

The first combat of Ostrowno took place on the 25th of July. The Russian infantry, protected by a wood, fiercely contested the ground, but were beaten back at every point by the repeated charges of Murat, seconded by the eighth regiment of infantry, and the divisions Bruyeres and St. Germain; and at length the division Delzons coming up completed the victory of the French. On the 26th, the Russians who had been reinforced, and had occupied a very strong position, seemed disposed to renew the struggle. Barclay had thrown forward this portion of his force to retard the French advance, while he daily looked for the junction of Bagration. The French van had also been reinforced; Prince Eugene with the Italian division having joined in the night. The numbers and strong position of the Russians gave them an immense superiority in the beginning of the day. They attacked with fury, issuing in large masses out of their woods with deafening war cries. The French regiments opposed to this onset were mowed down, beaten back, and in danger of an irretrievable rout. At this critical moment, Murat placed himself at the head of a regiment of Polish lancers, and with word and gesture incited them to an unanimous and energetic rush. Roused by his address, and inspired with rage at the sight of their oppressors, they obeyed with

impetuosity. His object had been to launch them against the enemy, not to mingle personally in the torrent of the fight, which must disqualify him for the command; but their lances were in their rests, and closely filed behind him; they occupied the whole width of the ground; they hurried him forwards at the full speed of their horses, and he was absolutely compelled to charge at their head, which he did, as the eye-witnesses affirm, "with an admirable grace," his plumed hat and splendid uniform giving him on this occasion, and numberless others in which he displayed a most joyous and reckless courage, the air of some knight of romance. This impetuous onset was seconded by the other French leaders. Eugene, General Girardin, and General Piré attacked at the head of their columns, and finally the wood was gained. The Russians retreated, and disappeared from view in a forest two leagues in depth, into the recesses of which even the impetuosity of Murat hesitated to follow. The forest was the last obstacle which hid Witepsk from their view. At this moment of uncertainty, Napoleon appeared with the main body of the army, and all difficulties and uncertainties soon vanished. After hearing the report of the two princes, he went without delay to the highest point of ground he could reach. There he observed long and carefully the nature of the position, and calculated the movements of his enemies; he then ordered an immediate advance. The whole army rapidly traversed the forest, and began to debouch upon the plain of Witepsk before night-fall. The approaching darkness, the multitude of Russian watch-fires which covered the open ground, and the time requisite to complete the extrication of his several divisions from the defiles of the forest, obliged Napoleon to halt at this point. He believed himself to be in presence of the main Russian army, and on the eve of the great battle he so ardently desired. He left his tent, and repaired to his advanced posts before daybreak on the 27th, and the first rays of the sun shewed him the whole of Barclay's forces encamped on an elevated position, commanding all the avenues of Witepsk. The deep channel of the river Luczissa marked the foot of this position, and ten thousand cavalry and a body of infantry were stationed in advance of the river to dispute its approaches: the main body of the Russian infantry was in the centre on the high road; its left, on woody eminences; its right, supported by cavalry, resting on the Dwina.

Napoleon took his station on an insulated hill in view of both armies. Here, surrounded by a circle of chasseurs of his guard, he directed the movements of his troops as they successively advanced to form in line of battle. Two hundred Parisian voltigeurs of the ninth regiment of the line, were the first who debouched, and were ranged on the left in front of the Russian cavalry, and resting, like

it, on the Dwina; they were followed by the sixteenth chasseurs and some artillery. The Russians looked on with coolness, offering no opposition. This favourable state of inaction was suddenly interrupted by Murat. Intoxicated at the brilliant and imposing assemblage of so many thousands of spectators, he precipitated the French chasseurs upon the whole Russian cavalry. They were met by an overwhelming opposition; broken, put to flight, and the foremost cut to pieces. The King of Naples, stung to the quick at this result, threw himself into the thickest of the rout and confusion, sword in hand. His life had nearly been forfeited to his headstrong valour. A furious and well-directed blow was just descending on his head, aimed from behind by a Russian trooper, and it was only averted by a sudden slash from the sabre of the orderly who attended Murat, which cut off the trooper's arm. The consequences of these rash proceedings did not stop here. The successful resistance of the Russian cavalry impelled them to advance nearly as far as the hill on which Napoleon was posted, and his guard with great difficulty drove them back by repeated discharges of their carbines. The two hundred Parisian voltigeurs, left in an isolated position by the disorder into which the chasseurs had been thrown, were next placed in imminent peril. The Russian cavalry in returning to the main body, attacked and surrounded the voltigeurs. Both armies, spectators of this sudden and unequal conflict, regarded that small band of men as utterly lost. To the amazement of both French and Russians, however, this handful of apparent victims was



presently seen to emerge unhurt from the dense cloud of assailants, who continued their original movement upon their own position. The voltigeurs had rapidly thrown themselves into square on a woody and broken space of ground, close to the river. Here the Russian cavalry could not act, while the steady fire of the voltigeurs, made such havoc that their assailants were glad to leave them as they found them. Napoleon sent the cross of the Legion of Honour to every one of them on the spot.

The remainder of the day was spent by Napoleon in stationing his army; in waiting for the successive arrivals of different corps,—to be brief, in preparing for a decisive battle on the morrow. The more ardent of his generals wished that he had not waited till “the morrow,” and when he took leave of Murat with the words, “To-morrow you will see the sun of Austerlitz,” the King of Naples incredulously shook his head, saying, that “Barclay only assumed that posture of defiance, the better to ensure his retreat;” and then, with a temerity verging on the ludicrous, gave vent to his impatient irritation by ordering his tent to be pitched on the banks of the Luczissa, nearly in the midst of the enemy, that he might be the first to catch the sounds of their retreat.

As it happened, the Emperor was wrong in the event, though he had been right in the previous opinion. The deliberate Barclay had really entertained the intention of risking a battle on the following day; but he only encountered the perilous chance under his uncertainty as to Bagration, and with the hope of averting his destruction. A courier arrived at head-quarters on the night of the 17th, with intelligence that Bagration, completely extricated, was in full march upon Smolensko. The order to break up the camp in the night was immediately given, and before day-break Murat sent to inform Napoleon that he was “off in pursuit of the Russians, who were no longer within sight.” Napoleon could not be convinced without difficulty of the fact, but it was soon placed beyond a doubt. The Russian camp had been deserted, and their retreat accomplished with such celerity and order, that a single prisoner, found asleep in a thicket, was the sole trophy of a day from which so much had been expected. Utter uncertainty prevailed as to the route taken by Barclay. At length, a band of marauding Cossacks determined the French pursuit in the direction of Smolensko. They advanced for about six leagues in suffocating heat through deep sand. The Emperor then held a council of war. It was evident that the Russians had again eluded his grasp; his army required rest, and it was necessary to pause before proceeding further into these arid deserts. Everything combined to make him believe that Barclay and Bagration would now unavoidably effect a

junction at Smolensko; and this junction actually took place immediately afterwards. The result of the council was an order that the army should enter into cantonments on the banks of the Dnieper and the Dwina, while the Emperor returned to Witepsk, which had been abandoned by its inhabitants. Here he remained for a fortnight. Segur affirms that he thought of establishing himself in winter-quarters at Witepsk, but this is denied by Gourgaud. It was but a passing thought, if it ever existed at all. The temerity of advancing, however, could not fail to strike Napoleon; and it is said that he frequently reverted in conversation to the expedition of Charles XII., though he still expected propositions of peace from Alexander. His own army had left a long line of stragglers and sick in its track. His column of attack consisted of one hundred and eighty-five thousand men; not one half of the complement of the vast army which had entered Russia on the 23rd of June. It must be remembered that the great tract of country already passed was now occupied by his army, and necessarily expended a force, amounting perhaps to nearly eighty thousand men; but it is computed that in addition to this diminution of his army engaged in actual service, he had lost one-third of his original numbers by desertion, wounds, or death, either from fatigue or disease, or in the field of battle. Numbers of his hospital wagons, pontoons, and provision wagons, also, were far in the rear. Still, all these considerations gave way before his ardent desire to hurry the war to a termination, and the exertions he made at Witepsk were all with a view to an advance. Several actions occurred between his generals and the different divisions of the Russian army during the period in which he held his head-quarters at Witepsk. Schwartzenberg conquered Tormazoff at Gorodeczna; Barclay retreated before Ney at Krasnoi; and Oudinot defeated Witgenstein near Polotsk, in a second combat,—the first in which they encountered was indecisive. It was at this moment that Napoleon received news of the conclusion of peace between Russia and Turkey, an event which much more than counterbalanced these successes. Some of the Russian proclamations also fell into his hands, evincing the means which had been taken to incense the population against him. They were called upon to rise against “the universal tyrant,—the Moloch,” coming “with treachery in his heart, and honour on his lips, to reduce them to slavery by means of his myriads of slaves.” “Let us drive out this race of grasshoppers!” such were the expressions used;—“Let us bear the cross in our hearts, and the sword in our hands. Let us draw the teeth out of this lion’s head, and overthrow the tyrant who wishes to devastate the whole earth.”

During the first week of August, intelligence reached Witepsk, that the advanced guard, led by Prince Eugene, had obtained some

advantages near Suraij; but that, in the centre, at Tukowo, near the Dnieper, Sebastiani had been surprised, and conquered by superior numbers. This information, together with the march of Barclay upon Rudnia, decided Napoleon. He conjectured that the whole Russian army was united between the Dwina and the Dnieper, and was marching against his cantonments. His conjecture proved to be perfectly correct. The Russian commander-in-chief conceiving that the French army at Witepsk lay considerably more dispersed than his own, had resolved to attempt a surprise. The utmost activity now pervaded head-quarters. On the 10th of August, Napoleon was observed to write eight letters to Davoust, and nearly as many to each of his commanders. "If the enemy defends Smolensko," he said in one of his letters to Davoust, "as I am tempted to believe he will, we shall have a decisive engagement there, and we cannot have too large a force. Orcha will become the central point of the army. Everything induces me to believe that there will be a great battle at Smolensko."

Barclay having laid a plan for the surprise of Napoleon, the latter by a daring manœuvre avoided it, and almost succeeded in an attempt to turn the very same plan of surprise upon his enemy. Allowing the skirmishing to continue on the advanced posts, he changed his line of operations, and turning the left of the Russians instead of their right, which was expected by Barclay, he gained the rear of their army, and endeavoured to occupy Smolensko, and act upon their lines of communication with Moscow. To effect this, he had withdrawn his forces from Witepsk and the line of the Dwina, with equal skill and rapidity, and throwing four bridges across the Dnieper, made a passage for Ney, Eugene Beauharnais, and Davoust, with Murat at the head of two large bodies of cavalry. They were supported by Poniatowski and Junot, who advanced in different routes. The attack was led by Ney and Murat, who bore down all opposition till they reached Krasnoi, where a battle was fought on the 14th of August. He had thus suddenly changed his line of operations from the Dwina to the Dnieper, and the manœuvre has been the subject of much admiration and criticism among French and Russian tacticians.

The Russian general, Newerowskoi, who commanded at Krasnoi, finding himself attacked by a body of infantry stronger than his own, and two large bodies of cavalry besides, retreated upon the road to Smolensko. This road being favourable for the action of cavalry, he was hotly pressed by Murat, who led the pursuit in full splendour of attire, and with all the reckless valour which characterised him. He also despatched some of his light squadrons to alarm if not attack the front of the retreating corps, while he made furious onsets upon their flank and rear. Newerowskoi, however, effected a skilful and gallantly-

conducted retreat, availing himself of a double row of trees on the high road to Smolensko, by which he evaded the charges of the cavalry, and was enabled to pour in a heavy fire. He made good his retreat into Smolensko, with the loss of four hundred men.

The day on which the combat at Krasnoi was fought happened to be the Emperor's birth-day. There was no intention of keeping it in these immense solitudes, and under the present circumstances of peril and anxiety. There could be no heartfelt festival without a complete victory. Murat and Ney, however, on giving in the report of their recent success, could not refrain from complimenting the Emperor on the anniversary of his nativity. A salute from a hundred pieces of artillery was now heard, fired according to their orders. Napoleon, with a look of displeasure, observed, that in Russia it was important to be economical of French powder. But he was informed in reply, that it was Russian powder, and had been taken the night before. The idea of having his birth-day celebrated at the expense of the Russians made Napoleon smile. Prince Eugene also paid his compliments to the Emperor on this occasion; but was cut short by Napoleon saying, "Everything is preparing for a battle. I will gain that, and then we will see Moscow." Segur says, that Prince Eugene was heard to observe, on leaving the imperial tent,—“Moscow will destroy us;”—but there are no good grounds for believing there was any such foresight exhibited by Eugene, or the other friends and generals of Napoleon, as Segur would have us think. His work was written after all the results had occurred; and, as is usual, we now hear of abundance of remarkable prophecies, which a different course of events would have rendered very different.

While Newerowskoi was intrenched in Smolensko, the generals Barclay and Bagration, who were stationed towards Inkowo, between the Dnieper and Lake Kasplia, hesitated whether to attack the French army, which they believed to be still in their front. But when they heard of the situation of Newerowskoi, the question of forcing the French lines was superseded by the necessity of hurrying to the rescue of Smolensko. Murat had already commenced an attack on the city. Ney had attempted to carry the citadel by a *coup de main*, but was repulsed with the loss of two or three hundred men, and was himself slightly wounded. He withdrew to an eminence on the river's bank to examine the various positions, when on the other side of the Dnieper he thought he could discern some large masses of troops in motion. He hastened to inform the Emperor. Napoleon was presently on the spot, and distinguished, amidst clouds of dust, long dark columns which seemed electric with the intermittent glancing of innumerable arms. These masses were advancing with rapidity.

It was Barclay and Bagration at the head of a hundred and twenty thousand men. At this sight, Napoleon clapped his hands for joy, exclaiming,—“At last I have them!” The moment that was to decide the fate of Russia or the French army, had apparently arrived.

Napoleon passed along the line, and assigned to each commander his station, leaving an extensive plain unoccupied in front, between himself and the Dnieper. This he offered to the enemy for a field of battle. The French army in this position was backed by defiles and precipices; but Napoleon had no anxiety about retreat, so certain felt he of victory.

Instead, however, of accepting the challenge to a decisive battle, Barclay and Bagration were seen next morning in full retreat towards Elnia, a movement which was so bitterly disappointing to Napoleon that he for some time refused to credit the fact. Various plans were contemplated by the Emperor for partially cutting off their retreat, but could not be brought into operation. He instantly ordered the storming of Smolensko, inferring that it should be considered as a mere passage through which he would force his way to Moscow. It appears that Murat was very anxious to dissuade him from this attempt, but finding his efforts in vain, the King of Naples was so exasperated that he rode in front of the most formidable of the Russian batteries while it was in full play upon the French; and having dismounted, remained standing immovable, while the balls were cutting down men on all sides. The storming proceeded with success, except in the attack made by Ney upon the citadel, which repulsed him with loss. One battalion happening to present itself in flank before the Russian batteries, lost the entire row of a company by a single ball, which thus killed twenty-two men at the same instant. In the mean time, the main army, on an amphitheatre of hills, surveyed in anxiety the struggles of their comrades in arms, and occasionally applauded them with loud clapping hands as in a theatre, while they made good any fresh onset, dashing through a maze of balls and grape-shot which shadowed the air.

The troops were drawn off as night came on, and Napoleon retired to his tent. Count Lobau, having obtained possession of the ditch, ordered some shells to be thrown into the city to dislodge the enemy. Almost immediately were seen rising thick and black columns of smoke, with occasional gleams of light; then sparks and burning flakes; and at length pyramids of flame, which ascended from every part. These distinct and distant fires soon became united in one vast conflagration, which rose in whirling and destructive grandeur,—hung over nearly the whole of Smolensko, and consumed it amidst ominous and awful crashes. This disaster, which Count Lobau very naturally attributed to his shells, though it was the work of the Russians, threw him into great

consternation. Napoleon, seated in front of his tent, viewed the terrific spectacle in silence. Neither the cause nor the result could as yet be ascertained, and the night was passed under arms. About three in the morning, a subaltern officer, belonging to Davoust, had ventured to the foot of the wall, and scaled it, without giving the least alarm. Emboldened by the silence which reigned around him, he made his way into the city, when suddenly hearing a number of voices speaking with the Slavonian accent, he gave himself up for lost. But at this instant, the level rays of the sun discovered these supposed enemies



to be the Poles of Poniatowski. They had been the first to penetrate the city, which Barclay had just abandoned to the flames. Smolensko having been reconnoitred, the army entered within its walls. The remarks of Segur on this occasion are very fine:—"They passed over the smoking and bloody ruins in martial order, and with all the pomp of military music and displayed banners; triumphant over deserted ruins, and the solitary witness of their own glory. A spectacle without spectators; a victory scarcely better than fruitless; a glory steeped in blood; and of which the smoke that surrounded them, and that seemed indeed to be our only conquest, was the best and most characteristic emblem."

Here Napoleon found, as at the Niemen, at Wilna, and at Witepsk, that phantom of victory which had decoyed him onward, had again

eluded his grasp; and with mute and gloomy rage he walked along the city over heaps of smoking ruins and the naked bodies of the slain. He sat down in front of the citadel, on a mat at the door of a cottage, and here he held forth for an hour on the cowardice of Barclay, while bullets from the citadel walls were whizzing about his head. He dwelt upon the fine field for action he had offered him,—the disgrace it was to have delivered up the keys of Old Russia without a struggle; the advantages he had given him in a strong city to support his efforts or to receive him in case of need. Without taking the slightest notice of the bullets from the Russian riflemen in the citadel, he thus continued to sit and vent his passionate disappointment, uttering the most bitter sarcasms upon the Russian general and army. “He was not yet in the secret,” laconically observes Hazlitt, “of the new Scythian tactics of defending a country by burning its capitals.” At length, he remounted his horse. One of his marshals remarked, as soon as he was out of hearing, that “if Barclay had been so very wrong in refusing battle, the Emperor would not have taken so much time to convince us of it.” The truth was, he had no patience with the Russians for not staying—to be beaten.

The Russians still retained the suburb of Smolensko, on the right bank of the Dnieper. During the night, Napoleon caused the bridges to be repaired, and a heavy cannonade to be kept up; and by the morning, the suburb had been deserted after being first set on fire. Ney and Junot immediately pressed forward through the burning labyrinth, and halted on the spot at which the roads to Petersburg and Moscow diverge, uncertain in which direction to continue the pursuit. At length, the French scouts brought information that Barclay had retreated in the direction of Moscow, taking at first a circuitous route through marshy and woody defiles. Ney came up with the rear-guard at Stubna, where he dislodged them from a strong position, without difficulty; and next at Valoutina, where a desperate combat took place, in which thirty thousand men were successively engaged on either side. Encumbered as he was by a long line of artillery and baggage, and hard pressed by Ney, Barclay was in extreme danger of losing his whole army, but he was saved by the unaccountable remissness of Junot, who had absolutely got into his rear, yet suspended his attack. Junot was a favourite with Napoleon, but he lost his command for this indecision. It was transferred to Rapp, who had just joined the army. The action had been sanguinary, and among other severe losses, the French general Gudin was mortally wounded. Napoleon visited the field of battle, which would probably have been a decisive one had he been present to direct the manœuvres. The soldiers were ranged round the dead bodies of French and Russians which covered the

ground; the ghastly nature of their wounds, and the wrenched and twisted bayonets scattered about, bearing witness to the violence of the conflict. Napoleon felt that the time was come when his men required the support both of praise and rewards. Accordingly, he suppressed his chagrin at the indecisive result of the victory. His looks were never more impressive and affectionate. He declared this battle was the most brilliant exploit in their military history. In his rewards, he was munificent. The division of Gudin alone received eighty-seven decorations and promotions. He watched over and secured the care of the wounded, and left the field amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of his soldiers. He then returned to Smolensko. His carriage jolted over the grisly ruins of the fight, and his eyes were met on every side by all that is odious and horrible in fields of battle. Long lines of wounded were dragging themselves, or being borne along, and retarded his progress; when he entered the ruined city, carts were conveying out of sight the streaming heap of amputated limbs. Smolensko seemed one vast hospital, and its groans of anguish prevailed over and obliterated the glories and acclamations of Valoutina.

The situation of the French army had now become grave and critical. There could no longer be a doubt of the plan which Barclay was pursuing, and disastrous apprehensions crowded upon Napoleon's mind. The burning of Smolensko was evidently one result of a deep-laid design; it could not be attributed to accident. The bitter hatred of the people against their invaders had been fostered by every device of their rulers, and was too evident to be mistaken. The dread entertained of the doctrines of the French Revolution by the proprietors of the serfs and soil of Russia, had induced them to represent the French soldiers under all the dark and disgusting forms of terror and hatred which could be invented; and the ignorance and credulity of the serfs rendered them easy dupes. The wasting of the country, and conflagration of the towns, which were in fact the result of the policy of the Russian rulers, were attributed to the French. Segur says, that the soldiers observed that the commonest utensils of which they had made use in their quarters, were all broken, burned, or appropriated to the use of animals by the Russians, so great was their abhorrence of the French. Some offers were made by a few enlightened individuals, at the commencement of the campaign, to strive to detach the serf from the proprietor and the soil; but Napoleon neglected them at the time, and when he would have used such means afterwards, they were no longer possible. "He should have availed himself of the offers," says Hazlitt, "but this was his weak side. He did not understand extreme remedies; and he was fonder of power than of liberty." Even the most sanguine and enterprising of his leaders

were beginning openly to express their doubts and misgivings. He was leading his army onwards farther and farther, through pathless deserts, or over ruined fields, or towns laid in ashes; fatigue, famine, and war, were reducing his numbers, and he was at every step increasing his distance from his resources, while his enemies were in the heart of their own country. Even at Wilna, a deficiency had been discovered in the hospital department; the evil increased at Witepsk. At Smolensko, there was no want of hospitals; fifteen large brick buildings, saved from the flames, had been set apart for this purpose, and there was plenty of wine, brandy, and medicines, but there was a dearth of dressings for the appalling number of wounds. The surgeons had already used all that could be procured,—had torn up their own linen, and at length were obliged to substitute the paper found in the city archives. One hospital, containing a hundred wounded men, was forgotten, in the stress of difficulties, for the space of three whole days. The state of its wretched inmates when it was accidentally discovered by Rapp, none of the chroniclers of these events have even attempted to describe, and the imagination recoils with horror from the attempt to realise it. Napoleon sent them his own stock of wine, and many pecuniary gratuities. The alarming decrease of numbers noticed at Witepsk was still more perceptible now. The army at Smolensko might be computed at about one hundred and fifty-seven thousand men, part of the deficiency being caused by the occupation of additional territory; the rest by desertion, wounds, sickness, or death. With such a force, however, Napoleon had no reason for apprehension, if he could bring his enemies to a battle; but it was evident that Barclay had discovered and resolutely pursued a more efficient plan. It seems certain, therefore, that Napoleon did entertain thoughts of establishing winter-quarters at Smolensko; of intrenching himself strongly, bringing up his reinforcements and supplies, and in this central point commanding the roads to both the capitals of Russia; waiting proposals of peace, or preparing for a fresh campaign in the spring. The danger of so long an absence from France; the difficulty of holding together an army composed of many different nations; the news of fresh successes achieved by his various leaders in different directions; above all, the impetuosity of his own temperament, decided the point. The only doubt which long existed was on which of the two capitals to advance. By the 24th of August, all was decided, and the French army was in full march towards Moscow.

Quitting Smolensko, he still persevered in the illusion of expecting a decisive battle if he followed the Russians. He called their circumspection, pusillanimity; their retreat, flight; and his heedlessness and temerity in pursuit increased with their craft and caution in retiring

farther into the country. Barclay had retreated to Dorogobouje, without attempting any resistance; but here he renewed his junction with Bagration, and Murat wishing to reconnoitre a small wood, met with a vigorous resistance, and pressing forwards found himself in front of the whole Russian army. He immediately sent word to Napoleon, who was in the rear. Davoust also, who disapproved of Murat's dispositions, wrote to hasten the Emperor's advance, "if he did not wish Murat to engage without him." Napoleon received the news with transport, and pressed on with his guard twelve leagues without stopping; but on the evening before he arrived, the enemy had disappeared. Barclay persevered in his retreat amidst imputations of treachery from Bagration, and discord and impatience throughout his camp. Rage at the continual falling back before the invaders had produced so many complaints, that Alexander had at last resolved to supersede Barclay by Kutusoff, who was shortly expected. Meantime, the French army advanced, marching three columns abreast; the Emperor, Murat, Davoust, and Ney, in the middle, along the great road to Moscow; Poniatowski on the right; and the army of Italy on the left.

It was not likely that the centre column could obtain any supplies on a road where the advanced guard had found nothing to subsist upon but the leavings of the Russians. They could not in so rapid a march find time to deviate from the direct route; besides which, the right and left columns were collecting and devouring all they could find on each side of the road. It seemed that a second army would have been required to follow them with the requisite necessaries; but as it was, they were obliged to carry everything with them. The existence of the army was a prodigy. With the French and Polish corps, the difficulties were not so great, owing to their excellent arrangements in packing their knapsacks, and by every regiment having attached to it a number of dwarf-horses, carts, and a drove of oxen. Their baggage was conducted by soldiers as drivers. But with the other chiefs in command, the case was very different. They had none of these excellent arrangements among them, and only existed by sending out marauding detachments on every side, who devoured their fill, and then returned to their respective bodies with the remainder,—if any remained. Napoleon had not paid sufficient attention to these distinctions, in the arrangements of the various divisions, and the consequences were highly injurious. Very great distress, and very disorderly conduct incessantly occurred in the course of the march, particularly at Slawokowo. But Napoleon seemed only possessed by the idea of Moscow, and victory. He evidently took a great pleasure in frequently dating decrees and dispatches from the middle of Old Russia, which he

knew would find their way even into the smallest hamlets throughout France, and make him appear present everywhere in full power.

Murat and Davoust had frequent misunderstandings at this period, which on one occasion came to an open quarrel. Davoust had been placed under the orders of the King of Naples, but the latter having brought the troops into the greatest peril by his headstrong valour and love of personal display and prowess, Davoust shewed an unwillingness to support him. This presently led to a violent altercation in presence of the Emperor. Murat upbraided Davoust with slow and dilatory circumspection, and with a personal hostility towards himself ever since they were in Egypt. He became more vehement as he proceeded, and finally challenged the Prince of Eckmuhl. At this last provocation, the deliberate Davoust gave way to his feelings, and began a long history of the extraordinary pranks played by the King of Naples in pursuing the Russians. He said it was high time that the Emperor should be made acquainted with what passed every day in the management of his advanced guard. He shewed that Murat wasted lives by useless attacks upon the Russians, for the sake of gaining a few acres of ground, although it invariably happened that the enemy left the ground of their own accord, whenever a sufficient force came up with them; that Murat was in the constant habit of losing men by slaughterous follies in the front to no purpose, after which he began to think of the propriety of reconnoitering; that he kept the whole of the advanced guard in a state of restless activity during sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, with no cause, and finally chose the worst quarters for the night; so that the soldiers instead of taking their food and rest, were groping about for provisions and forage, and calling to each other in the dark in order to find their way back to their bivouacs; and that the king did nothing else but storm and rage through the ranks, and then ride close to the enemy's lines in all directions. Napoleon listened to the whole of this in silence, pushing a Russian bullet backwards and forwards under the sole of his foot. When they were both quite out of breath, he mildly told them that under present circumstances he preferred impetuosity to methodical caution; that each had his merits; it was impossible for one man to combine all descriptions of merit; and enjoining them to be friends for the future dismissed them to their tents.

On the 28th of August, the army traversed the great plains of Wiazma. They passed hastily onwards, several regiments abreast, over the fields. The high road was given up to the train of artillery, and the hospital wagons. The Emperor appeared among them in all directions. He was occupied in calculating, as he went forward, how many thousands of cannon-balls would be required to destroy the

Russian army. He ordered all private carriages to be broken up, as they might tend to impede their progress, and be in the way when a battle occurred. The carriage of his aide-de-camp, General Narbonne, was the first that was demolished. The baggage of all the corps was collected in the rear, comprised of a long train of bat-horses, and of carriages called *kibics*, drawn by rope traces. These were loaded with provisions, plunder, military stores, sick soldiers, and the arms of these soldiers, and of those who acted as drivers and guards. In this heterogeneous column were seen tall cuirassiers, who had lost their horses, and were mounted on horses not much larger than asses. Among such a confused and disorderly multitude, the Cossacks might have made most harassing attacks; but Barclay seemed cautious to avoid disheartening the French too much. His object was to impede and delay the progress of the invaders, by contests with the advanced guard only, and without inducing them to abandon their design.

This protracted state of affairs, the fatigued condition of the army, the quarrels among the chiefs, and the approach of yet more dangerous circumstances, filled the mind of Napoleon with anxiety and apprehension. He had for some time hoped and expected that Alexander would open some negociation with him, or at least address him a letter. At length, he gave the opportunity himself, by causing Berthier to write to Barclay; and the letter concluded with these words:—"The Emperor commands me to entreat you to present his compliments to the Emperor Alexander, and to say to him that neither the vicissitudes of war, nor any other circumstances, can ever impair the friendship which he feels for him." Napoleon's sincerity in this profession was probably of the same value as the previous good faith of Alexander. No answer was returned. On the very day the letter was sent, the advanced guard of the French drove the Russians into Wiazma. The army was so exhausted by fatigue, heat, and thirst, that the soldiers fought among themselves for precedence in obtaining water from some muddy pools. Napoleon himself was very glad to obtain a little of this thick puddle to allay his thirst. In the course of the night, the Russians destroyed the bridges of the Wiazma; and, after pillaging the town, set fire to it, and decamped. Murat and Davoust, after some opposition, succeeded in making an entrance and extinguishing the flames. Various reports now made to the Emperor left him no longer in the least doubt as to who were the incendiaries, and he clearly perceived the regular plan on which the Russians were acting. Entering Wiazma, he found a few resources had been left in the town, but that his soldiers had wasted them all by pillage. This so exasperated him that he rode in among them, and threw several of them down. Seeing a sutler who had been very busy in this wasteful disorder, he ordered him to be shot.

But it is well known of Napoleon, that his fits of passion were of short duration, and always followed by a disposition to clemency. Those, therefore, who heard this order, placed the suttler a few minutes afterwards, in a place which the Emperor would have to pass; and making the man kneel, they got a woman and several children to kneel at his side, who were to appear as his wife and family. Napoleon inquired what they wanted, and granted the offender his pardon.

Belliard, at this time the head of Murat's staff, now rode up to him in a very excited state. He reported that the enemy had shewn himself in full force, in an advantageous position, beyond the Wiazma, and ready to engage; that the cavalry on both sides had immediately come to action; and that the infantry becoming necessary, the King of Naples had placed himself at the head of one of Davoust's divisions, and ordered the advance,—when Davoust hastened to the spot and commanded them to halt, as he did not approve of the intended *manceuvre*, and told the king that it was absurd and ruinous. Murat had therefore sent to the Emperor, declaring he would no longer hold a disputed command. Napoleon was enraged at this renewal of the quarrel at such a moment, and sent off Berthier to place under the command of Murat that division which he had intended to lead. Meantime, the contest was over, and Murat, now reverting to the conduct of Davoust, was broiling with indignation. He asked of what use was his royal rank? It could not obtain him obedience, or even protect him from insult. But as his sword had made him a king, to that alone would he appeal. It was with the greatest difficulty that he was restrained from going to attack Davoust. He then cursed his crown, and shed a torrent of tears. Davoust did not attempt to excuse the insubordination of his conduct, but persisted that Murat had been misled by his own temerity, and that the Emperor had been misinformed as to the whole affair with the Russians.

Napoleon re-entered Wiazma, and here intelligence was brought him from the interior of Russia, that the government deliberately appropriated all his successes to themselves, and that *Te Deum* had been repeatedly celebrated at Petersburg for the Russian "victories" of Witepsk and Smolensko! "*Te Deum!*" ejaculated Napoleon, in amazement,—“then they dare to tell lies, not only to man but to God!” He also learnt, that while their towns were in flames there was nothing but ringing of bells in Petersburg, hymns of gratitude, and publications of the triumph of the Russian arms.

During this time, the advanced guard pursued the Russians as far as Gjatzen. The French army found forage in the villages, as well as grain, ovens, and shelter. It was remarked that in the retreat of the Russians from Smolensko, they had neglected to burn the villages and



MURAT, KING OF NAPLES.

seats along their course. This has been considered by some as a part of Barclay's subtle plan for inducing the French to follow; while others have attributed the burning of the capitals only, to the preference given by the Cossacks who executed it,—which originated in the hatred or contempt which these barbarous hordes felt against civilisation, and that they experienced a savage pleasure in devastating the large towns, which rendered them indifferent about the small villages.

The French took possession of Gjatz; the Russians set fire to the town, and disappeared behind the flames. Whilst the foremost of the light troops were pursuing them, one of the inhabitants came running towards them, exclaiming, with transport, that he was a Frenchman. From him they learnt that a total change had just taken place in the Russian army. The troops, as well as the whole of Moscow, had raised a violent clamour against Barclay, for what they termed his succession of flights, and base desertion of their cities. They declared that Russia could only be saved by a Russian, and called for Kutusoff, who had been a sort of rival of Suwarrow, to take the place of Barclay, and give battle to the invaders. Alexander consented, and Kutusoff was made commander-in-chief.

Thus had Barclay persevered to the latest moment possible, in opposition to the whole Russian army and nation, in that plan of retreat which, five years previously, he had declared to one of the French generals, would be the only means of saving Russia. Notwithstanding the horrible disasters it had brought upon the French, they still admired the firmness and masterly skill with which Barclay carried out his plan. Being superseded by Kutusoff, and placed under his orders, he manifested no sort of indignation, but continued to obey with the same steadiness as he had commanded.

At length, the Russian army halted. Intelligence was brought that they were breaking up the whole plain of Borodino, and forming intrenchments in every part. Napoleon announced to his army an approaching battle. He allowed them two days to rest, prepare their arms, and collect provisions.

Sixteen thousand recruits, and a vast multitude of peasants, joined the ranks of Kutusoff. On the 4th of September, the French left Gjatz. The heads of their columns were now more than ever annoyed by troops of Cossacks, and the frequent necessity of making his cavalry deploy against so temporary and random an obstacle, provoked Murat to such a degree that he once clapped spurs to his horse, and dashing alone to the front of their line, halted within a few paces, and waving his sabre with the most indignant and menacing authority, signified his command for them to withdraw. The sudden apparition of this splendid figure in front of their ranks, with the air of one who

possessed the power of annihilating them with a blow, so took these barbarians by surprise that they instantly withdrew in vague astonishment. They shortly, however, returned, and received the charge of the Italian chasseurs. Platoff has since related that in this affair, a Russian officer, who had brought a sorcerer with him, was wounded; whereupon he ordered the sorcerer to be soundly drubbed on the spot; as he had expressly directed him to turn aside all the balls by his conjurations.

Napoleon now surveyed the whole country from an eminence, and displayed marvellous sagacity in the conclusions he drew as to the positions and intentions of the enemy. Vast numbers of troops were posted in front of their left, and he concluded that this must be the point where their ground was most accessible, and that they had there constructed a formidable redoubt. It was, therefore, necessary to carry this. The attack was general, and the Russian rear-guards were driven back upon Borodino. This curtain being removed, the first Russian redoubt was discovered. The division of Compans attacked it, and the 61st regiment took it at the point of the bayonet. Bagration sent reinforcements, and it was retaken. It was again taken by the 61st, and this occurred three times, till finally, with the loss of half the regiment, it remained in possession of the French. But a neighbouring wood was swarming with Russian riflemen, and it required the efforts of Morand, Poniatowski, and Murat, to complete the conquest. Firing, nevertheless, continued till nightfall.

Not a single prisoner had been taken. When Napoleon heard this, he asked many questions impatiently. Were the Russians determined to conquer or die? He was answered, that their priests and chiefs had wrought them up to a state of fanaticism in their love for their country and their abhorrence of their invaders. The Emperor at this fell into meditation, and concluded that a battle of artillery would be the only efficient mode to adopt. On that night, a thin cold rain began to fall, and autumn proclaimed its approach by violent gusts of wind.

On the morning of the 6th of September, the two armies were again visible to each other, in the same position as the preceding day had left them. This excited a general joy among the French. At last, this desultory, vagrant, and irritating war, in which so many brave men had perished, to so little advantage, seemed about to come to a satisfactory issue. The Emperor rode forth at the earliest dawn, and surveyed the whole front of the enemy's army, by passing along a succession of eminences that rose between the two antagonist powers.

The Russians were in possession of all the heights, on a semi-circle of two leagues extent from the Mosqua to the old Moscow road.

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Their centre, commanded by Barclay, formed the salient part of their line; it was protected by the Kalogha, by a ravine, and by two strong redoubts at its extremities. Their right and left receded. Their right rested on the precipitous and rocky bank of the Kalogha, and was defended by deep and muddy ravines. A strong redoubt also crowned the height, which was lined with eighty pieces of cannon. Bagration commanded the left: it was stationed on a less elevated crest than the centre, and having lost the protection of its great redoubt was the most accessible point of their army. Two small hills crowned with redoubts protected its front. It was flanked by a wood, beyond which, on the extreme left, was a corps commanded by Tutchkoff, but stationed at so great a distance as to permit the possibility of manœuvring on the intervening ground without previously overwhelming this detached corps.

Having concluded his observation, Napoleon made his plan. "Eugene," he said, "should be the pivot; the battle must be begun by the right. As soon as the right, advancing under the protection of the wood, shall have carried the redoubts of the Russian left wing, it must turn to the left, march on the Russian flank, overthrowing and driving back their whole army upon their right wing, and into the Kalogha." Napoleon was still on the heights, taking a last view of the ground, and considering the details of the grand plan he had formed, when Davoust hastily approached him. The marshal had a proposal of his own to make, by which he expected to turn the enemy's left in the night, and by surprise. The Emperor listened to him with great attention, but after silently considering the proposition for a few minutes, rejected it, and persisted in his rejection, notwithstanding the confidence with which it was urged by Davoust. He then re-entered his tent, when Murat pertinaciously strove to persuade him that the Russians would again retreat before he commenced his attack. The Emperor in some agitation returned to the heights of Borodino, where, however, every indication of an intention to remain and fight was observable among the Russians. He had taken very few attendants, to avoid being recognised by the enemy's batteries; but at the moment he was pointing out the signs he had observed to Murat, the discharge of one of their cannon broke the silence of the day;—"for it is frequently the case," observes Segur, "that nothing is so calm as the day which precedes a great battle."

The Emperor now returned to his tent to dictate the order of battle. The two armies were nearly equal,—about a hundred and twenty thousand men, and six hundred pieces of cannon on each side. The Russians had the best position, and the additional advantages of speaking the same language, wearing the same uniform, and fighting for a common cause; and of being near their resources, and in their

own country; but they had too many raw recruits in their ranks. The army of Napoleon had just completed a long and harassing march; was made up of many nations, and in the midst of a hostile people; but it was entirely composed of tried soldiers, who had fought their way through many a desperate battle, and held their ranks through every hardship. The proclamation issued by Napoleon was suited to the men and the circumstances. It was grave, simple, and energetic. "Soldiers," said he, "you have now before you the battle which you have so long desired. From this moment, the victory depends upon yourselves. It is necessary for us; it will bring us abundance, good winter quarters, and a speedy return to our country." It happened that



the Emperor had that day received the portrait of his son from Paris. He himself exhibited the picture in front of his tent.

Kutusoff, on his part, had worked upon the feelings of the Russians by means suited to their condition. He had induced the chief priests or popes of the Greek church, dressed in their richest robes, to walk in splendid procession before his army. They carried the symbols of their religion, and foremost of all a sacred image of the Virgin, withdrawn from Smolensko by a miracle. He then addressed the soldiers on the subject of heaven,—“the only country which slaves have left to them,”—and incited the serfs to defend their master's property in the name of the Great Teacher of universal brotherhood. The whole

ceremony worked the effect which he intended, and roused his hearers to the highest pitch of courage and fanaticism.

During the night, the whole French army was stationed in order of battle, and three batteries, of sixty pieces each, were opposed to the Russian redoubts. Poniatowski commanded the right wing, which was destined to commence the attack on the Russian left. The whole of the artillery were to support his attack. Davoust and Ney, supported by Junot with the Westphalians, and Murat with the cavalry, were in the centre; and ready to precipitate themselves upon the Russians after the opening of the battle by Poniatowski. Prince Eugene, with the army of Italy and the Bavarian cavalry, formed the left. The Emperor held his guard in reserve. He appeared very unwell, depressed in spirits, and unable to sleep. He was oppressed with fever and excessive thirst, probably the result of over fatigue and anxiety. The news of the defeat of his troops at Salamanca, had just been brought to him by Fabvier, an aide-de-camp of Marmont; but he received the account with great firmness and temper. Present events only seemed to weigh on his mind. He repeatedly called to ascertain the hour, and to inquire whether any sounds indicative of a retreat had been heard in the opposite army. On one occasion, his aide-de-camp found him resting his head on his hands, and the few words he said indicated that his thoughts were dwelling on the vanity of human glory. He asked Rapp, whether he thought they should gain the victory? "Undoubtedly," answered Rapp, "but it will be a bloody one!" On which Napoleon replied, "I know it; but I have eighty thousand men. I shall lose twenty thousand of them, and with sixty thousand shall enter Moscow. The stragglers will there rejoin us, and afterwards the battalions of recruits now on their march, and we shall be stronger than before the battle." He seemed neither to comprehend the guard nor the cavalry in this calculation. Before daybreak, one of Ney's officers came to announce that the marshal had the Russians still in view, and to ask leave to begin the attack. These words appeared to restore the Emperor. He rose; summoned his officers; and leaving his tent exclaimed, "At last we have them! March!—We will to-day open for ourselves the gates of Moscow!"

It was half-past five in the morning when Napoleon took his station near the great redoubt which had been taken on the 5th. As the sun rose, he pointed to the east, saying, "There is the sun of Austerlitz!" The artillery were employed in pushing forward the batteries which had been placed too far back. The Russians made no opposition: they seemed fearful of being the first to break the awful silence. While waiting for the sound of Poniatowski's fire on the right, Napoleon ordered Eugene to take the village of Borodino, on

the left. The 106th regiment accordingly opened the attack; gained the village; rushed across the bridge, in the ardour of success, and would have been cut off, had not the 92nd come up to their relief. During this action, sounds on the right announced that Poniatowski had commenced his attack, and Napoleon immediately gave the signal of battle. "Then, suddenly," says Segur, "from the previously peaceful plain and silent hills, burst forth flashes of fire and clouds of smoke, which were instantly followed by a multitude of explosions and the whizzing of innumerable bullets which rent the air on every side. In the midst of this thunder, Davoust, with the divisions of Compans and Desaix, and thirty cannon, advanced rapidly upon the first redoubt of the enemy." The fusillade of the Russians now commenced, and was answered by the French cannon. The French infantry advanced at a quick pace, without firing; but General Compans, who headed the column, fell wounded with the foremost of his men, and the rest halted under the storm of balls. Rapp instantly took the post of Compans, and urged the troops forward at a running pace with charged bayonets, when he also fell. It was the twenty-second wound that he had received. He was conveyed to the Emperor, who exclaimed, "What! Rapp! always wounded! but how are they going on above there?" The aide-de-camp replied, that the guard was wanted to finish the business. "No," said Napoleon, "I will take good care of that; I will not have that destroyed. I will gain the battle without it." A third general, who succeeded Rapp, likewise fell; and Davoust himself was struck. At this moment, Ney, with his three divisions of ten thousand men, threw himself into the plain to support Davoust, and the Russian fire was thus diverted. Ney rushed on; Davoust's columns continued their advance with renewed confidence; and almost at the same time both of the French divisions scaled the heights; overthrew or killed their defenders, and obtained possession of both the redoubts of the Russian left. Napoleon then ordered Murat to charge and complete the victory. The king was on the heights in an instant; but the Russians, reinforced by their second line, now advanced with rapidity to regain their redoubts. The French were taken by surprise in the first disorder of their success, and retreated. Murat, endeavouring in vain to rally the troops, found himself nearly surrounded, and alone amidst the enemy's cavalry. They were even stretching out their arms to take him prisoner, when he escaped by throwing himself into one of the redoubts. There he found only a few soldiers in utter disorder. They were running backwards and forwards upon the parapet in consternation; but he seized the first weapon he could find, and fought with one hand, while he waved his plumed hat in the air with the other. His presence and his

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rallying calls to duty soon restored the courage of the men. Ney quickly re-formed his divisions; his fire threw the Russians into disorder; Murat was extricated; and the heights re-conquered. Murat was no sooner freed from this danger than he furiously and repeatedly charged the enemy at the head of the French cavalry, and in another hour, the Russian left wing was entirely defeated.

In the meantime, a dreadful conflict had raged unceasingly on the French left. After Eugene had taken the village of Borodino, he had passed the Kalogha, in front of the great Russian redoubt, which was lined with eighty pieces of cannon, and protected by a ravine. General Bonnamy, at the head of eighteen hundred men of the 30th regiment, carried this strong position by one sudden charge, at six o'clock in the morning. But the Russians recovered from their first panic; and, rallying before their assailants could be supported, they were headed by Kutusoff and Yermidof in person, and made an attack in their turn. Bonnamy's regiment was surrounded, overwhelmed, and driven from the redoubt, with the loss of its commander and one-third of its numbers. Eugene, however, maintained his station on the sloping sides of the heights for four hours, under a terrific fire, and until he was relieved by the turn of the battle, when Kutusoff was obliged to defend the left of his centre, now exposed in consequence of the defeat of his left wing by the divisions of Ney, Davoust, and Murat, as already detailed. The defence of Kutusoff was then carried on at two points. He poured a tremendous fire, with devastating effect, upon the troops of Ney and Murat, from the heights of the ruined village of Semenowska. It became necessary to carry that position. Maubourg swept the front of it with his cavalry; Friand and Dufour, with their infantry, mounted the acclivity, dislodged the Russians, and secured the position. The Russians had now lost every one of their intrenchments except the great redoubt, on which Prince Eugene was preparing for a decisive attack. He had already sent to Napoleon for assistance, but received the reply, that "he could give him no relief; it depended on him alone to conquer; that the battle was concentrated on that point." Murat and Ney, exhausted with their efforts, also sent for reinforcements; but Napoleon concluded that the presence of Friand and Maubourg on the heights would maintain them, and he saw that the battle was not yet won. Amidst all the excitement of these repeated and most urgent messages, he steadily refused to compromise his reserve.

The Russians now rallied *en masse*. Kutusoff commanded all his reserves, and even the Russian guard, to the assistance of his uncovered left. Infantry, artillery, and cavalry, all advanced for one grand and mighty effort. Ney and Murat, with intrepidity and firmness, sustained

the rushing tempest. It was no time for them to think of following up their previous successes; all their strength was required to maintain their position. Friand's soldiers, ranged in front of the armed heights of Semenowska, were swept off in whole ranks by a storm of grape-shot. The survivors were dismayed, and one of their brave commanders ordered a retreat; when Murat suddenly rode up to him, and catching hold of his collar, exclaimed,—“What are you doing?” The colonel, pointing to the ground on which half of his men lay dead or wounded, replied,—“You see we can stay here no longer!” Murat hastily rejoined,—“I can stay here very well myself!” The colonel looked steadily at him, and calmly replied,—“It is right. Soldiers! let us advance to be slain!”

Murat had again sent to Napoleon for assistance, and he now gave it promptly and efficiently. The artillery of the guard were ordered to advance. Eighty pieces of cannon quickly crowned the heights, and discharged their contents at once. The Russian cavalry first charged against this tremendous barrier, but retired in confusion to escape destruction. The infantry exhibited a spectacle of stolid indifference to death, or devotion to their country and their leaders, perhaps unparalleled in the history of war,—affording a picture of the inherent powers of human nature, worthy of study, while most horrible to contemplate in their present misapplication. “The infantry,” says Segur, “advanced in thick masses, in which our balls from the first made wide and deep openings; yet they constantly came on nearer and nearer, when the French batteries redoubling the rapidity of their fire absolutely mowed them down with grape-shot. Whole platoons fell at once. Their soldiers struggled to preserve their compactness under this terrible fire; and, divided every instant by death, they still closed their ranks over it, trampling it with defiance under their feet. At last they halted, not daring to advance any farther, and yet resolved not to go back; whether they were appalled, and as it were petrified with horror in this tremendous gulph of destruction; or whether it was owing to Bagration being at that time mortally wounded; or whether it might be that a first arrangement being attended with failure, their generals felt incompetent to change it,—not possessing, like Napoleon, the art of moving such vast bodies at once, with unity, harmony, and order. In short, these heavy and stationary masses stood to be crushed and destroyed in detail for two entire hours, *without any other movement than that of the falling of the men*. It was in truth a deplorable and frightful massacre; and the intelligent valour of our artillery-men admired the firm, resigned, but infatuated courage of their enemies.” Scott describes the scene to the same effect. “Regiments of peasants, who till that day had never seen war, and who still

had no other uniform than their grey jackets, formed with the steadiness of veterans, crossed their brows, and having uttered their national exclamation, '*Gospodee pomiloui nas!*' (God have mercy upon us), rushed into the thickest of the battle, where the survivors, without feeling fear or astonishment, closed their ranks over their comrades as they fell."

The problem, of whether that mass of men would have stood to be utterly destroyed to the last individual, was never worked out; for a fresh movement in the French army, bringing upon them a new form of peril, at last restored them to a sense of their human conditions, and put them to flight. Ney extended his right, pushed it rapidly forward, and, seconded by Davoust and Murat, turned the left of the Russian centre, and dispersed them. The battle still raged on the Russian right,—where Barclay, entrenched in the great redoubt, obstinately struggled with Prince Eugene,—and on their extreme left, where Poniatowski had as yet failed to make himself master of the great Moscow road. When another pressing demand for "the guard, to complete the destruction of the Russian army," was brought to Napoleon from Ney and Murat, who burned to follow up the retreat of the defeated infantry, he pointed in silence to those two conflicting bodies. The Emperor's words ought to be satisfactory as to the cause of his refusal to send his reserve, which has occasioned so many animadversions. "The case," he said, "was not sufficiently extricated and conclusive to induce him yet to part with his reserves; and that he must see more clearly the state of his chess-board." When Count Daru, at the pressing solicitation of Berthier, repeated the request, and said in a low tone "that on all sides the cry now was that the moment for the guard to act was come," Napoleon replied, "And if there should be a second battle on the morrow, what shall I have to carry it on with?"

Kutusoff was still unconquered. He rallied for the third time, and, resting his right on the great redoubt, formed a fresh line in front of Ney and Murat; but it was a last effort. General Caulaincourt, at the head of the fifth French cuirassiers, made a desperate charge on the rear of the redoubt, while Eugene maintained his ground in the front. The last words of Caulaincourt, as he left Murat to open the attack, had been, "You shall see me there immediately, dead or alive!" He charged at the head of his regiment, overthrew all opposition, and was the first man who penetrated into the redoubt, where, almost at the instant, he fell mortally wounded; but that decisive charge determined the victory. The troops of Prince Eugene were pressing onwards, and had nearly reached the mouth of the battery, when suddenly its fire was extinguished, its smoke dispersed, and above the now silent engines of destruction appeared the moveable and

polished brass which covered the French cuirassiers. The Russians had been driven from their last intrenchment. They returned with one more desperate effort to retake this position, as if determined to die rather than endure defeat. Their column advanced to the very mouths of the cannon, but at the terrible discharge of thirty pieces of artillery, which were directed against them, they appeared to be whirled round by the shock, and retired without being able to deploy. Officers now came in from every part of the field. Poniatowski, supported by Sebastiani, had conquered on the left, after a desperate struggle. The sounds of firing became weaker and less frequent. The Russians had retreated to a new position, where they appeared to be intrenching themselves. The day was drawing to a close, and the battle was ended.

Napoleon had remained nearly on the same spot throughout the whole of the battle, seated on the edge of a trench, or walking backwards and forwards on an elevated platform. He now mounted his horse, and slowly passed amidst the heaps of dead and wounded till he reached the heights of Semenowska. He said little; but the few words he uttered implied that he felt his victory had cost him too dear. He then repaired to his tent to write the bulletin of the battle, and made a point of announcing to France that neither himself nor his reserve had been subject to the least danger,—thus manifesting the confidence he felt in the opinion entertained of him by the French; and, at the same time, informing Europe that notwithstanding his distance from France, and while surrounded by enemies in a hostile country, he was still safe and powerful.

It is a question whether the battle of Borodino (sometimes called the battle of the Mosqua, or Moscowa), was not the most important of all Napoleon's battles. A different result, either way, would probably have influenced all his subsequent career to an incalculable extent. Waterloo might have been won by the French, or France might have been conquered, long before the period of that great contest. The account given by Segur of Napoleon's extreme ill health, and mental indecision,—amounting to temporary imbecility,—during the whole of the battle of Borodino, has occasioned innumerable comments among historians, and all those who practically understood or felt interested in the affair. Napoleon's reason for refusing to send his reserve into action, has been sufficiently explained by his own words: the only question is, whether this refusal was founded on a wise or a short-sighted policy. Judging from the event, it would seem that he just won enough by the battle of Borodino to shew his enemies that he could beat them under all his disadvantages, and therefore to warn them against hazarding a second great battle, while it was most pro-



BATTLE OF MOSCOW.

able they could eventually conquer him by other means than fighting; but he failed to win a sufficient victory, and thus to terminate the contest in his favour, although he had the power of doing this if he had chosen to call out all his resources. On the other hand, let us suppose he had sent all his reserve into the field, and destroyed the Russian army? Would this have prevented the firing of Moscow; or would it not rather have furnished additional reasons for that terrible resolution of the Russian governor? Would Napoleon in this case have retreated, or would he have pushed onwards direct for Petersburg? Would not the whole population have risen against him; but would not Alexander have rather been anxious to make any terms he might please to dictate? Against this we have to place the exhausted condition of the French; the want of supplies; the probable burning of all the villages near which they would have to pass; and the rapid approach of winter. Their retreat, if necessary, would have been far less disastrous; but little else of good can be safely predicated as certain to have resulted from the destruction of the Russian army at Borodino. On the whole, it is clear that Napoleon was right in holding back his reserve under the reasonable expectation of a great battle before the walls of Moscow; but the event placed him in the wrong, inasmuch as he had expected to fight with a mass of armed men, and not with the irresistible terrors and disasters of a vast flaming capital.

Segur has always been the chief authority on all the foregoing events; but he has been convicted of various exaggerations and errors. He reiterates the statement that Napoleon was in the most lamentable condition of ill health, which reduced his clear and decisive intellect to a state bordering on fatuity, during the whole of this great battle: a battle which had been the object of all his previous thoughts; had cost so many efforts and such dreadful losses to bring to an issue; and upon the results of which all his hopes in Russia depended. Segur states that the Emperor remained immoveable on his seat, without any apparent interest in the progress of the battle; that he only gave a languid attention to the most urgent reports and requisitions of his chief generals, but without doing anything which their situation demanded; and that when he gave any order, he almost immediately countermanded it. These, and other animadversions of a similar kind, concerning this tremendous battle, are very fairly refuted in the "Memoirs of Count Matthieu Dumas," intendant-general of the army, who was near the Emperor's person during the whole of the day, only leaving him occasionally to visit the field-hospitals, and provide for the first relief to be given to the numerous wounded. "It has been frequently asserted," says Dumas, "that Napoleon did not display his usual activity on this day. His apparent indifference has excited astonishment; it

has been intimated that he laboured under bodily exhaustion; that he was not able to call into action all the resources of his genius; in short, that his star began to grow dim, even in the midst of victory. Napoleon certainly appeared to be indisposed; he had undergone excessive fatigue during the two preceding nights, which he had employed in reconnoitering in person the positions of the enemy, in placing the corps of the army, and in determining the point of attack. Having formed his plans to compel the enemy to abandon their strong position, he would not consent to make any change in the arrangements which he had resolved upon after profound consideration. He placed himself at a short distance from his right wing, against which it was probable that the Russian general would direct his principal effort, in order to take our attacking columns in the rear, while they should be stopped by the fire of the redoubts. The station which Napoleon had chosen was, in fact, the best point of observation. It commanded a view of the whole field of battle, and if any manœuvre, any partial success of the enemy, had required new measures, the vigilance of Napoleon would not have failed to meet the urgency of the case. He would have gone to the spot in person, as he did at the battle of Wagram."

Napoleon declared at St. Helena, that the battle of Borodino was his most brilliant feat of arms. He was, however, aware from the first that his conduct of it would be criticised. "About nine o'clock in the evening," proceeds Dumas, "Count Daru and myself were summoned to the Emperor. His bivouac was in the middle of the square battalion of his guard, a little behind the redoubt. His supper had just been served; he was alone, and made us sit down on his right and left hand. After having heard the account of the measures taken for the relief of the wounded, &c., he spoke to us of the issue of the battle; a moment afterwards he fell asleep for about twenty minutes; then, suddenly waking, he continued thus: 'People will be astonished that I did not bring up my reserves to obtain more decisive results; but it was necessary to keep them, in order to strike a decisive blow in the great battle which the enemy will offer us before Moscow: the success of the day was secured; I had to think of the success of the campaign, and it is for that I keep my reserves.'" This places the matter in a tolerably clear light. It has been shewn how far Napoleon was mistaken in his anticipation of a second great battle. Borodino was, in fact, the battle for Moscow; and its results involved the fate of that city, and of the French army.

The victory at Borodino was anything but decisive of the great struggle. On the very next morning, there was an alarm, even in the tent of the Emperor, which compelled the old guard to resort to arms. This was mortifying after a victory, and carried with it the air

of an insult. The French army continued inactive till noon. Ten thousand had been killed, and the wounded amounted to no less than twenty thousand. Forty-three generals had been killed or wounded. Among the Russians, there had been fifteen thousand killed, including the gallant Prince Bagration, and thirty thousand wounded. The French carried their wounded two leagues in the rear, to the large monastery of Kolotskoi. The chief surgeon, Larrey, had taken assistants from all the other regiments, and the hospital wagons had arrived; but all that could be done for the conveyance was insufficient. Larrey subsequently complained that no sufficient troop had been left to enable him to obtain the necessary articles from the surrounding villages.

When the Emperor inspected the field of battle, everything concurred to increase its horrors. A gloomy sky, a cold rain, a violent wind, habitations in ashes, a plain absolutely torn up and covered with fragments and ruins, rendered the scene of carnage yet more appalling. The dark and funereal verdure of the north was seen all round the horizon. Soldiers were roaming like wild beasts among the bodies of their dead comrades, and emptying their knapsacks to procure subsistence for themselves. The wounds of the slain were of the most hideous description, occasioned by the large bullets used by the Russians. The bivouacs were mournful; no songs of triumph, no lively narrations,—all dreary and silent. Around the eagles were the rest of the officers and subalterns, and a few soldiers,—barely sufficient to guard the colours. Their clothes were torn by the violence of the conflict, blackened with powder, and stained with blood; yet even amidst their rags, their misery, and destitution, they displayed a lofty bearing, and on the appearance of Napoleon welcomed him with acclamations.

Many wounded men were found in the bottom of ravines, where the French troops had been precipitated, or where they had dragged themselves for shelter from the enemy or the storm. Some of the younger soldiers in sighs and groans were calling upon the name of their country, or of their mother; but most of the veterans awaited death either with an impassive or a sardonic air, neither imploring or complaining. The anguish of some of the wounded made them beg of their comrades, as a mercy, to kill them instantly. Among the Russians, the enormous number of wounded presented on every side a spectacle of moving horrors. Many of these mutilated objects were seen dragging themselves with bloody trail along the ground, towards places where they might find shelter among a heap of dead bodies. Napoleon's horse chancing to tread upon the body of one apparently dead, a cry of anguish startled him, and excited his compassion. Somebody remarked that "it was only a Russian;"—upon which

Napoleon angrily reproved the speaker, and observed that, "after a battle, none were enemies,—but all were men."

The Emperor ordered the prisoners that had been taken, to be again numbered, and a few dismounted cannon to be collected. Between seven and eight hundred prisoners, and a score of unserviceable cannon, were the sole trophies of this most sanguinary and imperfect victory.

The sick and wounded were so numerous in the town of Mojaisk that the Russians in passing through had not ventured to set fire to the houses; they could not, however, resist firing upon the French, even with shells, directly they entered the town, which was quickly in flames, and numbers of their wounded countrymen were burned. The Russian army disappeared from the heights beyond the town, as the French advanced. After the battle of Borodino, two divisions from Smolensko came up to reinforce Napoleon, so that his army, notwithstanding all his losses, still comprised the formidable number of one hundred thousand men. It was conjectured that the Russians had taken the road towards Moscow, and Murat and Mortier pursued in that direction. The Russians again appeared on the 11th of September near Krymskoie, established in a very strong position. In spite of all the remonstrances of Mortier and other generals, Murat resolved on an immediate attack. He ordered the advance, and on this occasion were lost, without any advantage, two thousand men of the reserve. Mortier, in a state bordering on frenzy, wrote to the Emperor, declaring that he would never in future obey the King of Naples. The thoughts, however, of Napoleon were now bent solely on Moscow, and he hurried forward on the 12th to join the advanced guard.

A brief description of this extraordinary city will be necessary in order to enable the reader to understand what follows:—"Moscow was an immense and singular assemblage of two hundred and ninety-five churches, and fifteen hundred splendid habitations, together with their gardens and offices. These palaces, built of brick, with the grounds attached to them, intermingled with handsome wooden houses, and even with cottages, were scattered over several square leagues of unequal surface, and were grouped around a lofty, triangular palace, whose vast and double enclosure, comprising two divisions, and about half a league in circumference, included—one of them—several palaces and churches, and a quantity of uncultivated and stony ground; the other, a vast bazaar—a city of merchants—exhibiting the opulence of the four quarters of the world. These buildings, shops as well as palaces, were all covered with polished and coloured plates of iron. The churches, which were each of them surmounted by a terrace, and by several steeples terminating in gilded globes, the crescent, and finally the cross, recalled to mind the history of the people. They represented

Asia and her religion, first triumphant, then subdued; and finally the crescent of Mahomet under the dominion of the cross of Christ. A single sunbeam made this superb city glitter with a thousand varied colours; and the enchanted traveller halted in ecstasy at the sight. It recalled to his mind the dazzling prodigies with which oriental poets had amused his infancy."

The powerful and opulent nobility of Moscow prided themselves in their high antiquity of family, their numbers, union, and general connexion and relationship, formed during the seven centuries which that capital had existed. The land of almost the whole of the government of Moscow belonged to them, and there they reigned over a million of serfs. Those among them who left the city to launch into the career of politics or glory, generally returned to enjoy the close of their lives out of the reach of the court. Their princes have generally had a repugnance to visit Moscow, feeling these nobles to be an aristocracy nearly beyond the reach of their power, but whom, on the contrary, it was necessary to humour and manage. The habits, manners, dress, and language of the nobility, resembled those of modern Europe. The large class of wealthy merchants displayed a kind of Asiatic pomp and luxury. The people were frequently seen in the Grecian costume, with flowing beards. The crowds of slaves and retainers, and the squalid debasement and ignorance mixed with grandeur and refinement, gave to Moscow a peculiar air of semi-civilisation, or luxurious barbarism.

The Emperor Alexander had repaired to Moscow immediately after he left his army. He met the nobility in full assembly, and addressed them in a speech in which he set forth the dangers of the state. It was received with enthusiasm, and a simultaneous exclamation burst from every side:—"Sire, ask all! we offer all, accept all!" A grant of one serf out of every ten, fully armed, equipped, and supplied with three months' provisions, was unanimously voted. The merchants, whom he next addressed, laid themselves under a voluntary contribution, amounting, it is said, to two millions of rubles, to support the war against the invaders. The president of the meeting put down his name for fifty thousand rubles, which was half his fortune. Count Rostopchin remained governor of Moscow after the departure of the Emperor Alexander. Whether the extreme measure afterwards adopted, and which certainly originated with Rostopchin, was sanctioned by Alexander, remains a doubtful point, but it is scarcely credible that any subject would have ventured on so tremendous an expedient exclusively on his own responsibility.

As the French army approached the capital, terror began to prevail among the inhabitants; and, after the taking of Smolensko, many of the wealthy classes removed their most valuable effects, and left the city.

The governor secretly encouraged this gradual emigration, though he ostensibly maintained a complete confidence of success in the Russian cause, and kept up the spirits of the people by false reports and loyal declarations. Among other contrivances, he employed a number of females in the construction of an immense balloon, out of which, as he made the people believe, he would pour down a shower of fire upon the French army. Under this pretence, he is said to have collected a quantity of combustibles destined for a purpose widely differing from this aeronautic fiction. The panic at Moscow at length became general, and not only the nobility and higher classes in general, but tradesmen, mechanics, and even the poor, left it by thousands. The public archives and treasures were removed; the magazines emptied, as far as time permitted. The roads, especially those to the south, were covered with a long train of carriages of every description, and with successive crowds of fugitives on foot, the priests leading the way laden with the symbols of their religion, and singing mournful hymns of lamentation.

Immediately after his defeat at Borodino, Kutusoff promulgated false reports of a great victory to the Russian arms, and of the entire destruction of the French army. These reports reached Petersburg on the Emperor's birthday, and obtained munificent rewards and honours to Kutusoff, which were not afterwards cancelled. The delusion was of very short duration at Moscow. Rumours of the truth soon spread among all the remaining population. The wrecks of the great battle, which soon began to arrive, thoroughly undeceived them. A long convoy of wounded, uttering bitter groans of anguish—their powerful lords mutilated and overthrown like the meanest in the ranks—filled the city with consternation. Rostopchin found it very difficult to maintain order. He addressed the populace, declaring that he was about to repair to the camp, and was ready “to defend Moscow to the last drop of his blood.” Kutusoff, with his retreating army, now appeared without the walls, and intrenched himself strongly in the position of Fili. He had ninety thousand men under his command, of whom six thousand were Cossacks, large numbers of recruits having been added to his numbers since the great battle; and it appears certain that he still entertained some intention of defending the capital. This purpose, however, was speedily relinquished. On the 14th of September, he broke up his camp, and his army continued its retreat, passing through Moscow, which was to be abandoned to its fate. The troops marched along the deserted streets with furled banners and silent drums; and passed out at the Kalomna gate. Some of the officers were observed to shed tears of rage and shame. With an army of ninety thousand men, in their own country, and with the constant power of retreating upon

their resources, it is no wonder that all the braver spirits among the Russians felt this humiliating policy most deeply.

The long columns of retreat were followed by the garrison and all the remaining population, with the exception of one class,—left there for a special purpose. Before his own departure, Rostopchin opened the prisons, and let loose their miserable and degraded inmates, to the number of three or four hundred, having given them a secret task to perform. The pumps of the city had all been removed or destroyed, and torches and combustibles in great quantities collected. The last act of the governor was to hold a court of justice, at which two criminals were arraigned. One, a Russian, accused of stirring up the people to revolt, and of belonging to a sect of German *illuminati*, or reformers; the other, a Frenchman, who had been emboldened by the approach of his countrymen to make a dangerous political harangue. The father of the Russian arrived in haste while the trial was proceeding, and every one expected he was about to intercede for the criminal, but he loudly demanded his execution. The governor, however, allowed him a few moments to speak with his son, and give him his blessing. “I bless the traitor!” exclaimed this Russian father; and then turning to his son, he cursed him with a tone and gestures horrible to witness. The savage words were the signal of execution. The victim was struck by a sabre, but the blow only staggering him, the infuriated multitude rushed upon him and tore him to pieces. The Frenchman stood by, almost petrified with horror; but the governor, satisfied with the tragedy already acted, dismissed him with calm hauteur, saying,—“As for you, it was natural for you to desire the arrival of the French: you are therefore discharged; forget not, however, to tell your countrymen that Russia had but one traitor, and he has met with his deserts.” Rostopchin then left the city.

Napoleon subsequently made the calculation that a hundred thousand of the inhabitants, thus abandoned and forced to fly from Moscow, perished in the woods of the neighbourhood for want of food and shelter. In the midst of their despair at the very last, the multitude had been roused to an excitement of hope and confidence by the sight of a vulture caught in the chains which supported the cross of the principal church. This, they hailed as an omen that God was about to deliver Napoleon into their hands. “What,” says Hazlitt, “can subdue a nation who can be thus easily deluded by the grossest appearances; and whose whole physical strength, to inflict or to endure, can be wielded mechanically, and in mass, in proportion to their want of understanding? Certainly, ignorance is power.”

On the same day that the Russian army retreated through Moscow, and even before their rear-guard had cleared the city, Murat penetrated

the suburbs, and Eugene and Poniatowski opened an attack at the gates. Napoleon himself with his guard gained the summit of the "Mount of Salvation," the last height which hid his long desired conquest from his view, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and saw the immense city glittering with a thousand colours in the sun,—a strange and magnificent sight in the midst of the desert. The troops halted



involuntarily, struck with admiration, and loudly exclaimed,—“Moscow! Moscow!” in a transport of joy. The marshals crowded with congratulations around the Emperor. He, also, had suddenly paused, in evident exultation. His first exclamation was,—“There at last then is that famous city!”—presently adding,—“It was high time!”

A flag of truce from Miloradowitch, who commanded the Russian rear-guard, met the Emperor at this point. He came to announce that his guard would set fire to Moscow if he were not allowed time to evacuate it. An armistice of two hours was granted him immediately. Napoleon's eager eye was fixed on the city, as on a vision he was just about to realise. He expected every moment to see a deputation issue from the gates to lay its wealth, its population, its senate, and its nobility at his feet. The troops of the two nations were intermingled for a few minutes. Murat was soon surrounded by a crowd of Cossacks,

extolling his personal prowess by signs and gesticulations,* and intoxicating him with their admiration. He distributed the watches of his officers among these barbarian warriors, one of whom denominated him his "Hetman." It began to look like an almost immediate peace; and Napoleon indulged in dreams of success and glory for two hours. In the mean time, the day was drawing to a close, and Moscow remained sad, silent, and death-like. Napoleon became anxious; the soldiers almost uncontrollably impatient. A few officers penetrated into the city, and a rumour began to spread that "Moscow was deserted!" Napoleon repelled the intelligence with irritation; he, however, descended the hill, and advanced towards the Dorogomilow gate. Here he again halted, but in vain; all remained motionless as before. Murat urged him to penetrate into the city: he refused for some time, shrinking perhaps from having the truth forced upon his conviction. At last he gave the order, "Enter then, since they will have it so!"—recommending, at the same time, the strictest discipline. Calling Daru to his side, he said aloud, "Moscow deserted! a most unlikely event! We must enter it, and ascertain the fact. Go and bring the *boyars* (landed, proprietors) before me." Daru went, and returned. Not a single Muscovite was to be found:—"No smoke," says Segur, was seen ascending from the meanest hearth; nor was the slightest noise to be heard throughout that populous and extensive city, its three hundred thousand inhabitants seeming all dumb and motionless as by enchantment. There was the silence of the desert."

After Daru, another officer, earnest to accomplish whatever the Emperor desired, appeared, driving before him five or six of those miserable beings who had been freed from prison, and left in Moscow for an important purpose. Then it was that Napoleon ceased to doubt the truth. Murat, with his long and close column of cavalry, had entered Moscow upwards of an hour since. They found it as yet uninjured, but without signs of life. Awed by the silence of this immense solitude, the troops passed onwards without uttering a word, listening to the hollow sound of their horses' feet re-echoed from the walls of these deserted palaces. They never appeared even to think of plundering. Suddenly the report of small arms was heard. The column halted. The discharge had been made from the walls of the Kremlin, the gates of which were closed. It was defended by a squalid rout of men and women of most disgusting and villanous aspect, who were in a state of bestial drunkenness, uttering savage yells and the most horrible imprecations. As they would listen to no terms, the gates were forced, and these ferocious miscreants were immediately driven away. Five hundred recruits, who had been forgotten, were left behind in the Kremlin, but they offered no resistance, and dispersed at the

first summons. Several thousand stragglers and deserters also surrendered themselves voluntarily to the advanced guard. Murat scarcely bestowed a minute's delay on the Kremlin. After marching over so many leagues, and fighting so many battles to reach Moscow, he passed through that magnificent city without once halting to notice it; and ardent in his pursuit of the Russians dashed forwards into the road to Voladimir and Asia. Several thousand Cossacks were retreating in that direction; and upon these Murat ordered a discharge of carbines, and thus terminated the brief armistice.

Napoleon did not enter Moscow before night. He appointed Mortier governor of the city. "Above all," said he, "no pillage." During the night, many reports were brought him of the intended burning of the capital, but he would not credit the statements. He was, however, unable to sleep, and continually called his attendants to repeat to him what they had heard. About two o'clock in the morning, he was apprised that the flames had broken out at the merchants' palace, or exchange, which was in the centre of the city. He gave orders, and despatched messages with the greatest rapidity. At daylight, he hurried to Mortier, who shewed him houses covered with iron roofs, and closely shut up, from which a black smoke was already issuing. They had not been broken into, but were evidently fired from the inside. Napoleon entered the Kremlin thoughtful and melancholy; yet when beholding this stupendous palace of the ancestral sovereigns of Russia, his ambition was gratified by the conquest, and he murmured after a pause,—“I am at length then in Moscow!—in the ancient City of the Czars!—in the Kremlin.” In this brief moment of satisfaction, he wrote a pacific overture to the Emperor Alexander, and despatched it by a Russian officer who had been discovered in the great hospital.

The flames had been checked by the exertions of the Duke of Treviso. Meantime, the incendiaries kept themselves so well concealed that their existence was much doubted. Regulations were now issued; order established; and officers and men proceeded to take possession of some convenient house, or sumptuous palace, wherein to rest and recruit themselves after so many hardships, dangers, and privations. Two officers, however, having taken up their quarters in one of the buildings of the Kremlin, were awoke about midnight by an overpowering glare of light in the room. Starting up, they looked out and saw palaces in flames. The wind was driving the flames directly towards the Kremlin. Presently the wind changed, and the devouring element was carried in an opposite direction. Observing this, the officers, rendered selfish by long fatigue and privation, fell asleep again. But they were once more aroused by a new burst of still fiercer light.



THE BURNING OF MOSCOW.

They observed flames rising in a totally different quarter, which the changed wind was now urging directly towards the Kremlin. Three times the wind changed, and three times did new flames burst out from different quarters of the city, and blaze onwards towards the Kremlin.

It appeared as though the incendiaries were attempting to destroy the Emperor and all who surrounded him, by taking advantage of the exhaustion and deep sleep into which the recent fatigues, added perhaps to some excesses of the soldiers, had thrown them. Not only did the Kremlin contain a magazine of powder, of which the French were not aware, but the guards, overpowered by wine and want of rest, had left a whole park of artillery under the Emperor's windows. The flames were presently darting against the palace from all points, and the air was covered with burning flakes of fire. The chiefs, including Mortier, overcome by their vain exertions to check the conflagration, returned to the Kremlin, and fell down in a state of utter exhaustion and despair.

At first, it was thought that this terrific disaster had occurred through the intoxication of the French soldiers; but reports came in rapidly with officers from all quarters, which placed the real cause beyond all doubt. All agreed in the statement of a globe of fire having been let down upon the palace of one of the Russian princes, which had consumed it, on the first night of their entrance, and that this was a signal to the incendiaries. Men of atrocious look and tattered garments, and frantic women, had been seen roaming amidst the flames, and thus completing a hideous resemblance of the infernal world. They were the malefactors whom Rostopchin had let loose from the prisons, and commissioned to execute this tremendous deed as the price of their liberation and pardon. Most thoroughly did they fulfil their trust: and, becoming delirious with intoxication, with excitement, and entire success, they no longer concealed themselves, but ran to and fro with diabolical yells, like furies, waving lighted brands round their heads. The French could not make them drop their torches, except by slashing at their naked arms with sabres. Orders were instantly given to shoot every incendiary on the spot. The army was drawn out. The old guard, which had been quartered in the Kremlin, took arms, and their horses and baggage quickly filled the courts. Masters of Moscow, they were obliged to seek their bivouac outside its gates.

Napoleon was awoke by the blaze and uproar of the conflagration. It was impossible for him any longer to fortify himself with incredulity and scorn. On perceiving that the city was really on fire in almost every quarter, he gave way to his first feelings in rage, and a passionate resolve to master the devouring element; but he presently recovered himself, and silently yielded to what he saw was inevitable. His inward agitation, however, was excessive. He seemed parched by the flames

as he gazed at their fury. He continually sat down, and then abruptly started up, and traversed his apartments with rapidity. Again he seated himself, and began to transact most urgent business; yet every now and then he started up and ran to the windows, uttering short and broken exclamations as he traced the progress of the flames: "What a frightful spectacle! To have done it themselves! Such a number of palaces! What extraordinary resolution!" There is something extremely fine in this power of standing apart from the scene, even while in the midst of such an excitement and danger, and admiring the forces brought into action, even though to his own utter destruction.

A report was now circulated that the Kremlin was undermined. Several Russian prisoners had affirmed this; certain writings attested it. Some of the attendants lost their senses with terror; the military awaited with firmness whatever Napoleon and their destiny should decide; but he noticed the alarm only by a smile of incredulity. Meantime, the conflagration raged with increasing violence, and they all began to inhale the smoke and ashes. Still Napoleon would not depart. He walked to and fro with convulsive energy.

Night was again approaching. The glare of the flames became more brilliant as the shades closed round, and he saw the devouring element seizing upon all the bridges, and all the accesses to the fortress which enclosed him, while the equinoctial wind blew with redoubled violence. At this crisis, Prince Eugene and Murat arrived in breathless haste, most earnestly, and even on their knees, beseeching Napoleon to leave the palace. All their efforts, however, were in vain. Suddenly, a cry was heard,—“The Kremlin is on fire!” The words were echoed from every part of the building. The Emperor left his apartment that he might himself judge of the danger. A Russian soldier of police had been detected in the act. He had received a signal, and given the watchword. The exasperated grenadiers put an end to him with their bayonets. It was evident that there had been an organised plan to burn even the Kremlin. This incident decided Napoleon, and he rapidly descended the northern staircase.

A guide had been called to conduct Napoleon and his attendants through the Kremlin and out of the city. Segur has given a terrific description of the dangers which they had to encounter on their way. According to him, they were besieged in the midst of an ocean of flames, which enveloped all the gates of the citadel. After an exciting search, there was discovered a postern-gate across the rocks, which opened towards the Mosqua. Through this narrow way, they made their escape. They were now nearer to the flames of the city than before, and could neither retreat, nor advance across the waves of this sea of fire. Those even who had recently passed through to

the Kremlin, were now so bewildered by the wind and blinded by the ashes, that they were unable to recognise the divisions of the city, or recollect the direction of any of its streets which still remained. The roaring of the flames increased every moment round them. Napoleon now led the way. A single narrow street, crooked, and in every part on fire, presented itself to their notice; but it seemed, as one of the party afterwards said, "more like an avenue to the hell before them, than a way to escape from it." Into this terrible pass, Napoleon darted on foot without a moment's hesitation, followed by his officers and guards. He continued to advance over the scorching and crackling cinders, amidst the dangers of dividing roofs, falling beams, and domes covered with burning iron, which continually came thundering down, and scattered tremendous ruins on every side. These fragments much impeded his progress. The flames, which were consuming with eager and tempestuous violence the houses between which he proceeded, after reaching their summits, were turned back by the force of the wind in arches of fire over their heads. They were treading on a soil of fire, under a sky of fire, and between walls of fire. A penetrating heat was tormenting and almost scorching up their eyes, and yet it was necessary to keep them open and intently fixed upon the surrounding dangers. Their hands were burned in endeavouring to protect their faces from the intolerable heat, and their bodies from the falling embers and flakes which were continually burning through their clothes. Their respiration was nearly choked with ashes and suffocated with smoke. All this, and much more, is related by Segur.

This circumstantial account, however, which has been followed by Scott and others, we believe to be incorrect. We are enabled to state, on the authority of an officer of rank attached to Napoleon, and who attended him on the occasion, that the Emperor left Moscow without the slightest difficulty. He had not been guilty of such incredible infatuation as to wait until flames, falling beams, and red-hot iron should impede him; but, on the contrary, he proceeded slowly and calmly to the outer circuit of the city, and took up his quarters at the imperial castle of Petrowsky, situated about a league on the road to Petersburg. Count Dumas, who remained on duty within the walls till night-fall, says, that he and Daru "left Moscow under a real rain of fire;" but he mentions nothing of such perils with regard to the Emperor; neither is there any allusion to them in the conversations concerning the conflagration detailed by Las Casas and O'Meara.

On the following morning, September 17th, the Emperor directed his first glances towards Moscow, hoping to find the fire subdued. It continued with all the violence of the previous night. The whole city now seemed to him "one vast fire-spout, ascending in awful whirls

towards the sky." He was long absorbed in the contemplation of this scene of horror and ruin. Moscow had been the very centre of all his projects,—the object of all his hopes in Russia. At length, he broke his melancholy silence merely by observing, "This forebodes us no common calamities."

The fire raged throughout the 18th and 19th of September, when it slackened for want of fuel. The greater part of the Kremlin, a few palaces, and all the churches built of stone, remained standing. All else was laid in ruins. The destruction of property was enormous. The flight of the nobility had been so sudden, that the French officers on their entrance found even the jewels of the ladies left behind. But there are other consequences of the burning of Moscow which are too horrible to dwell upon. Dumas states, that he found six thousand wounded Russians in the hospitals, which he examined by order of Napoleon, when the French army entered. Their fate cannot be doubtful.

Napoleon returned to the Kremlin on the 20th. He passed towards the city through the camps of his army, which exhibited a very singular appearance. "They were situated," says Segur, "in the midst of fields, in a thick and cold mire; and contained immense fires fed by rich mahogany furniture, and gilded sashes and doors. Around these fires, with a litter of damp straw, sheltered only by a few miserable planks fastened together, his soldiers with their officers were to be seen, splashed with dirt and stained with smoke, seated upon superb arm-chairs, or reclining on sofas covered with silk. At their feet, carelessly opened or thrown in heaps, lay Cashmere shawls, the finest furs of Siberia, the gold stuffs of Persia, and plates of solid silver, from which they had nothing to eat but a black dough baked in ashes, and half-broiled and bloody steaks of horse-flesh."

The ground between the camps and the city was covered with marauders laden with booty. On his way through the ruined streets, Napoleon had passed heaps of furniture piled up for removal, and stalls where soldiers were exchanging showy and valuable commodities for common necessities; and the richest wines, liqueurs, and bales of costly merchandise, for a loaf of bread. He had permitted this license at first; but hearing that the excesses increased, and that the peasantry who had formerly brought provisions were now prevented by fear, he issued severe orders, and commanded his guard to keep close to their quarters. He was obeyed at the first word. The plundering continued, but was conducted regularly, and every effort made to protect the peasants; nevertheless few appeared, and at length not one was to be seen.

In the meanwhile, Kutusoff, followed close by Murat, had retreated towards Kolomna, as far as the spot where the Mosqua divides the

road. Here, under cover of the night, he suddenly turned to the southward, and performed a circular march, of which Moscow was the centre, in order to place himself between Moscow and Kalouga, at which latter place great magazines had been collected. In this position, he might operate upon the French lines of communication with Smolensko and Poland. His troops in their night march had been lighted by the flames of Moscow; and their gloomy rage was kindled into the utmost fury at the sight of a calamity which they had been made to believe was solely the savage work of the French. Murat came up with them at Czerikowo, and again at Winkowo, and sharp skirmishes occurred at both places, leaving the advantage with the French. Kutusoff continued his march, and took up a strong position at Torontino, covering Kalouga. Murat pressed forward and established himself in front of the Russian camp, to observe their motions. On his way, he passed the domains of Count Rostopchin, which had been desolated, and the splendid palace reduced to ashes. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the consciousness entertained by the Russian chiefs of the superiority of the French arms, even under all disadvantages, than this system of burning every possession without a struggle. A letter in the following terms was sent to Murat from Rostopchin. "Frenchmen, for eight years it has been my pleasure to embellish this my favourite residence. The inhabitants, seventeen hundred in number, will leave it as you approach; and it will be reduced to ashes that not one of you may pollute it by your presence. I have left you two palaces in Moscow, with their furniture, worth half a million of rubles. Here you will only find ashes." The same spirit of bitter hatred possessed the peasantry. They set fire to the hamlets wherever they might have afforded shelter to the invaders; but the wretched huts built of logs with scarcely any furniture, were of little value to their inmates, who possessed no property of their own, and had no domestic associations to overcome. The proclamation that every one of their own order who should furnish food to the invaders should be punished with death, gave stronger evidence of their abhorrence of the French. Scott asserts, that when the latter branded some of their Russian prisoners on the hand with the letter "N," as a sign that they were the serfs of Napoleon, and must labour in his service, one of them laid his branded hand on a log of wood, and struck it off with an axe. Surely nothing but the "power of ignorance" (to use Hazlitt's inversion of the old axiom) could ever have made such a man a serf. Free corps, on the same principle as the guerillas of Spain, had also been organised; and they became of serious importance in the war. Colonel Davidoff, well known among the French by the name of *le Capitaine Noir*, was a formidable commander among these bands.

Meantime, Napoleon, established in the Kremlin, the main portion of which had been saved from the conflagration, was, to all appearance, regulating his measures, for the purpose of establishing himself in Moscow for the winter. An intendant and municipality were appointed, and orders issued to lay in a stock of provisions. A theatre was formed in the midst of the blackened ruins, and the principal actors of Paris, with an Italian singer, sent for to perform, as in the Tuileries. The month of September had passed, and no answer had been deigned by Alexander to the letter despatched to him from Napoleon. On the 3rd of October, the French marshals were summoned to the Kremlin, and received an announcement from the Emperor that he had resolved to march on St. Petersburg. Their blank countenances and hesitation disclosed their disapprobation. Eugene alone, it is said, encouraged the enterprise. It was soon, however, abandoned. Perhaps the Emperor had never seriously entertained the idea: the attempt might, nevertheless, have been successful. Napoleon finally resolved to send proposals of peace to Alexander, by Caulaincourt. That general declined the office; and Lauriston was entrusted with the mission.

An armistice was proclaimed, and Lauriston repaired to the headquarters of Kutusoff, who informed him that he had no authority to let him proceed to Alexander, but that he would forward the letter. The coquetting between Murat and the Cossacks was resumed during this cessation of arms: in this prospect of a peace, they even talked of "making him their king!" and Scott affirms that he absolutely entertained some romantic notion of accepting the dignity. While, however, all outward courtesy was observed, an ominous undertone among the Russian officers was very distinctly observable. They alluded to the severity of their winter:—"Within a fortnight," they said, "your nails will fall off, and your weapons drop from your benumbed and lifeless hands." The Cossacks mixed in this discourse with their wild Eastern style. They asked the French, "If they had not corn, and air, and graves enough, to enable them to live and die in their own country? If so, why did they rove so far from home, and come to fatten a foreign soil with their blood?" These were startling hints; but, as Hazlitt truly objects, "had these men just risen out of the ground (to which they belonged) that they supposed their own countrymen had never wandered out of their own bounds; that the French could remain perfectly quiet and unmolested within their own territory if they chose?"

Napoleon was informed of these threats. He was becoming excessively uneasy and impatient. The determined silence of Alexander irritated and astonished him. He, however, confided his secret presentiments to no one but Count Daru, and occupied himself in collecting all the trophies which could be found in Moscow. The gigantic cross on

the tower of the Great Ivan, to the possession of which a Russian superstition attached the salvation of the empire, was taken down with great pains; a vast flight of ravens continually hovering over it during the operation. "His mind," profoundly observes Hazlitt, "possessed a hidden advantage, without which he could not have been the man he was,—that of employing itself at pleasure on whatever object demanded his attention, and making his will predominate over real or imaginary ills. This faculty, however necessary, may also turn to mischievous account; since truth, by which action must be regulated, is not a voluntary thing." The army still presented a noble and imposing appearance, and every detail connected with it was known to Napoleon. They kept up their spirits and appearance, but it is said that, at this period, "he grew pale with constant and suppressed anxiety; that he sat longer at his meals than usual, and amused himself of an evening in discussing the merits of some new verses just arrived from Paris, or in completing a system of regulations for the *Comedie Française*."

Amidst all these involuntary delays, and the impatience and anxiety of the whole army, suddenly came on the first fall of snow. It was the 13th of October, and though such severity of weather did not continue, it was a presage of an early winter. Napoleon, from this moment, thought only of retreat; but he never uttered the obnoxious term. He merely said that "the army must be in winter-quarters in twenty days; that he intended to march upon Kutusoff; to crush, or remove him out of the way; and then turn suddenly to Smolensko, by the rich and unwasted country in the route of Kalouga, Medyn, Inkowo, and Elnia." He also urged the removal of the wounded. Count Daru counselled him to remain in Moscow. "The army," he said, "could be quartered in the cellars of the houses; the horses killed, and salted; and the rest of the provision obtained by an extensive system of forage: in the spring, they could issue forth, and complete their conquest." Napoleon replied, thoughtfully, that "this was the counsel of a lion: but what would Paris say? What might be going on there, while all intercourse was barred for six months?" There can be little doubt that had he been confident enough of France to leave it to itself for so long a time, this last plan would have been a formidable problem for Alexander. All hesitation was shortly concluded by the Russians suddenly breaking the truce, on the 18th of October. A Cossack fired upon Murat, which proved only the signal of an attack from Kutusoff. The French, taken by surprise, were defeated, and Murat wounded. By his desperate charges, however, and the valorous resistance of Poniatowski, their honour was saved, and the Russian victory dearly bought. The intelligence revived all the ardour and energy of Napoleon's spirit. A multitude of orders, all different, yet all in conformity, burst rapidly from his

lips, and before night the army was in motion towards the scene of conflict. The Emperor himself quitted Moscow on the morning of the 19th of October. "Let us march upon Kalouga," he exclaimed; "and woe be to those whom I may meet with on my passage!" Then pointing to the sky, still without a cloud, he asked those about him, "Whether in that brilliant sun they did not recognise his protecting planet?" But the expression of his countenance did not correspond to his words. Before his departure, he left Mortier with eight thousand men to defend the Kremlin, and cover the retreat of the army at all hazards; and when he could no longer defend the palace, to blow it up. This most desperate and important service was fully performed by Mortier. On the 22nd, a terrible explosion was heard at many leagues distance. The Kremlin had been blown to atoms. Mortier made a precipitate retreat, and safely joined the army.

The long delay at Moscow had allowed time for the recovery, or removal, of the wounded, the return of stragglers, and the resting of the infantry. The army which marched out of Moscow numbered one hundred thousand effective men, with their arms and knapsacks; above five hundred and fifty field-pieces, and two thousand artillery wagons. In the rear of these came a confused crowd of many thousands:—consisting of followers of the camp; French families, formerly residents, flying from the rage of the Russians; and a few Russian girls,—voluntary captives; all imaginable kind of carriages, conveying the baggage of the soldiers, or the spoils of Moscow; prisoners, some of them driving wheel-barrows,—others dragging carts, full of all sorts of pillage. Segur compares this miscellaneous crowd to a horde of Tartars returning from a successful invasion.



Napoleon advanced a day's march on the old road to Kalouga, where Kutusoff lay encamped in his position at Torontino. On the second day, he turned off, by cross ways, into the western, or new road. His intention was to pass the Russian camp on the right, regain the old road in its rear, and get possession of Borowsk and Malo-Jaroslavetz, which were towns to the southward. Kalouga and the fertile southern provinces would then be open to him. His plan was, at first, perfectly successful. While Kutusoff believed that Napoleon meditated an attack on his front, the latter, with the main body of the French army, reached Borowsk on the 23rd; and on the same day, Delzons,



with the vanguard, occupied Malo-Jaroslavetz. On the 24th, however, the Emperor heard that Kutusoff had discovered his manœuvre, and was advancing towards Malo-Jaroslavetz. At this intelligence, he hurried forwards. Prince Eugene, with the Italian division, was far in advance, and already supported Delzons. It was not long before the sounds of a warm engagement struck Napoleon's ear. He appeared agitated; rode hastily up a height, and listened. The sounds increased. A courier from Eugene soon met him, whom he sent back, with orders to the viceroy to maintain the ground, whatever it might cost. He himself came up at the close of the battle, but too late to afford assistance. The French and Italian divisions which were engaged, amounting to only eighteen thousand men, who, in the bottom of a ravine, had gained

a hard-fought and dearly-bought victory over fifty thousand Russians ranged upon an eminence. Delzons, whose bivouacs had been surprised by the sudden attack of Kutusoff, was killed. He had been succeeded by General Guilleminot. Eugene had led the last desperate charge in person; and, finally, had driven the Russians from the burning and ruined town, which had been five times taken and retaken during the conflict. But Kutusoff had only retreated to a position of immense strength, commanding the road to Kalouga. The object of Napoleon's march was therefore lost, and his intended line of retreat could only be gained by forcing a passage through the whole Russian army.

The Emperor received the reports of this battle in the dark and squalid chamber of a weaver's hut, divided in two by a tattered cloth, where he had taken up his quarters for the night. He had sent Bessières to examine the Russian position, and waited his return in suppressed anxiety. Bessières reported that the position was unassailable. "Did you see rightly?" exclaimed the Emperor; "Are you sure? Will you answer for this?" Bessières repeating his assertion, Napoleon crossed his arms; his head fell on his breast; and he seemed lost in his own painful reflections. During the night, he lay down and rose up incessantly; called for his attendants; yet by no word betrayed his agitation. The restlessness of his body alone disclosed the painful conflict of his mind. About four in the morning, Prince D'Areberg came to warn him that some Cossacks were gliding between his quarters and the advanced posts; but he paid no attention to the intelligence. At sunrise, he mounted his horse, and, accompanied by Rapp, Berthier, and Caulaincourt, with about twenty officers and chasseurs, repaired to the scene of action, to reconnoitre in person. In crossing the plain towards Malo-Jaroslavetz, a confused clamour arose, which was at first mistaken for cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" On a sudden, Platoff, with his Cossacks, rushed among the baggage of the army, with one of their yelling hourras. Rapp exclaimed, "It is they! turn back!" and, seizing the bridle of the Emperor's horse, urged him to retire. Napoleon refused to do this, and drew his sword: his companions did the same; and, placing themselves on the left of a wood, waited the approach of the fierce horde. They were only forty paces distant: Rapp turned and faced them; and the foremost plunged a lance into his horse's chest, with such violence, that he was thrown to the ground. The other aides-de-camp and some horsemen of the guard rescued Rapp. His gallant action, together with the courage of the rest of the party, but above all, the avidity of the Cossacks for plunder, saved the Emperor. Little knowing the prize they missed, these wild horsemen swept onwards towards the baggage, overthrowing and seizing carriages, men, and whatever came in their way. Their

triumph was, however, of short duration, for some cavalry of the guard coming up, put them to flight. The Emperor waited till the plain was cleared, and then proceeded to Malo-Jaroslavetz. "Never was a field of battle more terribly eloquent," says Segur. "Its marked and abrupt forms, its blood-stained ruins; the streets—whose course was now only to be traced by the long line of dead bodies, and of heads crushed by the wheels of the artillery; the wounded—who were still seen crawling from amidst the ruins, with their clothes, their hair, and even their limbs, half consumed, and uttering the most piteous cries." Such are fields of glory! Whatever Napoleon might feel, he only spoke of the glory of the victory. He exclaimed, that "the honour of so glorious a day belonged to Prince Eugene alone."

The Emperor proceeded from the field of battle to reconnoitre the Russian position; and then returned, slow and thoughtful, to the hovel which served him for head-quarters. He had seen the road to Kalouga closed against him by Kutusoff, with a hundred and twenty thousand men, in a position of immense strength; and that which led to Medyn, by Platoff, with ten thousand horse. Murat, Prince Eugene, Berthier, Davoust, and Bessières, accompanied him to deliberate on the question which was to decide the fate of the army. Napoleon was seated before a table, his features concealed by his hands. It remained to determine whether to force a passage through the Russian army, and continue the route to Smolensko by the southern provinces, or to retreat by the old road to Mojaisk. Murat, proclaiming his utter contempt for the Russians, warmly advocated the former plan; but was checked by Napoleon, who was seconded by Bessières. Davoust recommended the route to Medyn, upon which a violent altercation commenced between him and Murat. They were silenced by the Emperor, who exclaimed, "It is well, sirs; I will decide." His decision was to regain the old road; and with a stunning grief, which seemed nearly to deprive him of his senses, he gave the unusual order, to retreat. In thus sacrificing his feelings to his judgment, however, it happened that he made a fatal mistake. At the very moment that the French army commenced its retrograde march towards Borowsk, Kutusoff also broke up his encampment and retreated in the opposite direction, so that the two armies actually turned their backs on each other, and hurried away. That Napoleon, who had so often seen the Russians avoid his attack, should never suspect that, on this occasion, when their advantages were so overwhelming, they would shun it, is, however, scarcely surprising. Sir Robert Wilson, who was with Kutusoff, had urged him by every argument to stand his ground, but in vain. Kutusoff had had enough of Napoleon, and was determined to let winter do the rest.

The retreat of the French army to Mojaisk commenced on the 26th of October. The men marched with their eyes on the ground, ashamed and humbled. Napoleon, in gloomy silence, was probably measuring, in thought, his line of communication with the fortresses on the Vistula, from which two hundred and fifty leagues divided him. Smolensko and Minsk were his two places of rest and refreshment in that arduous march. At both he had established immense magazines. But the Russian general, Wittgenstein, stationed at Polotsk, threatened the former, while the latter was closely observed by Tchitchakoff, with fifty-five thousand men, returned from Moldavia since the peace with Turkey. A far more terrible enemy was also at hand. The Russian winter, over all those regions through which he must pass, spreads a sea of snow, six feet in depth. But he had consulted the almanacks for forty years back, and, according to a reasonable calculation, he had time before him yet. As to the hostile armies, he reckoned on thirty-six thousand fresh troops, stationed at Smolensko, and on the divisions of St. Cyr and Macdonald, to keep Wittgenstein in check until he recovered his former positions on the Dwina and Dnieper. Dombrowski, with a Polish division, and Schwartzenburg, at the head of fifty thousand Austrians, would protect Minsk, and maintain his communications with France. He estimated, moreover, that his ranks would be replenished by the convalescent sick and wounded, by returning stragglers, and by the detachments left in the dépôts.

Marshal Mortier joined the main army at Vereia, bringing with him, as prisoner, Count Winzingerode, with his aide-de-camp, Count Nariskchin. They had rushed into the Kremlin, at the head of a band of Cossacks, and been surrounded and taken. Borowsk and Vereia were burnt by order of Napoleon, as his army passed. He had made a last effort to induce Kutusoff to carry on the war on a less savage plan, "and to spare the towns," by a letter from Berthier; but, receiving for answer that the commander-in-chief "could not restrain the patriotism of the Russians," Napoleon practised this terrible retaliation throughout his retreat.

The French army reached Mojaisk on the 28th. It was full of wounded; some were carried away,—others left, as at Moscow, to the generosity of the Russians. After ten days marching and counter-marching, and a tremendous battle, Napoleon was still only three days' march from Moscow. The army had brought away only fifteen rations of meal per man. The provision wagons, which the horses could drag no further, had been burnt on the 26th. Still, Napoleon's spirits revived at finding himself on a well-known road; but in the evening he received intelligence which redoubled his previous anxiety. Ku-

tusoff had discovered the new route of the French, and was in full march for Wiazma, by the way of Medyn. The Emperor immediately ordered the guard forward, to secure Gjatz, and hurried the advance of the whole army. In their progress, they arrived at the scene of the battle of Borodino, and passed some broken hillocks, strewn with blackened fragments of armour and drums, half-devoured bodies, and ghastly skeletons. It was the terrible redoubt, where so many brave men had fallen. The soldiers hurried onwards, scarcely venturing to cast a glance backward at the appalling spectacle. Arriving at the great abbey, or hospital, of Kolotskoi, many of the wretched inmates, hearing that the army was passing, crawled to the threshold and held out their arms in agonising supplication. The Emperor gave orders that every carriage, of whatever kind, should receive one of those wounded sufferers. He waited to see the order executed. The sutlers, whose carts received a number of them, loitered behind, and threw them alive into the ditches. One of them, a general officer, actually survived till the next column came up, to whom he told the horrible story, and then expired. As the imperial column approached Gjatz, they found the road strewn with the murdered bodies of a number of Russian prisoners, who had been placed under the guard of some Portuguese and Poles.

Napoleon reached Wiazma in two days' march from Gjatz. He halted for the arrival of Eugene and Davoust. After waiting thirty-six hours, he again set forward, leaving Ney (who saw that there must be a sacrifice somewhere, in order to save the rest, and willingly accepted the post) to relieve Davoust, whose delay was attributable to the extreme difficulty of getting the artillery and wagons out of the ravines and up the opposite icy slopes. Nevertheless, both Davoust and Eugene arrived within two leagues of Wiazma on the 2nd of November. On the 3rd, the first dawn of day shewed the advanced guard of the Russians, under Miloradowitch, posted on the left of the road, in advance of them, having turned their bivouacs in the night. Eugene's rear-guard was cut off, and Ney, unable to come to his assistance, was fighting in his own defence in the direction of Wiazma. Eugene drew up his troops in line along the road, and kept the foremost of the enemy in check till Ney managed to bring up one of his regiments in the rear of the Russians, which compelled them to change their form of attack. Meantime, Davoust passed onwards, and posted himself between the Russians and Wiazma. The French amounted to thirty thousand, but were in great disorder; the Russians had a larger force, in fine condition,—and their cavalry now charged, and mowed down the lines of their discomfited invaders. Davoust and his generals, however, many of whom had their arms still in slings,

or their heads covered with bandages from recent wounds, stood their ground, and encouraged the soldiers with the utmost gallantry. Miloradowitch was obliged to send to Kutusoff for aid, as he saw that his intended prey would escape him. The old general only laughed, intimating that he preferred leaving them to the frost. Night now approached; the battle ceased, and the French retired, and reached Wiazma, though not without a galling and nearly fatal pursuit. The night was passed amidst frequent alarms. In the morning, the French ranks were found to have been fearfully thinned. Ney, Davoust, and Eugene, did their utmost to keep up the spirits of the unfortunate rear-guard, with the hope of finding rest at Smolensko.

Up to this time, they had been cheered by at least the light, if not the warmth, of the sun; but on the 6th of November the snow came, and everything underwent a total change. The consequences were most disastrous, and the worst horrors of their situation immediately commenced. The troops marched on, without knowing where, and without seeing any object along the bleak expanse but the black trunks of a few gloomy pine-trees. Whirlwinds of sleet beat in their faces, and the weakest among those who fell were quickly covered with the snow, and rose no more. The accounts of the Russian authorities, of the French eye-witnesses who have related the horrible story, and, indeed, the Emperor's own celebrated "twenty-ninth bulletin," are all in close coincidence. The enormous train of artillery which Napoleon had insisted on bringing away from Moscow was rapidly diminished; and the roads, when found, were soon blocked up with the spoils of the city, abandoned of necessity, as the means of carrying them failed. The horses, having been ill-fed for months, were unable to resist the united effects of cold and fatigue. They sunk down and stiffened by hundreds and by thousands. The starving soldiery killed many of those which were in best condition, that they might drink their warm blood, and wrap themselves in their yet reeking skins. The clothing of the soldiers was totally unfitted for the period of year, even had they not been already in a tattered state. The Muscovite winter penetrated through their thin uniforms and ragged shoes. Their breath quickly congealed, and hung in icicles from their beards. Their wet clothes froze upon them, and a cutting and violent wind at times stopped their respiration. The wretched men crawled on, with trembling limbs and chattering teeth, till the snow, collecting round their feet in hard lumps, like stones, the least impediment made them stagger and fall. Their cries for assistance were in vain: the snow frequently covered them, and a number of small hillocks, or undulations, marked the place where they lay,—a white and silent burying-place, which their shuddering comrades left

behind them with ghastly anticipations of their own similar doom. The most intrepid or obdurate were affected, and hurried on with closed eyes or averted heads. But before them and around them, all was snow. "The horizon seemed one vast winding-sheet, in which Nature was enveloping the whole army." Even the weapons of the soldiers were a weight almost insupportable to their benumbed limbs, and often slipped out of their hands, and were broken, or lost in the



snow. Many had their fingers frozen to the muskets they still grasped. Some of the troops broke up into parties, and wandered away to forage alone. The same plan was adopted by some families who had followed with the baggage. Most of them were seized by the Cossacks; stripped naked, and left, with ferocious laughter, to expire in the snow. Their bivouacs were a scene of distress, famine, and horror. A fire was scarcely possible to be made, from the dampness of the hard pine boughs, and the driving of the sleet, so that they were obliged to eat their horse-flesh nearly raw. Next morning, circles of stiffened corpses marked the places where the bivouacs had been, and the carcasses of hundreds of horses were strewn in an outer circle

around them. From this time, disorder and distrust prevailed among these wretched victims of glory.

During the march of Napoleon with the imperial column, it was found necessary to throw the spoils of Moscow into the Lake of Gemlewo. Cannon, Gothic armour, the ornaments of the Kremlin, and the Cross of the Great Ivan, all sank at once. Napoleon stopped at Slawkow on the 3rd and 4th of November; on the 5th, he slept at Dorogobouje; and on the 6th, when the snow was just beginning to fall, he received news from Paris of a conspiracy to dethrone him. It had been plotted by a man named Mallet, who, with a few accomplices, had spread about the report that Napoleon was dead, and that it was now time to proclaim a republic. Napoleon heard this with an unmoved countenance. His first and only words to Count Daru, whose previous advice will be remembered, were, "Well, if we had stayed at Moscow?" He then retired to an inner room, and gave vent to his emotions in the presence of those most devoted to him.

The next day, one of the Emperor's aides-de-camp suddenly arrived with news of the horrible distresses and disasters which had befallen the troops in the rear. Napoleon knew it all, from the deserters who were continually passing, and stopped the aide-de-camp at the outset, with "Colonel, I don't ask you for these details." Napoleon's deportment was grave, silent, resigned; and he continued in the same state throughout the whole retreat. He seemed to suffer much less in body than others, but far more than any one else in mind. At this time, General Charpentier sent him some wagons loaded with provisions, from Smolensko. Bessières was about to appropriate them for the guard; but the Emperor sent them on immediately to Ney, saying, that "those who fought should eat before the rest." At the same time, he begged of Ney to defend the passage long enough to allow the army some time at Smolensko, where it would get food, rest, and be re-organised. Ney gallantly accomplished this, fighting the whole way, and often on foot with a musket in his hand. He entered Smolensko on the 13th, with Prince Eugene.

Napoleon had reached Smolensko on the 9th. He found everything in dreadful confusion. Instead of plenty, they found famine; instead of shelter, only ruins. Their last hope was suddenly turned to despair, and from this period may be dated the greatest excesses. The soldiers refused to carry to their respective regiments such provisions as were given out; but darting upon the sacks, and snatching out a few hands-full of flour, they ran to devour it in a corner. It was the same with the cans of brandy. They would share nothing, and obey no orders. The next day the houses were found filled with dead bodies. Napoleon had reckoned upon finding fifteen days' provisions

and forage for an army of a hundred thousand men. He did not find enough for half that number, and it consisted solely of flour, rice, and brandy; there was no meat of any kind. He was heard furiously upbraiding one of the commissaries charged with provisioning the army, who only saved his life by a long entreaty on his knees, or perhaps by shewing that, under all the circumstances, he had done nearly everything that was possible. The stragglers had consumed all that could be seized; droves of cattle had died on the road; and the Prussians had captured a number of convoys. The Emperor shut himself up with silent anguish in one of the houses.

Disastrous tidings reached Napoleon in his gloomy abode at Smolensko. Polotsk had been taken by the Russian general, Wittgenstein, in October; and St. Cyr, after doing all that became an able general, had retreated by Smoliany. Witepsk and the Dwina were thus lost to the French. Baraguay d'Hilliers had been completely defeated near Elnia; had suffered the brigade Augereau to be taken prisoners, and lost several magazines and the command of the Elnia road. At the same time, Schwartzenburg wrote to inform the Emperor that he was covering Warsaw, which, in fact, implied that he had left uncovered Minsk and Borizoff, the great depot of magazines. The whole line of retreat of the French army was evidently in imminent danger of being cut off. The circumstances surrounding Napoleon, and occurring in the rear of the army, were equally adverse. The army of Italy had been half destroyed in crossing the Wop; the draught horses collected at Smolensko were devoured by the soldiers; dreadful diseases had broken out; the returns of the state of the corps were so many bulletins of the dying. The route of the army was marked by a long line of dead, of scattered arms, and broken wagons half sunk in snow.

Against this storm of calamities, Napoleon opposed an unshaken firmness. His expression of countenance remained unaltered, and he changed nothing in his habits, nor in the form of his orders. His preparations for the continuation of the retreat occupied all his time. He placed the whole of the remaining cavalry under Latour Maubourg: out of thirty-seven thousand horsemen that crossed the Niemen, fifteen hundred only remained mounted. The artillery and baggage which could not be removed was destroyed. A number of men, overcome by weakness and hardships, many women, and some thousands of sick and wounded, were abandoned. The grand army, which had left Moscow one hundred thousand strong, now mustered only thirty-six thousand effective men.

The Emperor, with his guard, quitted Smolensko on the 14th of November, at four in the morning. The march of the imperial column was still firm and decided, "but silent and solemn as night." Eugene,

Davoust, and Ney, had orders to march in succession; the latter to remain until the 16th or 17th, and to blow up the towers of the city walls, and destroy all the ammunition, before his departure. The first day's march brought Napoleon to Korythnia, a distance of five leagues. At the same time, Kutusoff was advancing along a parallel road leading to Krasnoe by Elnia, and his detachments occupied Krasnoe, Lyadi, and Nikoulina, in advance of Napoleon. The Emperor, apparently, unconscious that ninety thousand men threatened his line of retreat, slept tranquilly in the wretched and sole remaining habitation in the ruined village of Korythnia, the whole of the night of the 14th, and began his march at daylight. It was not long before his advanced guard, consisting of Westphalians, commanded by Junot, was suddenly stopped by a file of Cossacks drawn up across the road. These enemies were speedily dispersed; but scarcely had they disappeared, when the fire of a battery opened from the heights on the left; and, at the same moment, thirty squadrons of horse, commanded by Miloradowitch, appeared on the same side. Junot lost his presence of mind in the emergency, and his voice failed him: he made no disposition to receive the attack. In the emergency of the moment, Excelmans, a young officer, stepped forward and performed at once the part of commander, officer, soldier, and even cannonier; for he seized a piece which had been abandoned by the corps, and pointed it with his own hands against the Russians. He became a rallying point; the soldiers and even their chief obeyed him. The Russians did not venture from their heights, but only assailed the column with bullets. It passed on and soon left its enemies behind. The grenadiers of the old guard next advanced to pass in front of the fire. Napoleon was in the midst of them. They closed around him, proud of their privilege of protecting him. Their music was expressive of their lofty complacency. At the most imminent crisis of the danger, the band played the air, "*Ou peut on etre mieux qu'au sein de sa famille*" ("Where can be found greater safety than in the bosom of one's family")? But Napoleon stopped, and said, "Rather play '*Veillons au salut de l'Empire*'" ("Let us watch over the safety of the Empire"). The firm column passed on, unassailed except from a distance. It was followed by Marshal Mortier with the young guard. Miloradowitch, though he had acquired, from his impetuous courage, the appellation of "the Russian Murat," feared to do more than insult the Emperor in his retreat; but as soon as the imperial guard was out of sight, he felt his spirit revive, descended from his heights, and drew himself across the road with twenty thousand men, thus separating the corps of Eugene, Davoust, and Ney, from the Emperor. Sebastiani, with the advanced guard, drove the Russian

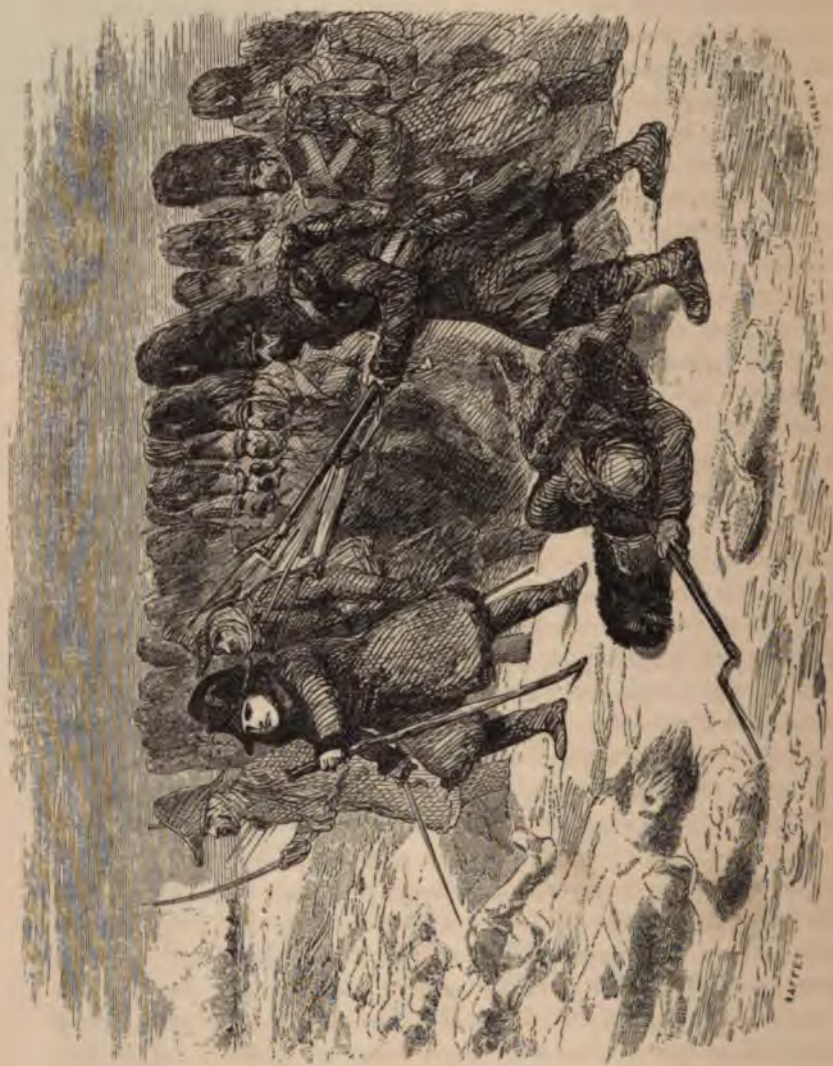
detachment from Krasnoe, and Napoleon entered the place two hours afterwards.

Throughout the whole of the 16th, Napoleon halted at Krasnoe, anxiously expecting the appearance of Eugene and the army of Italy. The sounds of distant firing were distinctly heard and increased his impatience. Night came, and still there were no signs of the approach of Eugene. Napoleon called together Berthier, Bessières, Mortier, and Lefebvre, the marshals who had accompanied his march, and intimated to them his determination not to prosecute his retreat without the other divisions of the army, but to return and extricate them or perish with them. Having announced his resolution, he calmly began his preparations to carry it into effect. He was aware that Kutusoff was advancing, to take him prisoner in Krasnoe, yet he remained in that place throughout the night of the 16th. An advanced guard of Russian infantry had already taken possession of a village in the rear of his left. He sent for Rapp, and ordered him to dislodge them; then calling back his aide-de-camp, he said, "No! Let Roguet and his division go alone! Do you stay here. I would not have you killed here; I shall want you at Dantzic." Rapp left him, to carry the order, filled with astonishment, that his Emperor, surrounded as he was by eighty thousand enemies, whom he was preparing to face on the morrow with nine thousand men, should be employed in calculating for his proceedings at Dantzic, a city, from which winter, two hostile armies, famine, and a hundred and eighty leagues divided him. Roguet conducted the night attack with perfect success. He surprised the Russian infantry, who fled in disorder, having set fire to their camp. This encounter checked the Russian advance and enabled Napoleon to halt throughout the 17th at Krasnoe. During the night which succeeded, Prince Eugene, with the remains of his army, at length made his appearance, and was welcomed with joy. Eugene had left Smolensko on the 15th, and had advanced without opposition within two leagues of Krasnoe, when, on the morning of the 17th, he was suddenly summoned to surrender by an officer of Miloradowitch. He found himself with five thousand men in a deplorable state of weakness, opposed to twenty thousand troops in fine order. The summons was, notwithstanding, answered by a general burst of indignation. The conflict instantly began. Throughout the day, the small but resolute band withstood the murderous fire of the Russians; and, strange to relate, the latter continued to fire from their heights, whence they had but to descend to crush the Italians. At length, night came to the assistance of these brave men, reduced now to one half their numbers. Eugene took advantage of its friendly shade. He withdrew his forces, proceeded across the fields, and turned the left of the Russian position,

leaving fires behind him to deceive Miloradowitch. As the worn and shattered column passed stealthily and silently along the line of the Russian army, the moon, on a sudden, burst from behind a cloud and shone with all her lustre. A Russian sentinel, at the same moment, ordered them to halt. Kliaby, a Pole, with admirable presence of mind, answered in the Russian language, and in a low voice, "Hist, fool! do you not see that we belong to the corps of Owaroff, and that we are going upon a secret expedition?" The Russian was deceived, and the column passed on; and, at length, harassed only by some squadrons of Cossacks, concluded its perilous march, and reached Krasnoe in safety.

The joy which their presence had excited in Napoleon shortly gave way to renewed apprehension concerning the fate of Davoust and Ney. He passed the remainder of the night of the 17th in the same preparations with which he had begun it. In the morning, before day-break, he despatched his orders, armed himself, went out on foot, placed himself at the head of the old guard, and put them in motion,—not towards France, but back again into the midst of his enemies. Grasping his sword, he exclaimed, "I have acted the Emperor long enough; it is time for me to act the general." As day broke, the Russian battalions and batteries lined the horizon on the right, in front, and in rear. On the left, Napoleon advanced with his six thousand guards. Mortier, with five thousand men, marched a few paces in advance of him. A battalion of chasseurs of the old guard supported the left of Mortier's corps. On their right, the four hundred cavalry (all that were now left), under Latour Maubourg, the remaining cavalry of the guard, and a few cannon, occupied the snowy plain. The object of the Emperor was to defend the right flank of the high road from Krasnoe, as far as the great ravine in the direction of Stachowa. Claparède was left in Krasnoe to protect the wounded and the baggage. Eugene continued his retreat towards Lyadi. His divisions could scarcely drag themselves along to die. Fighting was no longer possible for them.

Roguet, with the young guard, had been recalled from the scene of the night combat of the 16th, and now appeared on the field of battle. The Russians began extending themselves more and more beyond the right of the French, evidently with a view to surround them. The Russian batteries began their thunder, and made wide and deep breaches in the French ranks; but exhibited the same almost incredible immobility which had saved Eugene. They had only to advance—even without firing, their very weight would have crushed Napoleon and his feeble army; yet, it seemed as if they had a superstitious belief, that against the old guard—that "column of granite," as its chief himself has termed it—men were powerless, and



cannon only could be effective. The French held their ground for three hours in the midst of this storm of balls; but every moment was increasing their weakness and adding strength to their enemies. Claparède had just sent intelligence from Krasnoe, that Benigsen was making himself master of the high road to Lyadi; the fire of the Russians was flashing in the east, the south, and the west; one way only was open,—that towards the north and the Dnieper. Was the Emperor to wait till that way also was cut off?

At this moment, a cloud of Cossacks appeared on the plain, driven forward by Davoust in his hasty advance. This corps was, therefore, saved; Ney only was now missing. There was little time left to welcome the new comers. Claparède hastily sent for assistance. He could no longer maintain himself in Krasnoe.

Napoleon then called for Mortier, and, grasping his hand with evident anguish of mind, said, "that now not an instant must be lost; that he was assailed on all sides, and must hasten, with the old guard, to secure the passage of the Dnieper." Then exhorting Mortier and Davoust to hold Krasnoe till night, he slowly left the field, passed through Krasnoe, and gained Lyadi. Davoust's division, harassed by their late march, took shelter in Krasnoe. Mortier remained the last on the field with three thousand men, and when he retreated, it was as coolly as if he had been manœuvring at parade. "Do you hear, soldiers," said General Laborde, "the Marshal orders the ordinary time! the ordinary time, soldiers!" And thus those three thousand men slowly moved from the bloody plain, carrying off their wounded, in the face of fifty thousand enemies.

The march of all the divisions was continued next day without hesitation. The impatient stragglers got on before. Napoleon marched on foot with his old guard, his baton in his hand. He halted every quarter of an hour, as if unable to tear himself away from Old Russia. The name of Ney was frequently heard to proceed from his lips, accompanied with ejaculations of deep agitation. A fresh blow fell on him during the day's march. A Polish officer brought intelligence that Tchitchakoff had occupied Minsk on the 17th. Napoleon was at first speechless at this information; but he quickly recovered himself, and said, coolly, "Well! we have nothing to do now but to make our way by the bayonet." He despatched orders to Dombrowski and Victor to secure the passage of the Beresina at Borizoff; and to the Duke of Belluno to cover his march on the right. He was drawing near his reserves, but two great armies were intercepting his progress, while Kutusoff pursued him. The weather was milder, and at Orcha he found abundance of provisions, but it was too late; the army was destroyed. He entered Orcha with six thousand men; Eugene with

eighteen hundred; Davoust with four thousand. That marshal was emaciated with famine, without linen, and had lost everything. He eagerly seized a loaf which was offered him, and devoured it with voracity, and as he wiped the rime off his face with a handkerchief, presented to him by a soldier, he declared that "none but men of steel could go through such trials as these." The firmness of Napoleon seemed to increase with the danger. No rashness or blind infatuation, however, was mixed with his fortitude, as was evident from his burning in this town, with his own hands, all those of his effects which might serve as trophies should he fall into the hands of the Russians. Among these were the papers he had collected in France, for writing the history of his own life, during the long halt on the Dwina and Dnieper, which he had contemplated as possible at the beginning of the campaign.

He left Orcha unwillingly on the 20th. His thoughts and bitter regrets still clung round Ney, as did those of the whole army. They accused each other of having deserted him, and questioned those who had last seen him. The march continued, and at nightfall the army halted and bivouacked. Suddenly, the rapid advance of horsemen was heard, and the joyful exclamation—"Marshal Ney is saved!—he will be here in a few moments!—here are the Polish horsemen who have announced his arrival!" The report was correct: Ney was advancing by the right bank of the Dnieper, and demanded assistance. Six or seven thousand men, exhausted as they were, left their bivouacks and the food they had just cooked, and followed Prince Eugene to meet him. They had marched two leagues in darkness before the sounds of his approach could be distinguished. When, at length, the two corps recognised each other, they no longer kept their distinctive ranks; all ran forward and mingled into one body. Eugene and Ney fell into each other's arms. Eugene wept, but Ney dropped some expressions indicative of anger. He was agitated by recent danger and toil; and irritated against Davoust, whom he wrongly accused of having abandoned him. When, some hours afterwards, Davoust attempted to vindicate his conduct, Ney only replied by a stern look, and these few words, "I have no reproaches to make against you, Marshal; God sees us both, and let Him be your judge." When Napoleon, who was two leagues in advance, was apprised of Ney's reappearance, he absolutely bounded and shouted for joy; exclaiming in tones of transport, "I have saved my eagles then! I would willingly have given all the wealth in my treasury to redeem such a man as that from destruction!" Ney had left Smolensko on the 17th; had passed onwards in the track of the army and its wrecks unassailed; till, at the same spot on which Eugene had been attacked, a Russian officer summoned

him to surrender. Ney answered, "A Marshal of France never surrenders." In an instant, those cold and silent hills were converted into so many volcanoes belching fire. Kutusoff and Miloradowitch, with eighty thousand men in double line, well supplied with provisions—with numerous cavalry, and a vast artillery—were ranged against five thousand soldiers, in straggling column, pursuing an infirm and languishing march, with incomplete arms, and suffering every deprivation. Yet Ney neither thought of surrendering nor dying, but resolved to cut his way through the opposing mass. He launched Ricard with fifteen hundred men against the enemy's centre, and ordered four hundred Illyrians to assail their left; then, with his remaining three thousand, he followed the first attack of Ricard, which had been repulsed; he broke through the first line, but was assailed by a tremendous fire. His column reeled round; its ranks seemed nearly empty; the remnant tottered and retreated, hurrying Ney himself away in the flight. He had attempted an impossibility; but the flight had been directed on a ravine. He had left three thousand dead. He rallied his two thousand remaining soldiers on the summit of the opposite side of the ravine, and here the Russians did not dare to follow him. He answered the discharges of two hundred pieces of cannon with six; while the Russians, with the obedience of slaves to the word of their commander, remained fixed to the clods on which they stood. The friendly night came to Ney's assistance: he then gave the order to march back towards Smolensko. His men followed him in perfect confidence, though their astonishment was beyond expression. He proceeded till he reached a small stream; broke the ice to see which way the current ran; and then exclaiming—"This stream flows into the Dnieper: this is our guide!"—followed its course for about a league, and reached the Dnieper. He here announced his resolution to cross the river. The ice was already affected by the milder weather which had commenced; yet Ney, after due examination, gave the order to halt for three hours to permit the stragglers and the wounded to join. These three hours he passed in calm and profound sleep, wrapped in his cloak, on the river's brink. It was still dark, but the passage began. The motion of the ice, the crashes heard from time to time as it split in long cracks, compelled them to cross in single file. The whole of the baggage was abandoned, but a desperate effort was made to save the sick and wounded. The carriages containing these unfortunate beings, reached the middle of the river but no further. The ice gave way. Heart-rending screams of anguish were heard; then short and stifled groans. An awful silence followed. All had disappeared. Ney fixed his appalled looks on the dismal gulf, and thought he distinguished, through the darkness, a living man. It was

a wounded officer, named Brigueville, who had escaped on a large flat of ice, and was approaching the bank on his hands and knees. Ney, himself, received and saved him. The Dnieper now divided the French division from the Russian army; but they were soon surrounded by hordes of Cossacks. Nevertheless, through these and all other difficulties, Ney brought fifteen hundred men in safety, and joined the rest of the army at Orcha, as related. His retreat is allowed to have scarcely a parallel in military history. The unanimous voice of the army echoed the name which Napoleon himself gave him, and he was pronounced "the bravest of the brave!"

All the wrecks of the grand French army were now united. It amounted to scarcely twelve thousand men who still held their ranks; and about thirty thousand unarmed stragglers, among whom it was astonishing still to find many women and children, whom the various hardships had not yet destroyed. The stragglers added nothing to the strength of the French, but plundered the unfortunate peasantry through whose villages they passed. At this crisis, Napoleon received intelligence that Victor and Oudinot had quarrelled as to the manner in which Wittgenstein should be attacked; and had, therefore, left him unattacked. Napoleon exclaimed bitterly, "Thus it befalls when we commit faults upon faults." The news that Borizoff was also lost, and Dombrowski defeated under its walls, next reached him. "Is it, then, written," he cried, striking the earth with his cane, "that we shall commit nothing but errors?" In studying the map, to determine the spot for attempting the passage of the Beresina, he approached his finger to the country of the Cossacks, and was heard to murmur, "Ah! Charles XII.—Poltawa!" These bursts of emotion, however, were all that he permitted to escape him. The attendant about his person was, perhaps, the only individual who knew that he suffered. Even Duroc, Daru, and Berthier, declared that "to them he appeared immoveable."

A conversation that passed at this period, will shew his consciousness of the critical state in which he was placed. The night was far advanced, and Napoleon had retired to rest. Duroc and Daru, who remained in his chamber, believing him to be asleep, gave vent, in low whispers, to their gloomy forebodings. He heard them, however; and the words "Prisoner of state" striking his ear, "What," said he, "do you suppose they would dare?" Daru was taken by surprise, but soon replied, that, "If forced to surrender, they must expect the worst." "But France," replied the Emperor, "What will she say?" "As for France," continued Daru, "we might make a thousand distressing conjectures; but we can none of us tell what would happen there." He then added, that "it would be well, if, through the air, or any

other medium, since the passage of the earth seemed shut against them, the Emperor could reach France, where he could save them much more certainly than by remaining with them." "I only embarrass you, then," replied Napoleon, smiling. "Yes, Sire." Napoleon continued silent for some time. He then asked "if all the reports of the ministers had been destroyed?" He was answered in the negative. "Well," he replied, "go and destroy them; for it must be acknowledged we are in a calamitous situation." With this confession on his lips he fell asleep.

It was finally resolved to attempt the passage of the Beresina at Studzianka, where the stream was only fifty-five fathoms across, and six feet deep. The opposite ground was an extensive marsh, and the heights beyond were occupied by Tchitchakoff; but this desperate chance was the sole one left, and for this Napoleon prepared. His first step was to collect all the eagles and have them burned. He



ordered half the wagons, together with the unserviceable horses, to be destroyed; and all the remaining horses and draught oxen to be applied for the artillery and ammunition. The cavalry under Latour Maubourg was reduced to one hundred and fifty. All the officers who yet retained horses were formed into a body, called the Sacred Squadron, to attend the Emperor's person. They amounted to about five hundred, and were commanded by Grouchy and Sebastiani; but want and fatigue soon dismounted the greater number. Eighteen hundred of the dismounted guard were formed into two battalions, well armed. These preparations being made, Napoleon plunged into the dark and extensive forest of Minsk, which he traversed by forced marches, the crowd of stragglers keeping up with the main column as well as they could. The marches began before break of day, and did not end till after

and Ney's corps, passed at two o'clock. On reaching the shore, he exclaimed—"My star still reigns." At the same moment, a Lithuanian general, disguised as a peasant, brought intelligence that Schwartzburg had defeated the Russians at Sacken. Napoleon loudly proclaimed the victory, adding, gratuitously, that "Schwartzburg was hastening to their assistance." Victor's division took up the position which the French guard had just quitted, on the heights of Studzianka. The Emperor, with Ney and Oudinot, defended the opposite extremity of the bridge.

Meanwhile, a second bridge was in active preparation, destined for the transport of the artillery. It was completed by night, and the greater part of the artillery was saved, notwithstanding the bridge twice gave way under the enormous weight. Had it been possible to infuse order into the confused mass which remained on the bank of the river, guarded by Victor, they might have effected their escape during the night of the 26th; but they lingered, in the vain hope of saving their baggage or plunder; and the crowd impeded the progress of those who would have gone forward. On the morning of the 27th, they rushed with one headlong impulse to cross all at once, besieging the narrow passage to the bridges. A dense mass of men, horses, and wagons, in horrible disorder, choked the way. The weakest were trodden under foot or precipitated into the ice. Frantic yells, the shrieks of women and children, groans and imprecations, were heard on all sides. At night, a wild crowd dispersed among the villages in search of plunder. On the morning of the 28th, the Russian cannon was once more heard. Tchitchakoff had discovered his mistake, and, with Tchaplitz, was advancing against the divisions which had crossed, while Wittgenstein attacked Victor. It was now that the madness and confusion rose to its height. The battle raged for two days on both sides of the river; the miserable multitude all the while struggling to escape across the narrow bridges, a prey to their own violence and their enemy's cannon. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the artillery-bridge gave way with its load of human misery, and ended it with one dreadful crash, followed by cries of anguish, which were soon stifled by death. The remaining mass now struggled and reeled towards the first bridge, and the terror and despair that followed are not to be described. Night brought no relief. The dark mass, contrasted with the snow, directed the Russian fire. During the whole of this dreadful period, Napoleon remained on these dismal banks, without shelter, in the position which he had occupied after passing the river. It was an elevated spot, from which he could survey the whole scene, and whence he could direct the movements of the different corps. During the day, his guard were



PASSAGE OF THE BERESINA.

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drawn up in order of battle; at night, they bivouacked in square, enclosing him within their ranks. They were employed, throughout the hours of darkness, in keeping up their fires, or dozing with their elbows on their knees and their heads on their hands, thus doubled up to preserve what heat they could, and to avoid the torment of hunger as much as possible. The weather was tempestuous, and the situation of the bivouacks was indicated every morning by a circle of dead. Notwithstanding all their disadvantages and the overwhelming force brought against them by the three different armies, the French held the Russians at bay until the morning of the 29th. Tchitchakoff was actually beaten by Ney, and the ground was clear for the continuance of the retreat. On the evening of the 28th, Victor's corps was ordered to pass the river. The troops advanced, crushing and overthrowing in their way the wretched beings whom they had hitherto defended. Victor, however, left a rear-guard at Studzianka during the night. Trusting to this defence, multitudes still lingered round their baggage, refusing to leave it and take advantage of the darkness to make their escape. When morning came, the rear-guard passed on, and burned the bridge behind them. Thousands were then seen wandering in desolate groups on their enemy's bank; some, roused too late, threw themselves into the river and were lost amidst the ice; others rushed upon the flames of the bridge, which gave way under them; the rest, in helpless despair, waited the coming up of the Russians.

Napoleon remained at his post till the accomplishment of the dismal catastrophe, and then moved forward towards Zemin with the remains of his army. The amount of his loss, at this fatal point, has never been distinctly stated; but the Russian report concerning the bodies which were collected and burnt after the thaw, states that upwards of thirty-six thousand were found in the Beresina. The whole of the surrounding country was a vast morass. The French traversed it by means of three successive bridges constructed of wood. The Russians had most unaccountably neglected to burn these bridges, but Napoleon was not guilty of the like improvidence. They were fired, by his order, after his troops had passed. Kutusoff was still on the Dnieper, while his prey was thus escaping from his grasp. The old Russian had often replied to the remonstrances against his own inactivity, that the "marshes of the Beresina would complete the destruction of Napoleon;" but he had not made sufficient allowance for the energy of his adversary. One division only was compelled to surrender.

The late hardships and struggles had nearly completed the disorganisation of the French troops. Little order was observed in the

march. They pressed forward in a shapeless mass, officers and men intermingled. Prince Eugene led the advance; Ney preserved his perilous post in the rear. He was supported by a fresh division under Maisons, which had been despatched to the Beresina from Wilna, and marched, fighting at every step with Tchaplitz. Napoleon led the main body. It was observed, that he continued to order his marshals to take up positions on the road, just as if their corps were still under their command. One of them made some bitter complaints to him on the subject, and began to enumerate his losses, when Napoleon interrupted him with these memorable words,—“Why do you try to rob me of my serenity?” And when the marshal persisted, he stopped him by repeating in a tone of reproach,—“I beg to know, sir, why you try to rob me of my serenity?” An expression, says Hazlitt, “which shewed the sort of deportment he wished to maintain in his adversity, and that which he required from others.”

Napoleon was no longer harassed by any enemies, except clouds of Cossacks, who dispersed on being attacked. The weather was temperate; he reached Pleszczentczy on the 30th, and on the 3rd of December he reached Maladeczno. Here he found forty couriers waiting him. He halted, and employed himself in making important regulations. He ordered the Poles upon Warsaw, by way of Olita; the dismounted cavalry on the Niemen, by way of Merecz. It was hence, also, that he despatched his twenty-ninth bulletin, which filled Paris with mourning. Nothing had been heard there of the grand army for one and twenty days, when this dreadful document told its fate. It disclosed, in concise and simple terms, the disastrous history of the retreat: the truth could, in fact, be concealed no longer. Napoleon had resolved, however, not to leave it to work its effect on all Europe, while he was struggling through the dreary tracts of Lithuania and Poland. After completing his dismal task, he suddenly announced to Duroc and Daru his resolution to leave the army, and set off for Paris immediately. “I must return to France,” he said, “to quiet apprehensions there; to raise new troops, to keep my German subjects to their allegiance. But, in order to accomplish this, I must traverse four hundred leagues of allied territory alone; and, to do so without danger, my resolution must be unexpected, my route unknown, and the report of my reverses uncertain. I must be beforehand with the news, and the effect it might produce, and the defections it would occasion. I have, therefore, no time to lose.” His advisers had nothing to reply to reasons so cogent, and which were, doubtless, perfectly sufficient to justify him in leaving his army at a period when it was already extricated from its most pressing dangers, was near its resources, and when its chief enemy was



NAPOLEON RETREATING FROM MOSCOW.

the increasing rigour of the season; an enemy from which no man could save it. Caulaincourt, Duroc, and Lobau received secret orders to prepare for their departure. The place of starting, indicated to them, was Smorgoni; the time, the night of the 5th of December.

The winter became more terrific than ever at the very moment of this decision. The arms dropped from the hands of the soldiers, and they themselves fell lifeless in numbers. The rigour of the season, however, saved them, in some measure, from the attacks of the Russians, who also perished by thousands. Attack was as nearly as possible as defence. Napoleon reached his last head-quarters amidst a group of dying men. No complaints were heard. It seemed as if the whole strength of each was requisite to maintain the conflict with cold and fatigue. Napoleon had summoned Ney to Smorgoni, leaving the rear-guard to Victor. All the chiefs of the army were invited to sup with the Emperor. As they entered, he told each of his resolution to depart for France that night; and, by arguments or address, conquered whatever objections were made. His manner was engaging and affectionate to all, but especially to Davoust, between whom and himself some coolness had existed. He seated them all at his table, and praised them for their noble courage and endurance. When supper was ended, Eugene was ordered to read the bulletin aloud; after which, Napoleon declared to the whole army assembled the resolution he had expressed to each in private, adding, that he left the command of the army to the King of Naples, whom, said he, "I hope you will obey as myself, and that the most perfect harmony will reign among you." It was then ten o'clock: he rose, and pressing their hands affectionately, embraced them all, and set off. He and Caulaincourt were shut up in a carriage, of which his Mameluke Rustan, and Wukasowich, a captain of his guard, occupied the box. Duroc and Lobau followed in a sledge. Napoleon afterwards changed his carriage for a sledge, and thus performed the journey. The Cossacks surprised a hamlet which lay in his route that very night; but, little knowing the prize they missed, abandoned the place an hour before he reached it. He had an interview with Jaret, the Duke of Bassano, at Miedniki: he passed by the suburbs of Wilna, and reached Warsaw on the 10th. "The Abbé de Pradt, then minister of France to the Diet of Poland," says Scott, "was in the act of endeavouring to reconcile the various rumours which poured in from every quarter, when a figure like a spectre, wrapped in furs, which were stiffened by hoar frost, stalked into his apartments, supported by a domestic, and was, with difficulty, recognised by the ambassador as the Duke of Vicenza. 'You here, Caulaincourt,' said the astonished prelate,—'and where is the Emperor?'

‘At the hotel d’Angleterre, waiting for you.’ ‘Why not stop at the palace?’ ‘He travels incognito.’ ‘Do you need anything?’ ‘Some Burgundy or Malaga.’ ‘All is at your service,—but whither are you travelling?’ ‘To Paris.’ ‘To Paris!—but where is the army?’ ‘It exists no longer,’ said Caulaincourt, looking upward. ‘And the victory of the Beresina, and the six thousand prisoners?’ (These questions alluded to false or exaggerated reports). ‘We got across, that is all; the prisoners were a few hundred men, who have escaped. We have had other business than to guard them.’

“His curiosity thus far satisfied, the Abbé de Pradt hastened to the hotel. In the yard stood three sledges in a dilapidated condition. He was introduced with some mystery into a bad inn’s bad room, where a servant wench was blowing a fire made of green wood. Here was the Emperor, whom the Abbé had last seen when he played King of Kings among the sovereigns at Dresden” (who had all played their parts so ill that their crowns shook precariously upon their heads). “He was dressed in a green pelisse, covered with lace and lined with furs; and, by walking briskly about the apartment, was endeavouring to obtain the warmth which the chimney refused. He saluted ‘Monsieur l’Ambassadeur,’ as he termed him, with gaiety.” Napoleon had come on foot from the bridge of Prague. The Abbé has given a detailed account of the interview. Making allowance for some exaggeration, it is, doubtless, tolerably correct. It displays the proud spirit of Napoleon hiding his consciousness of defeat and failure from the prying eyes of the shallow Frenchman, under a guise of flippant unconcern. It is, at the same time, full of the excitement with which the prospect of immediate action, vigorous effort, opposition, and difficulty, would be sure to fill him. He frequently repeated the sentence,—“There is but a single step between the sublime and the ridiculous.” The fire went out, and the Abbé complains of having been half frozen; but Napoleon felt no cold, he was kept warm by constant movement and the force of his own energies. After a hasty dinner, he hurried on the preparations for continuing his route. “I addressed him,” says the Abbé, “in terms the most affectionate and respectful, wishing him his health and a prosperous journey. ‘I have never been better in my life; if I had the devil at my back I should only be the better for it.’ These were his last words. Immediately he mounted into the humble sledge, which bore Cæsar and his fortunes. The horses sprung forward and disappeared in the darkness. A violent shock was near overturning the sledge as it passed through the gateway.”

Napoleon pursued his journey with rapidity. He affirmed at St. Helena, that the Prussians were on the point of arresting him in

Silesia, but it is not certain whether his suspicion is correct. He reached Dresden on the 14th, and had a private interview with the King of Saxony at the hotel at which he had alighted, still preserving his incognito. The King of Saxony had not turned traitor to his benefactor because he was unfortunate. Passing through Hanau and Mayence, Napoleon reached Paris late at night on the 19th of December. The fatal bulletin had been published only on the 17th. He and his attendant had difficulty in procuring admittance to the Tuileries at so late an hour. The Empress had retired to her own apartment; when two figures, muffled in furs, entered the ante-room, one of whom walked quickly towards the door of her bed-room. The lady in waiting tried to stop the intruder, but, recognising the Emperor, shrieked aloud, and alarmed Maria Louisa, who hastily entered the ante-room. The meeting was, it is said, very affectionate.

We return to the wrecks of the army at Smorgoni. The officers were not dejected by the Emperor's departure, but, on the contrary, derived hope from it; yet the loss of his presence completed the disorganization, which had nearly reached its height before. Fortunately, another reinforcement, commanded by Loisons, met the army at Smorgoni, and formed a fresh rear-guard under Ney. Three thousand men of the old and young guard were still under arms; but these veterans, refusing to obey any commander but their Emperor, soon fell into the common disorder. Murat proved perfectly incompetent to his important trust; and the chiefs differed and quarrelled among themselves. The cold also increased to a dreadful intensity. The thermometer fell considerably lower than usual, even in a Russian winter. The air was filled with small particles of ice, and the birds fell to the earth lifeless and frozen. The atmosphere was still as death. The straggling mass of men moved on without order. It was a succession of single-handed struggles for self-preservation. The heavy and monotonous sound of their steps, crashing the trampled snow under their feet, and the feeble groans of the dying, were the only sounds. No murmurs were heard. If they lay down for a moment from exhaustion, their blood froze in their veins: they endeavoured to rise, but, even if they succeeded, it was only to stagger on a few steps; they soon fell on their knees, then sunk on their hands; their heads vibrated from side to side, a few agonised sounds escaped them, and they fell on the snow;—a stream of dark and livid blood flowed from their mouths, and their sufferings ended. Their companions passed on without moving a single step out of their way, through fear of lengthening their journey even by a step. If a horse fell dead, they rushed upon the carcase like a pack of famished hounds; tearing it to pieces, and fighting for the still palpitating flesh. The nights were still more horrible. Those

who could find wood, kindled fires, by which they remained all night motionless and upright like statues. They did not dare to lie down; or, if they yielded to their irresistible fatigue, they never rose again, but were found in the morning, their hair frozen to the ground and their feet burnt off. Wretched figures, like wandering phantoms, were continually approaching the light of these fires, but were driven away by the first comers. These miserable creatures wandered from one bivouack to another, and at length lay down behind some circle of the soldiers who were crowded round the gloomy blaze, and died. Some attempted to set fire to the lofty pines of the forest as they stood, and fell lifeless during their hopeless task. The great sheds or pent-houses found by the road side were filled in an instant; soldiers and officers rushed forward and threw themselves in heaps almost upon each other. The dead and dying soon formed a horrible bed for the survivors, who crawled out in the morning from the midst of a heap of corpses. Fresh parties soon besieged these buildings, and sometimes pulled down the walls, or set them on fire by using them as shelter for their own bivouacks, and those within, already half dead with cold, were destroyed by fire. Segur asserts that many threw themselves into the burning houses of a village they had set on fire, and so perished; and that some of their companions drew out the mutilated and half-broiled bodies, and ventured to allay their hunger with this revolting food. These accounts have been charged with exaggeration, but it is more probable that they do not communicate to our shuddering senses even a shadow of the dreadful reality. Words are inadequate to describe such awful and extensive calamities. Enough, however, has been said to give some impression of the reverse side of the pictures, which people are taught to regard as "glorious war."

After four days of this horrible march, the haggard objects came in sight of Wilna, on the 9th of December. Forty days' provisions for a hundred thousand men were collected in that city; but here the same lamentable scenes took place which had occurred at Smolensko. Napoleon could not prepare the authorities in that city for the truth, without disclosing his disastrous condition prematurely. They expected a regular army to enter in order; and when a wretched mass of famished men rushed headlong into their streets, filling the air with groans and lamentations, they feared to give an order to distribute the stores for which they were responsible. Multitudes perished at the doors, mad with rage and despair. At length Davoust, Eugene, and other chiefs, succeeded in obtaining the requisite aid, and in getting the men into quarters. Scarcely had they tasted the inexpressible luxury of rest; of eating leavened bread; of being seated to eat it; of finding themselves in a human habitation,—when the sounds of

the Russian cannon were heard. The advanced guards of Kutusoff and Chaplitz were attacking Loison and Ney, who guarded the city in the rear. The *generale* was beat in the streets, but in vain; the soldiers could not leave their quarters. But soon the distant hourra and the cry of "Cossacks! Cossacks!" roused them. Murat abandoned the city, leaving Ney to maintain it as long as possible. On the following day, the 10th, Ney also withdrew with the rear-guard, consisting of three thousand men. Wilna contained, besides the magazines, a great deposit of wealth and property. As much of this as could be collected in the confusion was speedily harnessed and carried off. A catastrophe which occurred on the road to Kowno, broke up the rear-guard, which had alone maintained its order up to this point. The train of carriages and wagons brought from Wilna were stopped by a wooded declivity. Men and horses, struggling in vain, fell dead with the effort to get them further. At this crisis, one of the money-wagons burst open. At the sight, the soldiers of the rear-guard threw away their arms and loaded themselves with the spoil. A few hundred, only held their ranks, and with these few Ney continued to support the retreat. It is even said that the Cossacks mingled with them, and that friends and foes joined in indiscriminate pillage. In the midst of this scene of disorder, the Count de Turenne confided Napoleon's private treasure to those of the guards within his reach, and every man who survived the retreat faithfully delivered up the share intrusted to him. Meantime, Ney kept the Cossacks in check.



The French crossed the Niemen on the ice, on the 13th of December, defended still by Ney, who had to fight with the Russians in Kowno. He fought, at last, at the head of only thirty men, and was the last individual of the French army who left the Russian territory. The defence of Kowno has been thus described by Boutourlin, the Russian historian of this campaign:—"Marshal Ney manned twenty pieces of cannon on the redoubts that covered the town, and prepared for its defence. Platoff, who had only three field pieces, was detained before it the whole day; but, towards evening, he made his Cossacks pass the Niemen, above and below Kowno, so that the town was turned. The enemy, perceiving this movement, prepared to evacuate the place. Platoff, in vain, endeavoured to prevent him. Ney, seizing a musket, sallied forth at the head of the bravest of his followers, and escaped; but the whole of the rear of his column was cut off." The Cossacks now relaxed their pursuit, and the regular Russian troops hesitated on the frontier. Murat reached Gumbinnen, in Prussian Poland, on the 14th, and rested there. "I put up," says Dumas, "at the house of a physician, which I had occupied when I passed through the town before. Some excellent coffee had just been brought us for breakfast, when a man in a brown great coat entered; he had a long beard; his face was blackened, and looked as if it were burnt; his eyes were red and glaring. 'At length I am here,' said he. 'Why! General Dumas, don't you know me?'—'No! Who are you?'—'I am the rear-guard of the grand army; I have fired the last musket-shot on the bridge of Kowno. I have thrown the last of our arms into the Niemen, and have come hither through the woods. I am Marshal Ney.' I leave you to imagine," adds Dumas, "with what respectful eagerness we welcomed him."

At Gumbinnen, the remaining marshals called a council, at which Murat held language which shewed how unequal he was to contend with adversity, notwithstanding all his brilliant courage. He designated Napoleon "a madman;" and blamed himself for rejecting the proposals of the English, when, had he listened to them, he might still have been a great king like the sovereigns of Austria and Russia. "These kings," answered Davoust indignantly, "are called monarchs by the grace of God, by the sanction of time, and the course of custom; but you are king only by the grace of Napoleon and of French blood. You are blinded by black ingratitude." This was the first spark of Murat's treason. It was, however, extinguished at this moment, and he continued the retreat towards the Vistula.

Disastrous tidings now came in from the two wings of the grand army. The Prussian generals, Yorck and Massenbach (placed under the orders of Marshal Macdonald, who commanded the left wing), concluded a treaty with the Russians, and abandoned their allegiance on

the 30th of December, with upwards of eighteen thousand men. Macdonald, in consequence, was forced to retreat from Tilsit to Königsberg, with nine thousand men. At the same time, Schwartzburg, at the head of the Austrians, entirely disconnected himself from the French troops of the right wing; left Regnier exposed to the attack of the Russians at Khalitsh, and obliged him to retreat into the Austrian territory. Murat could now no longer hold the line of the Vistula; but the junction of Macdonald had enabled him to assume an attitude of defence. He removed his head-quarters to Warsaw, and then to Posen. Here, on the 16th of January, 1813, he abandoned the army, and precipitately returned to Naples, immediately after the receipt of some dispatches from his queen, which roused his jealousy of her political power during his absence. Eugene assumed the command in his place. Though the King of Prussia had not yet openly declared war, the most hostile feeling towards the French was evinced by the people. In some places, the rankling animosity broke forth into open violence. The French sick and wounded were shamefully neglected by the conquerors. Several thousand perished at Wilna, in the Convent of St. Basil, for want of food and attendance. The Russians arrived on the Vistula on the 22nd and 23rd of January, but the Emperor Alexander stopped their march at Khalitsh. Eugene effected his retreat in good order on the Elbe, and threw the remains of the army into the various Prussian fortresses held by Napoleon.

The total loss sustained by the grand army of France in the Russian campaign is thus stated by Boutourlin:—"Slain in battle, one hundred and twenty-five thousand; died from fatigue, hunger, and cold, one hundred and thirty-two thousand; prisoners (comprehending forty-eight generals, three thousand officers, and upwards of one hundred and ninety thousand men), one hundred and ninety-three thousand: total, four hundred and fifty thousand."

This computation is evidently exaggerated. It would represent the army as annihilated, not only including among its losses the original numbers which entered Russia, but the greater part of the reinforcements which advanced from France after the commencement of the war. But Prince Eugene threw six thousand men into Thorn; eight thousand into Modlin; four thousand into Zamosc; and nearly thirty thousand into Dantzic. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the exact truth. It is certain that all the horses, and consequently all the artillery and baggage, were lost; and that the Russians, notwithstanding all the efforts made to destroy these trophies, took seventy-five eagles, and upwards of nine hundred pieces of cannon. The melting of the snow gave horrible evidence of the sacrifice of life. The route of the

army might be traced by the multitude of disfigured, bloated corpses, deprived by the returning warmth of their universal shroud.

The total number of French and allied troops who escaped may be estimated at upwards of eighty thousand. But of these, eighteen thousand were the Prussians who deserted the standard of Macdonald, and twenty thousand were Austrians, under Schwartzburg, who retired from the struggle in December. Of the remaining forty thousand, whose strength or good fortune enabled them to reach various places of safety, comparatively few had been at Moscow. The greater number belonged to the different reinforcements which joined the army in its retreat through Lithuania; and even of these many died in the hospitals of various diseases, induced by the hardships they had undergone.





CHAPTER X.

NAPOLEON AT PARIS—HIS IMMENSE EXERTIONS—A NEW ARMY RAISED—THE POPE—AFFAIRS OF SPAIN—STORMING OF BADAJOZ—BATTLE OF SALAMANCA—LORD WELLINGTON ENTERS MADRID—PRUSSIA DECLARES WAR AGAINST FRANCE—RAPID MOVEMENTS OF THE RUSSIAN AND PRUSSIAN ARMIES—TREACHEROUS POLICY OF AUSTRIA—MARIA LOUISA REGENT—NAPOLEON LEAVES PARIS FOR MAYENCE.



THE news of the Emperor's return spread like lightning through the capital. On the morning of the 20th of December, his saloons were thronged at an early hour, and he received his ministers in rotation. When he presented himself to the people, he was greeted with joyful acclamations. Public confidence, which had received a violent shock from the disastrous contents of the twenty-ninth bulletin, revived with the

certainty of his safety; and the expectation that his energy would repair the misfortunes of the war, banished despondency. Even the mourners wept in silence, and their grief was not mixed with complaint or disaffection.

A great crisis had, however, occurred in the history of Napoleon. The vast designs which he had conceived, had been utterly overthrown. He had allied himself with sovereigns, in order to make them the in-

struments of his purposes. "I should have had my Congress and my Holy Alliance," said he at St. Helena, when talking over these past events. "These are plans which were wrenched from me. In that assembly of all the sovereigns, we should have discussed our interest in a family manner, and settled our accounts with the people as a clerk does with his master." But the sovereigns, his unwilling allies, became his enemies again at the first moment of his reverses. The power which he had wielded was now arrayed against him, because it was a power opposed to him in its very nature and essence. When, at the commencement of his Russian expedition, he neglected the enthusiasm, and put aside the offered devotion of the Poles, and trusted their deliverance to the sword alone, he had displayed the last instance of his want of reliance on his natural allies—the people. The result had been the final destruction of his retreating army, which had to fall back on an apathetic, oppressed, and ravaged province, instead of an organised and friendly nation. Another army could be raised; but, when raised, it would have to combat all Europe. Napoleon no longer formed combinations, and acted and fought for the accomplishment of his own preconceived purposes, but for his existence as a sovereign. Under these new circumstances, his extraordinary resources and commanding genius astonished alike both friends and foes. "The wonderful energies of Napoleon's mind," says Scott, "and the influence which he could exert over the minds of others, were never so striking as at this period of his reign. He had returned to his seat of empire at a dreadful crisis, and in a most calamitous condition. His subjects had been ignorant for three weeks whether he was dead or alive. When he arrived, it was to declare a dreadful catastrophe. He had left behind him cold and involuntary allies—changing fast into foes—and foes, encouraged by his losses and his flight, threatening to combine Europe in one great crusade, having for its object the demolition of his power. No sovereign ever presented himself before his people in a situation more precarious, or overclouded by such calamities, arrived, or in prospect. Yet Napoleon came; and seemed but to stamp on the earth, and armed legions arose at his call; the doubts and discontents of the public disappeared as mists at sunrising, and the same confidence which had attended his prosperous fortunes, revived in its full extent, despite of his late reverses."

The Emperor convoked the Council of State, and laid before them the events of the campaign. He made also minute enquiries concerning the singular conspiracy of Mallet. Fourteen people had been executed on account of this transaction; a degree of severity which Napoleon strongly reprehended. Addresses from all the public bodies

of Paris, followed by deputations from all the principal towns of France, poured in without delay, expressive of the highest loyalty. The national feeling was enthusiastic. All classes vied with each other in expressions of attachment. Patriotic contributions were largely made towards repairing the losses of the country.

The Emperor had to replace the whole of the artillery with their trains. He had all his cavalry to remount, and half his infantry to renew. He employed day and night in reading the returns and reports which shewed what his situation was; and then set vigorously to work to collect the materials of a new army. A decree of the Senate empowered him to anticipate the conscription of 1814. The first ban of national guards, who had been placed in frontier garrisons as militia, forming a body of one hundred thousand men, were converted into regular soldiers of the line. Forty thousand seamen, whose time was merely idled away in seaport towns, were formed into corps of artillery men. Large draughts of men were drawn from Spain, the state of the war at the moment permitting this measure. For the purpose of replacing the cavalry, artillery, and *materiel* of the army, Napoleon drew largely on his private treasure; and notwithstanding his great expenses of the preceding year, he provided twelve millions without any addition to the national burdens. Horses were purchased in every quarter. The arsenals were in fine condition, and furnished abundance of artillery, which only required mounting. The works for the supply of everything connected with the military service were doubled. In the month of April, 1813, Napoleon had increased his army by three hundred and fifty thousand men, fully equipped. He held besides large garrisons in Dantzic, Thorn, Custrin, &c., augmented as they now were by the remains of his grand army, which had taken refuge there. He had besides an active levy in Italy, and still maintained a very large force in Spain. He was, in fact, at the head of a force little inferior to that which he had wielded when he undertook the conquest of Russia, and meditated assuming the exalted station of arbiter of the destiny of Europe.

While carrying on his active preparations for war, Napoleon had made a last effort to settle his differences with the Pope. He felt that he had need of all his popularity, and that his schism with the church was a stumbling block in the way of many good catholics. On the 19th of January, 1813, he left St. Cloud under the pretext of a hunting party, and suddenly presented himself to the Pontiff at Fontainebleau. On this occasion, Napoleon employed all the powers of persuasion and fascination which he possessed in order to induce Pius VII. to close with his views. He succeeded so well that eleven articles were agreed upon, and signed both by himself and the Pope

before the close of the interview; but the quarrel soon broke out afresh. No sooner was the influence of the Emperor's presence removed, than the Pope began to repent the concessions he had made, and accordingly took umbrage at the insertion of the articles of agreement in the "Moniteur;" where they were put forth as containing a new Concordat. He declared that the articles were only preliminaries to a Concordat, and refused to abide by them. The attempt to heal this breach therefore failed, and the ecclesiastical differences commenced with greater bitterness than ever.

Meanwhile the storm was gathering all over Europe. Before describing the movements of the coalition of 1813 against Napoleon, it is, however, necessary to detail the chief events of the important campaign of 1812 in the Peninsula. In January, 1812, Lord Wellington, perceiving that the favourable moment for action was coming, issued from his stronghold of defence in Portugal, and took Ciudad Rodrigo by storm. He followed up his success by investing Badajoz in March. This important city was firmly and skilfully defended by the French, but was stormed and taken by Lord Wellington on the night of the 6th of April. The deadly conflict, the sanguinary triumph, and the subsequent horrors perpetrated for two days and nights on the wretched inhabitants, form a history of all the varieties of human passion, from sublime and devoted courage, down to the most ferocious cruelty and appalling brutality. Five thousand British, soldiers and officers, fell during this siege. The conquest was, however, fraught with the most important consequences; for Badajoz was the key to all offensive operations of the allied armies of Spain, Portugal, and England. The victory of Salamanca on the 22nd of July opened to Wellington the road to Madrid; he entered the capital in August, while King Joseph retired to Valencia. The Spanish government failed to support Lord Wellington at this important juncture. He was repulsed before Burgos, which he had invested in September; and the skilful operations of Soult endangered his communications with Portugal. The British general in consequence once more retreated into the latter country. The state of Spain, therefore, in the beginning of 1813 was favourable to Napoleon; the retreat of the English army permitting him to withdraw from the Peninsula four regiments of his guards, and one hundred and fifty skeletons of battalions, which he used as the means of disciplining his new conscripts.

Early in March, a treaty, offensive and defensive, was signed between the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia, who met, by appointment, on the 15th of March, at Breslau. "The meeting," says Scott, "was affecting betwixt the two sovereigns, who had been such intimate friends, and had always retained the same personal

attachment for each other, although the circumstances of controlling necessity had made them enemies at a period when it was of importance to Russia to have as few foes as possible thrown into the scale against her." Nothing can shew more clearly than this sentence the real feeling of all the kingly allies of the French Emperor. Sir Walter also informs us, that the King of Prussia began to weep, and that Alexander, endeavouring to console him, said,—“Courage, my brother!—these are the last tears Napoleon shall make you shed.” On the following day, Prussia declared war against France. Napoleon received the declaration with perfect calmness. “It was better,” he said, “to have a declared enemy, than a doubtful ally.” The command of the Prussian army was conferred upon Blucher. The youth of every class rushed to fill the ranks. The students of the universities formed themselves into battalions and squadrons. The whole nation was eager for the war. The Russians had not only taken Warsaw, and overspread the whole of Prussian Poland, but, relying on the friendly dispositions of Prussia, had already left the various fortresses containing French garrisons behind them, and advanced towards the Oder and the Elbe. The Crown Prince of Sweden marched towards the approaching seat of war with an army of thirty-five thousand men, and awaited his expected junction with some of the Russian and German corps, in order to assume the offensive, and compel Napoleon to make head at once against the Swedish forces on the left flank of the French army, and the armies of Russia and Prussia in front. Three Russian flying corps spread along both sides of the Elbe. The French retreated everywhere to concentrate themselves under the walls of Magdeburg and other fortified places, which they still held. Hamburg, Lubeck, and other towns declared for the allied sovereigns, and received their troops. The French General Morand made a bold effort to stop the defection, and occupied Luneburg, which had also joined the allies, with four thousand men; but his corps was surprised by the Russians, and killed or taken prisoners to a man on the 2nd of April. Prince Eugene, in like manner, marched suddenly from Magdeburg with the view of surprising Berlin, which had been evacuated by the French, but was driven back, defeated, and obliged to shut himself up in Magdeburg, where he was blockaded. Even the King of Denmark, the firm friend of Napoleon, shewed some signs of wavering in his friendship at this period, and began to treat with the allies; but the negociation fell to the ground. The King of Saxony, unable to cope with the surrounding host of enemies, retired to a place of safety in Franconia; and his army separated from the French, and throwing themselves into Torgau, offered to stipulate for a neu-

trality. Davoust retreated from Dresden, after blowing up the fine bridge. The French garrisons in Thorn, Spandau, and Crenztchau, surrendered to the allies.

The Emperor of Austria, who had openly deserted Napoleon during the disasters of the Russian retreat, now assumed the semblance of friendship; but Napoleon was not at all deceived by the hollow pretence. He well knew that the alliance or hostility of his imperial father-in-law would depend on his own victories or defeats. In the meanwhile, the most conciliatory language was held towards him by the Austrian court; but M. de Narbonne, his ambassador at Vienna, had the penetration to discover the secret policy of Austria, and the engagements which were a few months afterwards made public under the name of the quadruple alliance. M. de Metternich so far threw off the mask as to declare that Austria would neither unite with Napoleon in fighting for the Poles, nor in preserving to him his title of Head of the Confederation of the Rhine. The English government prepared for new efforts in the Peninsula, and English gold supported the war throughout Europe.

The rapid progress of his allied enemies hastened the preparations of Napoleon. He had meditated the coronation of Maria Louisa as Empress, and of his infant son as King of Rome, but the pressure of events prevented it. From motives of policy, as well as of precaution (the latter suggested by Mallet's conspiracy), he, on the 30th of March, solemnly proclaimed the Empress regent of the empire during his absence in the impending war. On the 14th of April, he gave a friendly audience to the Prince of Schwartzburg, ambassador from Austria; and on the following day, the 15th of April, 1813, he left Paris for Mayence, where he arrived on the 16th at midnight.





CHAPTER XI.

MOVEMENTS OF THE FRENCH ARMY—COMBATS OF WEISSENFELS AND POSERN—DEATH OF BESSIERES—BATTLE OF LUTZEN—NAPOLEON AT DRESDEN—AUSTRIA ASSUMES THE OFFICE OF MEDIATOR—BATTLE OF BAUTZEN—DEATH OF DUROC—ARMISTICE GRANTED BY NAPOLEON.



THE progress of the armies of Russia and Prussia was interrupted by the rapid approach of Napoleon. He spent only eight days at Mayence, employed in organising his young conscripts, and then advanced by hasty marches towards Dresden. On the 25th of April, his headquarters were at Auerstadt. On the 29th, he left Erfurt at the head of eighty thousand men. Forty thousand more, under Prince Eugene, were marching from Magdeburg to join him. The army of the allied sovereigns was collected

towards Leipsic, and occupied the direct route of Napoleon's advance. The numbers on both sides were nearly equal, but Napoleon was greatly inferior to the allies in cavalry. An important change had recently occurred in the command of the Russian army, by the death of the veteran Kutusoff, who had been succeeded by Wittgenstein.

Sharp actions occurred on the 29th of April and the 1st of May, at Weissenfels and Posern, in both of which the French had the



advantage. But their success was dearly bought in the latter instance. The first cannon-shot of the day struck Marshal Bessières as he rode forward to reconnoitre. He fell, and died almost instantly. The catastrophe was concealed as long as possible from the guards, whom he had commanded from their first formation, under the name of the "Guides," and by whom he was much beloved. The Emperor sincerely regretted him, and with good cause. He lost, in him, an early and faithful follower, and a matchless commander of cavalry.

On the 2nd of May, the imperial guard was drawn up before Lutzen, where it was joined by the army of the viceroy. A crowd of recollections attended the interview of the Emperor with his adopted son. They had not met since the 5th of December, when Napoleon took leave of his assembled generals at Smorgoni.

The imperial guard, with its fine artillery stationed at Lutzen, supported the centre of the French army, posted at a village called Kaya, and under the command of Marshal Ney. The left wing reached from Kaya to the Elster; the right extended to the defile of Posern. Having formed the junction with Eugene, Napoleon pressed forward both his wings towards Leipsic, in the rear of which city he expected to see the army of the allies. But the latter, encouraged by the presence of the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, had approached in the night to meet him; and crossed the Elster in the morning. The French wings advanced in column; and Napoleon himself followed their march at the head of the guard. It was nine o'clock, on the morning of the 2nd of May, when Napoleon left Lutzen. About eleven, he had dismounted to consult his maps, when he was startled by the sound of a tremendous cannonade in the



direction of Kaya. An aide-de-camp of Marshal Ney immediately afterwards galloped up, and informed him that his centre was attacked by the whole allied army. Napoleon changed his dispositions on the instant. Both his wings received orders to halt. The entire body of these troops advancing in column towards Leipsic, formed in line by a rapid wheel on their right, and returned towards the scene of conflict in the centre. Three hours were necessary to complete this movement. Urgent orders to sustain the unequal contest in the meanwhile were despatched to Marshal Ney, and Napoleon with the old and young guard hurried to support him. The attack of the allies had been made by their choicest troops, led by Blucher. The village of Kaya was already lost by the French. The conflict was desperate; the carnage horrible; and it continued doubtful for several hours whether the allies would carry their point of breaking the French centre, or whether the operation commenced by Napoleon would be completed in time to prevent their success. At length, the distant discharge of musketry was heard on the right and left, closing inwards on the raging battle in the centre. It was the fire of Macdonald and Bertrand, who commanded the two wings. At the same time, Napoleon, by a resolute and successful charge, recovered the village of Kaya, in the centre. In this last and decisive struggle, he exposed himself in the very front of danger, fully conscious of the importance of victory on this occasion. The fate of the battle was decided. The allies retreated without any further attempt to recover it, and led back their exhausted troops from between the "forceps," as Scott aptly designates the closing wings of Napoleon's army. The French Emperor, whose masterly generalship was never more apparent than on this occasion, had turned his very disadvantage into a means of success; but his want of cavalry prevented pursuit; he made no prisoners, and the sole trophies of his victory were twenty thousand dead, whom his enemies left on the field. Among these were the Prussian general, Scharnhorst, one of the best staff-officers in Europe; Prince Leopold of Hesse Homberg, and the Prince of Mecklenbourg-Strelitz. The French loss was also very severe; and that which made the slaughter on both sides the more deplorable, was the circumstance that the soldiers in the French army were almost all young conscripts, and on the Prussian side, included multitudes of the youths of the German universities. A great moral effect was produced by the battle. Napoleon, who had been regarded as already conquered, was again victorious. He immediately sent dispatches announcing the event to every friendly court, even to Constantinople. As a great part of the allied army had moved off in unbroken order, he commanded his troops to pass the night on the field, in squares, by divisions. He

himself visited the advanced posts at night-fall, to observe the execution of his orders. His foresight saved the young guard from a surprise. They were suddenly attacked by the Prussian lancers during the darkness, but repelled the charge by a well-sustained and murderous fire.



The allied sovereigns fell back on the Mulda, by the route of Borna and Dresden, followed by the French army. Napoleon entered Dresden a few days after the battle; and, on the 12th of May, the King of Saxony returned to his capital, and was once more re-established in his authority by Napoleon.

During the short residence of the Emperor Napoleon at Dresden, the Emperor of Austria despatched M. de Bubna, as envoy, to assure him of his good wishes and pacific intentions; but the tone assumed by the Austrian court, as mediator, and the open hints of its claims upon Illyria, Poland, and even Bavaria, evinced a disposition the reverse of friendly. Meanwhile, the result of the battle of Lutzen had forced the allies to abandon altogether the line of the Elbe. Davoust was immediately ordered to retake Hamburg. He attacked the city on the 9th of May, at the head of five or six thousand men, a force

which it had no means of repelling. It must have yielded immediately, had not the Danish government (the strict ally of Napoleon) despatched a squadron of gun-boats and artillery to its support. This demonstration, which equally surprised both parties, seems to have been occasioned by some negotiation at that time pending between the King of Denmark and the enemies of the Emperor of France, which the Danish monarch had hoped to turn to his own advantage. Finding however, that he was disappointed, and discovering that the allies meant to insist on his ceding Norway to Bernadotte; hearing also, at the same time, that Napoleon had just gained the victory of Lutzen,—the king, with a composure equally ludicrous and unprincipled, withdrew his forces on the 12th, and left the citizens of Hamburg to their fate, while he returned to his league, offensive and defensive, with France.

The Crown Prince of Sweden was at Stralsund with a considerable army; but he refused to divide his forces, which he destined for the main purposes of the campaign. Hamburg, left therefore without succour, was entered by Davoust on the 30th of May. The utmost order and discipline was observed, but heavy contributions were laid on the inhabitants by Napoleon. Meanwhile, he had already joined the advanced guard of his army. He left Dresden on the 18th, and arrived at Bautzen on the 21st of May. His army had been reinforced by eighteen thousand Saxons, a large proportion of whom were cavalry; and he could now number one hundred and fifty thousand men. The allies had one hundred and sixty thousand, and were entrenched in a strong position. Napoleon observed their camp from the heights which command the Spree, and formed the plan of the approaching battle.



The right wing of the allies rested upon the fortified heights of Klein; their left on wooded eminences; their centre was rendered unapproachable by commanding batteries. The officers of engineers who were ordered to reconnoitre the position, reminded Napoleon that "it was the same which Frederick the Great had once occupied." "That may be," answered the Emperor, "but Frederick is not there now." He saw, however, that the position could not be stormed in front, and took his measures accordingly. On the morning of the 20th, he ordered Ney, with three corps amounting to sixty thousand men, to make a circuit by the extreme right of the camp, and place himself in its rear. Prince Eugene was not in this battle: he was already on his march to Italy, whither he had been despatched by Napoleon, in order to adopt precautions against the hostile feeling manifested by Austria. Oudinot and Soult were commanded to advance upon the left and right wings of the allied army. The French marched impetuously to the attack, took possession of the town of Bautzen, crossed the river Spree, and engaged in a desperate conflict on both points. Blucher, with the Prussians, maintained the entrenchments on the right. The struggle was long and sanguinary, but, at the moment that the Prussians were beginning to give way, the sixty thousand French troops commanded by Ney appeared in their rear and decided their defeat. Blucher was forced to retreat, and the French took possession of the heights which he quitted. The attack of Oudinot on the left had not been equally successful. The Russians, commanded by Miloradowitch, still held their ground in that position when nightfall stopped the battle. The French army bivouacked in square on the field.

The battle was renewed on the following day. Napoleon contrived, by a skilful manœuvre, to deceive Miloradowitch as to his point of attack. The contest was, notwithstanding, desperate, and at one period doubtful. Napoleon brought up all his reserves before he gained the Russian entrenchments; but, by three o'clock, the victory was in his hands; and the forces of Wittgenstein and Miloradowitch, driven from all their positions both of the centre and left, were in full retreat by the foot of the Bohemian mountains; their retreat by the roads to Silesia being cut off by the army of Napoleon, the different divisions of which pressed onwards to occupy the important points. It is estimated that twelve thousand French were killed in this hard-fought battle; and a much larger number of the allied army were left dead on the ground; some authorities say sixteen, and some eighteen thousand. The want of cavalry again prevented Napoleon from turning his success to account. The allies retreated in good order; frequently placed their guns in position, and made the pursuing French suffer greatly. Very few prisoners were taken, and not a

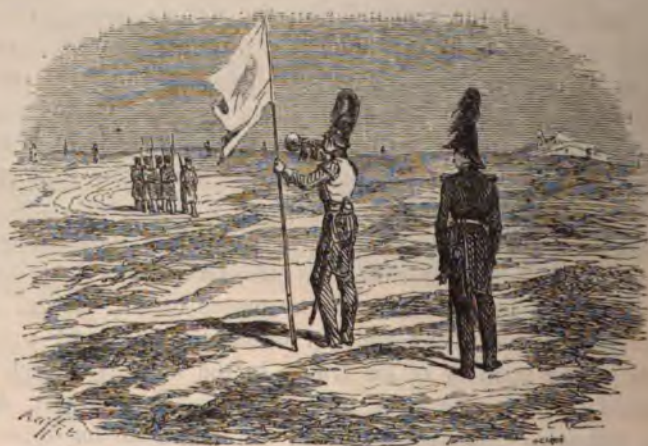


single gun. Napoleon, at the head of the cavalry of the guard, urged forward the pursuit throughout the whole of the ensuing day, exposed to a frequent and heavy fire. Towards evening, the Russian rear-guard made a determined stand at the heights of Reichembach. While the French cuirassiers of the guard forced the pass, General Bruyères was killed by a bullet. He was a veteran of the army of Italy, and much valued by Napoleon. Shortly afterwards, a ball killed a trooper who stood close by the Emperor; upon which he said, turning round to the Grand Marshal, "Duroc, Fortune has a spite at us to-day." His words were only too completely justified. After the Russians had been dislodged, as the Emperor with his suite rode along the hollow way, three cannons were fired by the retreating army, one ball from which shattered a tree close to Napoleon, and, rebounding, killed General Kirchener and mortally wounded Duroc. A halt was ordered instantly. The dying man was carried to a neighbouring house, and immediately attended by the surgeons Larrey and Ivan. His bowels were torn by the shot, and no aid could be given to him; but he preserved his consciousness and accustomed calmness. Napoleon hastened to him, accompanied by Soult and Caulaincourt, and bent over him, absorbed in grief. Duroc took the hand of the master he had so long and faithfully served, and raised it to his lips:—"All my life," he said, "has been devoted to your service; and I only regret its loss, because it might still have been useful to you."—He continued to speak, apparently unmindful of his situation. He spoke of France, and recommended his daughter to the Emperor. He several times repeated that he had nothing to fear from the judgment of either God or man. Napoleon attempted to hold out some hopes to him, but Duroc only replied by begging him to order opium to be administered. The Emperor, uncontrollably affected, could not venture to remain long in the harrowing scene. He continued during the remainder of the day to pace hurriedly up and down before his tent, surrounded by his guard, who pitied their Emperor as though he had lost one of his children. No one dared to accost him. When at last a question was put to him concerning an important order to the artillery, his sole reply was, "Everything to-morrow." On no other occasion was he ever known to yield to his feelings so much as to decline listening to military business. He ordered the body of the deceased to be carried to Paris and interred in the Hospital of the Invalids. At the same time, he placed two hundred napoleons in the hands of the pastor of the village, close to which this event had happened, in order to erect and preserve a monument to the memory of his friend in the house to which he had been carried, and on the spot where his bed had stood; directing that the following inscription should be engraved on it:—"Here

General Duroc, Duke of Frioul, Grand Marshal of the Palace of the Emperor Napoleon, wounded by a cannon ball, died in the arms of his Emperor and his Friend." Napoleon made more than one decree in favour of Duroc's family.

By the march of the allied army towards the frontier of Bohemia, they had virtually abandoned Prussia to any attempt which Napoleon chose to make upon that country, and had placed themselves at the mercy of Austria. The movement afforded another proof of their good understanding with the latter court, and this was not unobserved by Napoleon. He marched forward, occupied Breslau, and relieved the blockade of Glogau. Berlin, defended only by a single corps, was now open to him. It was at this time that Hamburg fell again into his power. His communications with Custrin, Warsaw, and Dantzic, were again open.

Under this new aspect of affairs, the allied powers changed their tone. They had returned no answer to the French Emperor when he proposed a congress after the battle of Lutzen. They now solicited an armistice, in a letter from Count Nesselrode to Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza; in compliance, it was said, with the wishes of Austria, and with a view to discuss preliminaries of peace, in which Austria should act as mediator. The proposal was enforced in a letter from Count Stadion to Talleyrand, who, as well as Fouché, had been summoned by Napoleon to the seat of war, probably because he wished Paris to be left free from their intrigues. Desiring peace, he relinquished a great part of his newly-acquired advantages, granting the armistice proposed; and, at the same time, further to manifest his pacific inclination, renounced the possession of Breslau and Lower Silesia, thus enabling the allied army to regain their communications with Berlin. The armistice was signed on the 4th of June, 1813.





CHAPTER XII.

NAPOLEON AT DRESDEN—CONGRESS OF PRAGUE—PROTRACTION OF THE CONFERENCES—STATE OF SPAIN—ADVANCE OF LORD WELLINGTON—THE BATTLE OF VITTORIA—THE FRENCH ARMY RETREATS UPON BAYONNE—LORD WELLINGTON ON THE PYRENEES—THE ENVOYS OF THE ALLIED SOVEREIGNS INCREASE THEIR DEMANDS—NAPOLEON REFUSES THEIR CONDITIONS—HOSTILITIES RECOMMENCE—AUSTRIA DECLARES WAR AGAINST FRANCE.



NAPOLEON quitted his head-quarters on the day succeeding the ratification of the armistice, and returned to Dresden. To pass away the time, he sent for the French actors from Paris. He was observed to have changed his taste in dramatic representations, and, contrary to his former habits, to prefer comedy to tragedy. "He had now tragedy enough about him," says Hazlitt, "without going to look for it in the regions of imagination." The greater part of his hours of business were devoted to the organi-

sation and administration of the army; for, from the very beginning of the armistice, symptoms, scarcely to be mistaken, were observable, which indicated a prospect of the renewal of the war.

The congress met at Prague; but, owing to the delays of the Austrian court, the whole of the month of June elapsed before the conferences were opened. Lord Aberdeen was despatched as minister-plenipotentiary from England, but he did not arrive till the whole of the business was over, and the armistice at an end. "This circumstance," says Savary, "appears to have been foreseen by the English government; for Lord Aberdeen had also a mission as envoy to the Emperor of Austria, which character he assumed." Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza, appeared as envoy for the Emperor Napoleon. The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia established themselves at Trachenberg, on the banks of the Oder, in order to be near the spot. The Emperor of Austria remained at Gittschin, in the immediate vicinity of Prague. The armistice was prolonged to the 10th of August.

It is generally a matter of extreme difficulty to arrive at a clear understanding of the real meanings hidden under the intricacies of diplomatic conferences; on the present occasion, however, the views and objects of the different European powers allied against Napoleon, are so clearly defined, that it is easy to draw forth the simple truth from the tangled web of outward manifestation. The Emperor of Austria, who undertook the office of mediator, was in fact the ally of Russia and Prussia from the beginning. Napoleon suspected this, but he could not sufficiently divest himself of the belief that his matrimonial alliance with the imperial house of Austria would be a safeguard against open aggression in that quarter. In this trust, he leaned on a pillar of sand. The Emperor of Austria had plans and purposes far more dear to him than the ambition of preserving an imperial crown to his daughter. He made common cause with the other crowned heads of the time. He had always been foremost among the coalesced enemies of revolutionary France, from the time of the famous treaty of Pilnitz in 1791, and the great coalition in 1793, when France stood alone against nearly all Europe, till, by repeated defeats, he had been forced to ally himself by treaty, and even by marriage, with Napoleon. By his great failure in Russia, Napoleon was placed within the power of these enemies; his enemies always, whether arrayed against him in open hostility, or his allies by necessity. It was now their purpose to force him to relinquish the countries which he had wrested from them; and France, once more reduced to its old limits, and once more standing alone, would be again assailable; and this time, without the unspeakable advantage of national enthusiasm and fresh energies. There was every probability that the exiled princes of the house of Bourbon would again be placed on the throne.

This view is fully admitted by the partisans of legitimacy. "The armistice," says Scott, "now afforded an apt occasion for arranging a

general peace, or rather (for that was the real purpose) for giving Austria an opportunity of declaring what were her real and definite intentions in this unexpected crisis, which had rendered her, to a great degree, arbitress of the fate of Europe. Napoleon, from his first arrival in Saxony, had adopted a belief, that, although Austria was likely to use the present crisis as an opportunity of compelling him to restore the Illyrian provinces, and, perhaps, other territories of which former wars had deprived her, yet that, in the end, the family connexion, with the awe entertained for his talents, would prevail to hinder her cabinet from uniting their cause to that of the allies. An expression had dropped from the Austrian minister, Metternich, which would have altered this belief, had it been reported to him. Maret, Duke of Bassano, had pressed the Austrian hard on the ties arising from the marriage, when the Austrian answered emphatically, 'The marriage,—yes, the marriage,—it was a match founded on political considerations; *but* ———.' This single brief word," continues Scott, "disclosed as much as does the least key when it opens the strongest cabinet—it made it clear that the connexion formed by the marriage would not prevent Austria from taking the line in the present dispute which general policy demanded. * * * * It was, in short, the object of Austria, besides recovering her own losses (of which that cabinet, constantly tenacious of its object, as it is well known to be, had never lost sight), to restore, as far as possible, some equilibrium of power, by which the other states of which the European republic was composed might become, as formerly, guarantees for the freedom and independence of each other." England had never made it a secret—nor would the continental sovereigns have done so, but from motives of policy—that the restoration of the Bourbons was included in that much desired return to the ancient order of things to which allusion is here made; and subsequent events sufficiently proved this fact. Scott, indeed, expatiates on the folly and madness and passion for war, which made Napoleon prefer the chances of the sword to a peace which would still have left him "Sovereign of the fairest country in Europe." But, at the same time, the tone assumed concerning him is little accordant with any intention to leave him in undisturbed possession. Sometimes he is described, by his Scotch historian, as resembling the patron of a Turkish cruizer, whose galley slaves have just broken their chains and escaped from thralldom; on other occasions, he is represented as a robber, whose victims are about to resume their spoils. The sovereigns, when they broke their faith with him, are said to have only done what was just; and, when they made war on him, to have taken a laudable vengeance. In short, he is not allowed the benefit of the conventional code of morals drawn

up by the tacit consent of mankind for their kings, rulers, and military commanders; but is judged as though he had held none of these dignities.

The circumstances of Napoleon were very difficult at the best, but he made them doubly so by reposing even that small measure of faith in the Austrian court, which made him suppose that his close alliance with it, and his late brilliant victories, would induce it to observe some degree of honourable dealing towards him. His imperial marriage thus became one cause of his ruin. It was under this delusion that he granted the armistice after the battle of Bautzen, and gave his defeated enemies breathing time to mature their plans. The first positive conviction of his mistake came to him in an interview with Metternich, at Dresden, on the 28th of June. Napoleon addressed the minister abruptly, as if resolved to bring him to the point. "Ah, Metternich!" said he, "I guess the purpose of your cabinet. You wish to profit by my embarrassments, and seize on the favourable moment to regain as much as you can of what I have taken from you. Well, let us drive a bargain—how much is it you want? Will it suit you to accept of Illyria and to remain neutral? Your neutrality is all I require. I can deal with the Russians and Prussians with my own army." "Ah, Sire," replied Metternich, "it depends solely on your majesty to unite all our forces with yours. But the truth must be told. Matters are come to that extremity that Austria cannot remain neutral. We must be with you or against you." This was an explicit declaration, and, after it had been made, the Emperor retired with the Austrian statesman into a cabinet apart from the secretaries, where it is supposed that the conditions about to be proposed were plainly declared by the latter, for Napoleon's voice in loud passion was shortly heard; and it is reported that he enraged the diplomatist in his turn, by coolly asking "What has England given you to induce you to make war on me?" Metternich received this insinuation as a personal insult, and left the Emperor's presence shortly after, with a settled feeling of resentment.

The conferences at Prague still lingered on, when news arrived from Spain, which materially influenced the spirit of the parties concerned. After Marshal Soult had been recalled from that country by Napoleon, the French army had been scattered and divided, in a manner which manifested the want of an able military superintendence. The situation of Joseph was extremely difficult and complicated. His communications with France were frequently interrupted by the armed Spaniards; the whole of the northern provinces were in a state of insurrection against his government; his troops, and even his court, suffered for want of provisions; all his efforts to rule his sub-

jects beneficently, were frustrated by their determined antipathy; and he was not the man to maintain a throne by the strong hand of a conqueror. Napoleon saw the true state of matters clearly, and gave his orders to Joseph explicitly. "Hold Madrid," said he, in his dispatches, "only as a point of observation; fix your quarters, not as monarch, but as general of the French forces, at Valladolid; concentrate the armies of the south, of the centre, and of Portugal, around you. It is your business to free the communication with France, and to re-establish a good base of operations before the commencement of another campaign, that the French army may be in condition to fight the English and Portuguese forces if the latter advance towards France." Joseph would not agree to this reasoning. He contended that the violence of the French troops was the cause of the protracted hatred and resistance of the Spaniards. It *was* a cause, but only one among many. "My revenue," said he, "is seized by the generals for the supply of their troops, and I cannot, as a King of Spain, without dishonour, partake of the resources thus torn by rapine from my subjects, whom I have sworn to protect; I cannot, in fine, be at once King of Spain and general of the French; let me resign both, and live peaceably in France." Napoleon's orders were thus neglected, and no unanimity of counsel existed between Joseph and the generals. Suchet returned to Catalonia; Marmont employed two divisions in scouring the provinces in pursuit of the guerillas; the king continued to hold Madrid; and the troops recently arrived from Andalusia alone remained combined as army corps.

Lord Wellington was well prepared to take advantage of the mistakes of the French. He had received large reinforcements from England, and had employed the period of his cessation from active hostilities in organising the Portuguese and Spanish armies, and in providing all the equipments of a great invading force. A strong British fleet commanded the coast. Napier reckons the entire numbers of the allied British and Peninsular armies at two hundred thousand men in the spring of 1813; and that of the French at one hundred and sixty thousand. Lord Wellington had resolved to direct his attack against the great line of communication with France in the northern provinces of Spain, while a strong army conducted against the south and east of the Peninsula, held Suchet in check, and prevented his coming to the succour of the king. Having made all his dispositions, Lord Wellington began his advance about the middle of May with ninety thousand men. His design was to drive the French beyond the Pyrenees, and so confident was he of success, that as he passed the river which marks the frontiers of Spain, he rose in his stirrups, and, waving his hand, cried out,—*"Farewell Portugal!"*

When rumours of the movements of the British commander-in-chief made his intentions apparent, Joseph evacuated Madrid, and with all his artillery, army stores, an immense train of baggage, and a host of non-combatants and families who had been attached to the court or the French interests, retired to Valladolid; then to Burgos; and next, finding that strong place untenable against the fast approaching British force, retreated behind the Ebro, and stationed his army with all its incumbrances in the plain or basin of Vittoria. The artillery depots of Madrid, Valladolid, and Burgos, and the baggage and stores of many armies, and numbers of fugitive families, were now concentrated in this place, and at the same moment a convoy of treasure arrived there from Bayonne. He sent urgent dispatches to Suchet, Foy, and Clausel, to join him with their forces; but the first was already engaged with active enemies, and the others could not arrive in time. Lord Wellington had followed close, fighting many minor combats in his advance, and by the 19th of June, to use the fine graphic language of Napier, "his rough veteran infantry, swelled by the junction of Longa's division, and all the smaller bands which came trickling from the mountains, burst like raging streams from every defile, and went foaming into the basin of Vittoria."

The two armies, now face to face, were both high in courage and spirit, but the French were deficient in numbers. They are estimated at about sixty thousand; the British and Peninsular troops at upwards of eighty thousand; but far more fatal to the French was their want of an able commander. "Here was a noble army," says Napier, "driven like sheep before prowling wolves; yet, in every action, the inferior generals had been prompt and skilful, the soldiers brave, ready, and daring, firm and obedient in the most trying circumstances." They were about to sustain a still severer trial. It is said in Colonel Napier's work, and no doubt with great truth, "that the presence of Napoleon in an action, was equal to forty thousand good troops." The battle of Vittoria was fought on the 21st of June, 1813, and never was a victory more decisive. The loss of men was nearly equal on both sides, being about six thousand on the side of the French, besides some hundreds of prisoners; and upwards of five thousand on the side of the allied army. But the French also lost one hundred and forty-three brass pieces of cannon, one hundred of which had been used in the fight; all the parcs and depots of Madrid, Valladolid, and Burgos; all their carriages, ammunition, and treasure; Marshal Jourdan's baton of command; all their papers, and a stand of colours. They fled by the way of Navarre, carrying with them only one gun and not a single wagon. After nightfall, they rallied, and took the road to France by Pampeluna. General Clausel, who

was already in Arragon on his march to join King Joseph, was fortunate enough to make a few English prisoners on the high road from Miranda to Vittoria, who apprised him of this disastrous defeat. He, in consequence, was obliged to retrograde, and descended the Ebro to open a communication with Suchet, and then join the fugitive army on its way to France by Jaca and Yverdon. Foy also crossed the Bidassoa on the 1st of July. Joseph attempted to hold possession of the Valley of Bastan, but General Hill completely cleared it, with a loss of only one hundred and twenty men. "The whole line of the Spanish frontier," says Napier, "from Roncesvalles to the Bidassoa river was thus occupied by the victorious allies, and Pampluna and St. Sebastian were invested. Joseph's reign was over; the crown had fallen from his head; and, after years of toil and combats which had been rather admired than understood, the English general, emerging from the chaos of the Peninsular struggle, stood on the summit of the Pyrenees a recognised conqueror."

The news of these events reached Napoleon at Dresden. He received the accounts of misfortunes, the consequences of which were incalculable, with that outward calm which he was always able to maintain. His first care was to despatch Soult in all haste to rally the defeated army at Bayonne, and defend the southern frontier of France, now threatened with invasion by Lord Wellington. His next measures were all taken with a view to prepare for another campaign in Saxony, which he now considered inevitable. He fortified Dresden strongly, determining to make it his central point. About this time, he also summoned the Empress to Mentz, and met her there, returning to Dresden by the 3rd of August. The Parisians, who anxiously watched the signs of the times, did not fail to augur a continuance of the war from this circumstance, which plainly indicated that the Emperor did not expect to return shortly to Paris. Many conjectures were also set afloat by the arrival of General Moreau at the head-quarters of the Emperor Alexander. A Russian frigate had conveyed him from America. Savary declares his belief that an idea, originating with Bernadotte, was afloat, to substitute Moreau in France for Napoleon; and notices in corroboration, that the Count d'Artois undertook a voyage to the Baltic from England at this period, and was not permitted to land in Sweden. Savary believes that this voyage was undertaken in alarm at the new project of the allies. It does not appear likely that this conjecture is founded in truth. Legitimacy would not have been satisfied with such a half measure.

The influence of Lord Wellington's success on the councils of the allies was soon made apparent in the heightened tone of their demands.

On the 7th of August, the Austrian cabinet put forth their plan of pacification. The conditions of peace required of Napoleon were as follows. First:—The dissolution of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, which was to be divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Second:—The re-establishment of the Hanseatic towns in their former independence. Third:—The reconstruction of Prussia, assigning to that kingdom a frontier on the Elbe. Fourth:—The cession to Austria of the maritime town of Trieste, with the Illyrian provinces. The cession of Holland was reserved as an article to be considered at a general peace, as a matter in which England took chief interest. Lord Wellington had already settled the question of Spain.

The continuance of the war was deprecated by the French nation. They were exhausted with the struggle, and craved for peace; and hard as these conditions were, Napoleon had scarcely one adviser, civil or military, who did not urge him to yield. Talleyrand and Fouché earnestly recommended peace. Savary (opposed to their opinion on nearly every other point) laments that he was not permitted to leave Paris at the moment to unite his voice with theirs. "I would," says he, "have pointed out innumerable reasons, both at home and abroad, for concluding peace at any price,—for I was thoroughly convinced of the necessity of it. At that crisis, the only good policy was to yield, because the physical strength that might be lost was nothing in comparison with the moral power that would be recovered by the restoration of tranquillity." Berthier, with the celebrated engineer Rogniat, had drawn up a plan for removing the army, reinforced with all the French garrisons in Germany and Prussia, from the line of the Elbe to that of the Rhine. Napoleon alone revolted at the idea of the dear-bought peace. "Good God!" he exclaimed, "Ten lost battles could not bring me so low as you would have me stoop; and that, too, when I command so many strong places on the Elbe and Oder. The enemy cannot force me back on the Rhine till they have gained ten battles; but allow me only one victory, and I will march on their capitals of Berlin and Breslau, relieve my garrisons on the Vistula and Oder, and force the allies to such a peace as shall leave my glory untarnished." He held the same language at St. Helena, when his judgment had received the severe test of experience. "How was I perplexed," said he, when deliberating on this subject, "to find myself the only one who perceived the extent of the danger, or who was ready to adopt means to avert it! I was harassed on the one hand by the coalesced powers who threatened our very existence: and, on the other, by the want of spirit in my own subjects, who, in their blindness, seemed to make common cause with them, by our enemies who were labouring for my destruction,

and by the importunities of my people, and even my ministers, who urged me to throw myself on the mercy of foreigners. And I was obliged to maintain a good appearance in this embarrassing situation; to reply haughtily to some, and sharply to reprove others, who created difficulties behind me, encouraged the mistaken course of public opinion, instead of seeking to give it a proper direction, and suffered me to be tormented with demands for peace, when they ought to have proved that the only means of obtaining it was to urge me ostensibly to war. * * * The circumstances in which we were placed were extraordinary and perfectly new; it would be vain to seek for any parallel to them. I was myself the keystone of an edifice not sufficiently consolidated, and the stability of which depended on each of my battles. Had I been conquered at Marengo, France would have encountered all the disasters of 1814 and 1815 without those prodigies of glory which succeeded, and which will be immortal. It was the same at Austerlitz and Jena; and again at Eylau, and elsewhere. The vulgar failed not to blame my ambition as the cause of all these wars. But they were not my choosing; they were produced by the nature and force of events; they arose out of that conflict between the past and the future—that constant and permanent coalition of our enemies, which obliged us to subdue, under pain of being subdued."

Whatever judgment may be passed on the subject of Napoleon's determination for war at the period in question, it is quite certain that he ought, in wisdom, to have adopted with decision and promptitude one of two courses. Either he should, from the commencement of the campaign of 1813, have carried on the war firmly and vigorously, not resting until he had forced the allies to make an honourable peace which should leave him in full power as sovereign of the French empire; or, he should have laid it down as a principle that an immediate peace was necessary to France, and if necessary, an object to be attained though at a great cost. He did neither. Sincerely desirous of peace, he permitted himself to trust to the good faith of Austria, against all his former experience of the repeated treachery of that government towards him, and withheld his hand at the very moment when he should have pursued the war to the last extremity: and then, when the proof was brought home to him that the Emperor of Austria was utterly false to him,—that the offered mediation and the armistice were mere pretexts to gain time to prepare for his ruin,—and that all the great military power of Austria was about to be thrown into the scale against him,—he shrunk from the conditions that were offered, and preferred war to a peace so purchased. Having brought himself into these difficult circumstances, and exposed France to these

fearful odds, it seems clear to an impartial understanding that he should have submitted, and have obtained peace, guarding against future aggression by the best measures he could pursue. But, in expressing this opinion, it is only fair to remember that Napoleon had great resources, and very nearly won the game of war, as the events of the campaign will shew; and also, that we judge *after the event*.

The allied sovereigns by the course which they pursued filled up the measure of their treachery. It was only on the 7th of August that the ultimatum of Austria was delivered to Napoleon. He returned in answer his own conditions, in which, yielding to the opinion of his councillors, he ceded many of the points demanded. First:—He agreed to give up the grand-duchy of Warsaw; but stipulated that Dantzic, with its fortifications demolished, should remain a free town; and that Saxony should be indemnified for the cession of the duchy at the expense of Prussia and Austria. Second:—He ceded the Illyrian provinces to Austria, but retained Trieste. Third:—He stipulated that the Confederation of the Rhine should extend to the Oder. Fourth:—He required that Norway should be guaranteed to Denmark. Without giving time for this answer to be received, the allies re-commenced hostilities on the 10th of August, 1813, the day fixed for the termination of the armistice; and on the 15th, Austria declared war against France, and passed with its army of two hundred thousand men into the federation of the allies. The plan of the campaign was arranged at a council of the coalesced sovereigns, at which Bernadotte and Moreau assisted.





CHAPTER XIII.

AMOUNT AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE ARMIES—BATTLE OF DRESDEN—DEATH OF MOREAU—BATTLES OF CULM, GROSS-BEEREN, KATZBACH, AND DENNEWITZ—NAPOLEON ABANDONS THE RIGHT BANK OF THE ELBE—RETREATS FROM DRESDEN—BATTLE OF LEIPSI—DEFECTION OF THE TROOPS OF SAXONY, WURTEMBERG, AND BADEN—DEATH OF PONIA-TOWSKI—NAPOLEON RETREATS UPON THE RHINE—DEFECTION OF BAVARIA—BATTLE OF HANAU—NAPOLEON AT MENTZ—THE ALLIES ON THE RHINE.



NAPOLEON was well prepared for the renewal of war. Dresden had been converted into a place of strength, such as might be called one entire citadel. All the trees in the neighbourhood, as well as those which had formed the ornament of the public gardens and walks of that beautiful capital, had

been cut down and converted into palisades; redoubts, field-works, and fosses had been constructed. The chain of fortresses garrisoned by French troops secured to Napoleon the rich valley of the Elbe. Hamburg, garrisoned by Dantzic, and many strong places on the Oder and Vistula were in his possession. He had established an entrenched camp at the celebrated position of Pirna; and had con-

structed a bridge of boats over the Elbe at Konigstein to maintain a communication with the fort of Stolpen. The army he had assembled in the seat of war amounted to nearly three hundred thousand men, including the Bavarian reserve of twenty-five thousand men under General Wrede; and he had been able greatly to increase his strength in cavalry. This powerful force was divided into eleven army-corps, commanded by Vandamme, Victor, Bertrand, Ney, Lauriston, Marmont, Reynier, Poniatowski, Macdonald, Oudinot, and St. Cyr. Murat, who had left his capital, roused by the news of the brilliant victories of Lutzen and Bautzen, was commander-in-chief of the whole of the cavalry; Latour-Maubourg, Sebastiani, Arrighi, and Kellermann, were at the head of its different divisions. Mortier commanded the infantry of the guards; Nansouty, the cavalry. Davoust held Hamburg with twenty thousand men. Augereau occupied Bavaria with twenty-four thousand.

The armies of the allies, however, greatly exceeded those of Napoleon in number. They are computed at nearly five hundred thousand men, including the forces destined to invade Italy. Those ready for action in the immediate seat of war, were divided into three great masses. The army of Bohemia, consisting mainly of Austrians commanded by Prince Schwartzburg; the army of Silesia, commanded by Blucher; and the troops under the command of Bernadotte, stationed to the northward, near Berlin. These immense hosts were strong in cavalry and artillery; and, in discipline and experience, far exceeded the French soldiers, who were nearly all young conscripts, brought into actual warfare for the first time. The former had the advantage also of being in a friendly country. Three Frenchmen of eminence were leaders in the ranks of the enemies of France; Bernadotte, Moreau, and Jomini, late the chief of the engineer department in Napoleon's army. These three men, well instructed in the school of the great master of the art of war, are affirmed to have directed the counsels of the allied sovereigns, and taught them how to conquer. The plan they had laid down was at once cautious and skilful. Bernadotte, it is said, pointed out to them that the French Emperor lay in Dresden with his guard of five-and-twenty thousand men, while his marshals were stationed in various strong positions on the frontiers of Saxony. He made them perceive that the moment any one of the French *corps d'armée* was attacked, Napoleon would spring from his central point upon the field of action, and would thus beat the allied armies in detail. To obviate this danger, Bernadotte recommended that the first general who made an attack on a French division, and brought Napoleon into the field, should on no account accept a battle, but should retreat, luring the

Emperor onward in pursuit; when, simultaneously, the other bodies of allied troops should close in upon his rear, cut off his communications with France, and surround him.

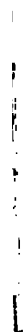
The plan, thus artfully contrived, was strictly followed. Blücher first advanced from Silesia, and menaced the armies of Macdonald and Ney; when, with all the activity which had been expected of him, Napoleon issued from Dresden on the 15th of August,—rapidly gained the point of danger,—and turned the attack into a defence. He was unable, however, to bring the Prussian general to any decisive action. Blücher continued to retreat before him up to the 23rd, when the report that the movements of his enemies shewed that Dresden itself was in danger, arrested Napoleon in his pursuit. The danger was pressing. On the 25th, at four in the afternoon, two hundred thousand allied troops, led by Schwartzburg, appeared before the walls of Dresden. St. Cyr, who had been left to observe the passes of the Bohemian mountains, with twenty thousand men, had retreated before the irresistible torrent, and thrown himself into the city, which he now prepared himself to defend, with his own forces and the garrison left there by the Emperor. It was a service of the last importance. With Dresden, Napoleon would lose his line of communication with France, his means of recruiting his army, and his supplies of every kind. The Austrian commander-in-chief put off the attack till the following day, replying to the expostulations of Jomini, that Napoleon was safe in the passes of Silesia. Early on the morning of the 26th, the assault commenced. The allies advanced in six columns, supported by a tremendous fire. They carried one great redoubt; then another; they closed in upon the defenders at every point; the shells and balls fell thick on the houses; St. Cyr conducted the defence with heroism, but before mid-day a surrender was talked of; the numbers within the walls were insufficient to repel so extensive an attack. Suddenly, from the opposite bank of the Elbe, columns of soldiers were seen rushing onwards towards the city!—they swept across the bridges, pressed through the streets, and with loud shouts demanded to be led into battle, though they had made forced marches from the frontiers of Silesia. Napoleon was in the midst of them: his enemies had calculated only for one half of his energy and rapidity, and had forgotten that he could return as quickly as he went. He halted for an instant, at the palace, to reassure the King of Saxony (who had apprehended the destruction of his capital), and then joined his troops, who marched straight onward through the streets and halted at the gates. Two sallies were then made by Ney and Mortier, under the direction of Napoleon. The astonished assailants were driven back in their turn. The young

guard retook the captured redoubts, and the French army deployed on the plain lately in possession of their enemies. "The Emperor is in Dresden!" exclaimed Schwartzenburg, at this extraordinary change of affairs. "It is impossible to doubt it." The fury of the fight, on both sides, gradually slackened, and the armies took up their positions for the night. The French wings were stationed to the right and left of the city, which itself formed the centre of their line. The allies were ranged along the heights from Plauen to Strehlen. The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia were with their army. They had not very greatly the advantage in point of numbers, for the division of Klenau never came up, and Napoleon had concentrated nearly two hundred thousand men on this occasion.

The morning broke in a tempest of wind and rain,—in the midst of which Napoleon was on horseback at six o'clock, notwithstanding he had been engaged in arrangements until late in the night. At an early hour, he ordered his columns to advance. They defiled from their position, and diverging from each other in a manner which has been aptly compared to the "sticks of a fan when it is expanded," commenced an attack on both flanks of the allied army. The stormy weather, which concealed their movements, favoured their success. The result was a decisive victory. By three in the afternoon, the battle of Dresden was concluded, and the allied sovereigns were in full retreat, closely pursued by the French. The roads to Bohemia and those to the southward were closed against them by the French corps, commanded by Murat and Vandamme, and they were obliged to take such country paths and bye-ways as they could find, and these had been rendered almost impassable by the heavy rain. They lost five-and-twenty thousand prisoners, forty standards, sixty pieces of cannon, and a great number of wagons. The numbers of killed and wounded were great, and it is said, nearly equal, amounting on each side to seven or eight thousand men. A celebrated name appears in the dismal list. The first cannon-shot fired by the guard, under the especial direction of Napoleon himself, mortally wounded Moreau. He was carried from the field, and suffered amputation of both his legs, but died a few days afterwards. "One of his feet, with the boot upon it," said Napoleon, in relating the event to O'Meara, "which the surgeon had thrown upon the ground, was brought by a peasant to the King of Saxony, with information that some officer of great distinction had been struck by a cannon-shot. The king, conceiving that the name of the person might, perhaps, be discovered by the boot, sent it to me. It was examined at my head-quarters, but all that could be ascertained was, that the boot was neither of English nor of French manufacture. The next day



DEATH OF MOREAU.



we were informed that it was the leg of Moreau." Such was the end of the conqueror of Hohenlinden—and of his treachery.

Napoleon remained on the field till his victory was decided, and then returned to Dresden on horseback; his grey great-coat and weather-worn hat streaming with water, and his whole appearance forming a singular contrast to that of Murat, who rode by his side in all the splendour of his usual battle-dress. The latter had especially distinguished himself during the action.

The venerable King of Saxony received Napoleon with rapture, as his deliverer. The Emperor behaved with great generosity to the citizens, remunerating them for the losses they had sustained in the cannonade; and caused the greatest care to be taken of the wounded and prisoners belonging to the allies. His admirable arrangements for his own wounded are recognised on all sides, and in this war especially were brought to perfection. The "ambulances," or moveable hospitals, which were always in the rear during a battle, removed every man who fell, as quickly as possible, and thus averted much of the horrible sufferings attendant on such occasions. A short, but very severe, attack of illness was the consequence of the excessive fatigues which Napoleon had undergone, and of the drenching rain to which he had been exposed throughout the 27th.

The whole of the French left wing, composed of the three corps of Vandamme, St. Cyr, and Marmont, were ordered to march by their left, taking the Pirna road, in pursuit of the retreating army. Vandamme marched boldly on, and, without hesitation, entered Bohemia, neglecting even to take the precaution of guarding the defile of Peterswald in his rear. He trusted to the rapid advance of the other French corps, and was lured onwards by the hope of surprising the allied sovereigns themselves, with the members of their cabinet, in their head-quarters at Toplitz. He was not supported as he expected; was surprised, surrounded, and taken; lost the whole of his artillery, and between seven and eight thousand prisoners. The rest of his corps escaped through the woods and rejoined the army.

The intelligence of this disaster was conveyed to Napoleon, while he still suffered under his illness at Dresden. It totally deranged his plans, which would have led him to follow up the pursuit towards Bohemia in person. It would not, however, have materially neutralised the effect of his great victory, but for the events which followed. Oudinot was ordered to march on Berlin, against Bulow's corps and the Swedes commanded by Bernadotte. Oudinot had with him the divisions of Bertrand and Reynier, composing, altogether, a force of eighty thousand men. Reynier, who marched in advance, fell in with the allies at Gross-Beeren; attacked them precipitately, and,

being unsupported, suffered severely; and his division, chiefly composed of Saxons, took flight. Oudinot sustained considerable losses himself, and was forced to retreat on the fortress of Torgau on the Elbe. General Girard sallied out of Magdeburg with five or six thousand men shortly afterwards, and was defeated near Leibnitz, with the loss of more than a thousand men, and some cannon and baggage. Marshal Macdonald had been ordered to debouch from the Bober, and to pass that river. He encountered Blucher in the plains, between Wahlstadt and the Katzbach. The circumstances of the French marshal were highly disadvantageous, and he was obliged to retire in disorder, after losing a considerable number of troops and a great quantity of artillery.

Napoleon hastened, with his usual energy, to repair these numerous losses to the utmost of his power. He re-organised Oudinot's corps, added to it some of the troops stationed near Wittenberg, and gave the command to Ney, with orders once more to advance upon Berlin; while he himself moved forwards upon the Bober to maintain the manœuvre in which Macdonald had failed. He was proceeding successfully, when the intelligence that Ney had been overcome by numbers, his line suddenly broken by the flight of the Saxon corps, and himself driven back on the Elbe, obliged the Emperor to relinquish all his plans of operations on the right bank of the Elbe, and return to Dresden, which he re-entered on the 12th of September. After various skirmishes and partial combats, with doubtful success on some occasions, but loss to the French on most, he finally abandoned the whole of the right bank of the Elbe to the allies, and by the 24th of September his army was concentrated on the left bank. The Emperor also recalled Augereau's corps, consisting of two small divisions, from Bavaria.

At this period of the campaign, Napoleon was necessitated, by the emergency of his circumstances, either to abandon Germany at once, or to fight another great battle. If he had chosen the former alternative, he would have withdrawn all his garrisons from the fortresses which he held on the Elbe, abandoned Dresden, and, as a matter of course, would have immediately lost all his German allies, who must, in their own defence, have joined the great powers who had obliged him to retire beyond the Rhine. A great victory would, he conceived, retain the German princes in their allegiance, and enable him to carry into effect the same plans which had been frustrated after the victory of Dresden by the various mistakes or misfortunes of his marshals. Had he possessed correct information of the disposition of his German allies, he would scarcely have decided on abiding the fearful chance of this battle (against the hosts

which outnumbered his army as two to one), in order to preserve their alliance. Bavaria had already secretly joined his enemies, having entered into a treaty with Austria on the instant that Augereau's divisions evacuated the country; and the other German states only waited a favourable opportunity to desert him, while they all made professions of their constant attachment, in his bad as well as his good fortune. Napoleon did not know that the Saxons in his army had been successfully tampered with by his enemies, though the King of Saxony was his firm friend; that Murat had already opened negotiations with Austria, and was likely to secure his kingdom at the price of his treachery. Napoleon did not, in short, suspect that, of all his former allies, the Poles alone, with their brave and devoted spirits, were faithful to him; and they no longer had a country. He resolved to risk another battle.

The great armies of the allies, reinforced by sixty thousand Russians, now issued a second time from Bohemia, and, advancing through Saxony, threatened to occupy the communications between Dresden and the Saale, and Leipsic; extending, at the same time, to the left, to co-operate with Bernadotte. It was necessary to counteract this movement. Napoleon, therefore, left Dresden with his army about the 8th of October, accompanied by the royal family of Saxony; and, maintaining his hold on the Elbe by leaving thirty thousand men in Dresden, strong garrisons in Torgau, Wittenberg, and Magdeburg, and thirty thousand men in Hamburg, he occupied a position in front of Leipsic, with the Elster in his rear.



On the 15th of October, the columns of the grand army of the allies were seen hastily advancing, and Napoleon prepared his order of battle. His forces amounted to something under one hundred and fifty thousand men. The allies brought up about two hundred and thirty

thousand on the 15th; and, when they were joined by the armies of Blucher and Bernadotte, on the 16th and 17th, they could not have numbered less than three hundred thousand men; probably three hundred and fifty thousand. The French army was strongly and skillfully posted, and remained immovable, waiting the attack of the powerful enemies now drawn up before it in battle array. The day of the 15th, however, closed without any movement on the part of the latter; but signal-rockets were observed in the north and south, which were believed to be communications between their grand army and those of Blucher and Bernadotte, and explained the cause of their delay. Napoleon visited all the posts of his army before night-fall, gave his last orders, and chose this impressive moment to distribute the eagles to the new levies. The soldiers, in the usual form, swore never to abandon their standards. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the Emperor, raising his voice so as to be heard by his assembled battalions, said, "Yonder lies the enemy. Swear that you will rather die than permit France to be dishonoured." The ready response, "We swear it," and the accustomed and heartfelt shouts of "Vive l'Empereur," which instantly filled the air, were amply borne out by that devoted army in the tremendous days which succeeded. The Emperor remained throughout the night in the rear of his own guards, behind the centre of his great line of battle, on the south of Leipsic, at a village called Probstheyda. Augereau, supported by Victor and Lauriston, was established on the elevated plain of Wachau, in front of the position; Macdonald held a rising ground extending to Holzhausen; Poniatowski occupied all the villages on the right bank of the river Pleisse; and Bertrand held Lindenau, on the road which forms the sole line of communication between Leipsic and the banks of the Rhine. Ney and Marmont were stationed on the north of the city, in which quarter the approach of Blucher was expected. The Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia were in the opposite camp. The sentinels of both armies were in some places within musket-shot of each other.

At nine o'clock on the morning of the 16th, the battle began with a tremendous attack upon the whole line of the French position. It was received with a firmness which rendered vain every effort to dislodge a single division. Six desperate attempts had been made the allies before noon, when they paused, somewhat, as Scott describes "in the condition of wrestlers who have exhausted themselves in vain and premature efforts." It was now Napoleon's turn. He assumed the offensive, and was successful at every point. The centre of the allied army was fairly broken by the impetuosity of the attack; the strong positions of Gossa and the redoubt called the Swedish camp

were taken; and Murat, with Latour-Maubourg and Kellermann, thundered through the gap, at the head of the whole body of the French cavalry, and bore down the grenadiers of the reserve. At this crisis, when the King of Saxony had set all the bells in Leipsic ringing at the tidings sent to him by Napoleon, the Emperor Alexander saved the day for the allied army. He ordered the Cossacks of his guard, who were in immediate attendance on his person, to charge the French cavalry. They obeyed with the utmost fury; retook the cannon which the French had just seized, bore back the cavalry which had so nearly decided the action, and gave time for the Austrian reserves to come up. The overwhelming superiority of force had then time to make its impression. "The allies had such vast numbers," says Las Casas, "that, when their troops were fatigued, they were regularly relieved, as at parade." In the meantime, a terrific cannonade had been commenced by the allies on the north, where Blücher had arrived and come into action. Some of the French troops in that quarter had been withdrawn, to support the raging battle of the centre, and Ney and Marmont were, in consequence, outnumbered as three to one. Blücher took the village of Mäckern, twenty pieces of cannon, and two thousand prisoners, and crowded the defence of the French nearer to the walls of Leipsic. The main battle raged till evening, with various success; and when at length darkness obliged the combatants to leave to the dead the ground on which the fierce strife had been maintained, the French had not relinquished in this quarter one foot of their original position, though they had been driven back from the posts they had at one time seized. Poniatowski had maintained his ground against every attack; and Bertrand had preserved his post at Lindenau. But Napoleon's fortunes needed something more than an honourable defence, and he had achieved no victory. Still before him lay the dark masses of his enemies, in the same positions they had occupied the night before. Their losses had indeed been prodigious; but his own had been very severe, and he had need of every man he could muster; while, in the great host opposed to him, fifty thousand individual lives might be extinguished without causing any anxiety to their leaders. The necessary preponderance over him would still be maintained: a military calculation goes no farther. It was evident to Napoleon that the struggle was over; and that an honourable defence, terminated by a retreat, was all that lay before him. He had received certain intelligence also, from an Austrian prisoner, that the King of Bavaria had deserted his alliance; and that the Bavarian army under General Wrede, lately fighting under the French standard, was now in readiness to intercept his return to the Rhine. The Austrian prisoner here mentioned was Ger-

who had been employed by his sovereign to solicit an armistice from General Bonaparte in 1797, when the victorious army of Italy was fast approaching the gates of Vienna, and who had returned with a favourable answer. During the night of the 16th, the Austrian officer was summoned to the presence of Napoleon, and charged with a message to his imperial master, which, in terms at once simple and dignified, solicited a suspension of arms. Napoleon offered, as the price of peace, to give up Poland and Illyria; consented to the independence of the Hanse Towns and Holland; and was ready to renounce any further attempts on Spain. He proposed that Italy should be considered one independent country, and preserved in its integrity. Lastly, he was willing to evacuate Germany, and retreat towards the Rhine. "Adieu, General Merfeld," said he, as he dismissed his prisoner; "when, on my part, you name the word armistice to the Emperor, I doubt not that the voice which then strikes his ear will awaken many recollections."—"Words," says Scott, "affecting by their simplicity, and which, coming from so proud a heart, and one who was reduced to ask the generosity he had formerly extended, cannot be recorded without strong sympathy." No answer was ever returned by the sovereigns, who took no notice whatever of concessions thus entire. The ostensible objects of the war were attained, yet they continued to push it to extremity. Its ultimate objects were now to appear. But of the blood wantonly poured out on the ground during the succeeding days, who is to render an account?

A dead calm lasted throughout the 17th, during which the allies prepared for a renewed attack, and Napoleon for defence and for retreat,—not forgetting to confer his high meed of praise on the heroic deeds of the various individuals of his army. To the noble Prince Poniatowski he presented on this day the baton of a marshal of France.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 18th of October, the allies renewed their attack with tenfold fury; their ranks were now increased by the presence of Bernadotte and his army. The French line of defence was drawn nearer to Leipsic, Probstheyda now forming the central point, and Napoleon with his guard being stationed on an eminence immediately behind it. Along the whole line, the fire continued for many hours tremendous on both sides; nor could the inhabitants of Leipsic, who were appalled spectators from the walls and steeples of the city, perceive that either army recoiled or advanced. The slaughter was enormous, but greater among the allied army than in that of the French, because the latter fought under shelter. About two o'clock, a furious onset of the Prussians forced the

central position of Probstheyda, and the din and confusion of flight began to be heard. Napoleon, in the rear and on the very verge of this tumult, placed his reserve of the old guard in order,—led them in person to the point in danger,—recovered the ground, and then resumed his station. He is described as maintaining throughout the whole of this dreadful day, a calm decision and presence of mind, and as having supported his squadrons, in their enforced defence, with the same spirit of power which he had always possessed over them when leading them on to victory. His military genius was never more apparent than now, when he fought against insuperable difficulties. At length, the allies, notwithstanding their numbers, were obliged to desist from their suicidal attacks; and, drawing back their troops, brought forward their artillery, and contented themselves with maintaining an incessant fire of balls and shells, to which the French replied with equal continuity. Meanwhile, Ney and Marmont had contended with overwhelming numbers on the northern side of the city. They had been obliged to concentrate their lines nearer the walls, but had preserved their order, and resisted every furious onset of their enemies to force their new positions,—when, at a critical moment of the attack, the Saxon brigades, of ten thousand men, deserted their lines, marched forward to meet the Russians with colours of truce displayed, and suddenly facing about, turned their artillery upon the ranks which they had just left; “and having,” as Scott expresses it, “expended, during that morning, one half of their ammunition on the allies, they now bestowed the other half upon the French army.” This piece of shameless treachery,—which it is just to mention, that Scott himself highly reprobates,—incapacitated the French marshals from maintaining their ground before Bernadotte, who pressed hard upon them, and forced them into a position close under the walls of Leipsic. The Wurtemberg cavalry, a few minutes afterwards, followed the example of the Saxons, and also deserted to the allies. As night approached, the battle once more ceased at all points. Napoleon had completely maintained the day on the southern line of attack. The Saxon treachery had decided the advantage for the allies on the northern side.

The fast failing amount of resources, and the awful account of dead and wounded, were now to be summed up by Napoleon. The result was a preparation for immediate retreat, to commence during the night. His ammunition was falling short,—a circumstance not wonderful. According to Baron Fain, the extraordinary number of two hundred and fifty thousand cannon-balls had been expended by the French during the four preceding days. Provisions were also scarce, and the Bavarians in arms, ready to intercept the communica-

tions with France. Leipsic was no longer tenable by Napoleon. He spent the whole night in issuing the orders which brought all his divisions successively within the walls.

The retreat was necessarily a matter of extreme difficulty. About one hundred thousand men, confined in a narrow space by surrounding enemies, had to debouch from a single gate, cross two rivers (the Pleisse and Elster, which wash the walls), besides traversing a tract of marshy land, and to crown the difficulty, only one temporary bridge in addition to the stone bridges already existing, had been constructed by the French engineers. It is said, that Napoleon had given orders for three bridges; however that may be, the negligence was of fatal consequences. Victor and Augereau first defiled upon the bridges; Marmont, Reynier, and Ney, were ordered to maintain their positions in the city, until the two former divisions had effected their passage; Lauriston, Macdonald, and Poniatowski, were entrusted with the command of the rear-guard, and charged to protect the avenues to the Elster, until all the other troops had passed. Poniatowski received his orders from the Emperor himself. "Prince," said he, "you will defend the southern faubourg." "I have but few soldiers left;" he answered. "Well, but you will defend the post with what force you have." "Do not doubt, Sire, that we will maintain our ground. We are all ready to die for your majesty!" was the prompt reply; and so these two men parted.

The first light of morning shewed their enemies that the French had commenced a retreat. All the allied columns instantly advanced upon the city, but were arrested in their progress by the obstinate resistance of the French rear-guard. While the sounds of the fierce attack and firm defence sounded through the city, Napoleon was bidding farewell to the venerable King of Saxony and his family. He formally released the king from all the ties of their mutual alliance; discharged the Saxon body guard which had remained faithful to him; and expressed the grief which he felt, at thus leaving the royal family in the midst of their enemies. They would have followed him in his retreat, but he refused to suffer them to lose their last chance of making some terms with the allies. They then pressed him to linger no longer in Leipsic. "You have done enough," said the king; "and now you push your generosity to too great an extreme in risking your person to remain a few moments longer in consoling us." Napoleon yielded to their entreaties. "I did not mean to have left you," he said, "till the enemy was in the city, and I owe you that proof of devotion. But I see that my presence only increases your fears. I insist no longer. Receive my 'Adieu.' Whatever happens, France will pay the debt of friendship which I have



contracted towards you." Napoleon passed in safety through the gates with his guard, and gained the bridge of Lindenau.

The King of Saxony, the magistrates, and some of the French generals, sent proposals to the conquerors for a permission to permit the retreating army to march out of the city unmolested, in mercy to the unfortunate inhabitants. "But when," says Scott, "were victorious generals prevented from prosecuting military advantages, by the mere consideration of humanity?" They paid no heed to the proposal. The retreating Emperor, however, did not shew the same want of humanity, even in self-defence. "Napoleon," says the same historian, "was urged to set fire to the suburbs, to check the pressure of the allies on his rear-guard. As this, however, must have occasioned a most extensive scene of misery, he generously refused to give such a dreadful order."

The brave rear-guard, yielding, foot by foot, before overwhelming numbers, were at length forced into the city. Fighting at every step as they retreated, they approached the great bridge of the Elster. All the divisions had crossed,—their task was accomplished,—they drew nearer to their means of escape,—for the bridge was mined, and orders were given for its destruction as soon as they had passed. The inhabitants began to fire on them from the roofs; the enemy pressed closer in their rear,—when a dreadful explosion made the fierce din pause for an instant. The bridge had prematurely blown up, and left the devoted rear-guard without retreat. Numbers threw themselves into the river, and some escaped. Among these was Macdonald, who swam across the Elster. Reynier and Lauriston disappeared, and were reported killed or drowned. Poniatowski, seeing the enemy's forces thronging around in every direction, drew his sword, and said to his suite and a few Polish cuirassiers who followed him, "Gentlemen, it is better to fall with honour than to surrender." He charged accordingly, and dashed through the troops opposed to him, receiving a musket-shot in the arm: other enemies appeared; through them he also made his way, but was again wounded through the cross of his decoration. He then plunged into the Pleisse, and got across that river with the help of his staff-officers, though much exhausted. Then, seeing the enemy's riflemen already on the banks of the Elster, he leaped his horse into that deep and marshy river, and rose no more.

"Five days afterwards," says Bourrienne, "a fisherman drew the body of the prince out of the water. On the 26th of October, it was temporarily interred at Leipsic, with all the honours due to the illustrious deceased. A modest stone marks the spot where the body of the prince was dragged from the river. The Poles expressed a wish to erect a monument to the memory of their countryman in the garden

of M. Reichembach, situated on the bank of the Elster, at the spot where the prince was drowned; but that gentleman declared he would do it at his own expense, which he did. The monument consists of a beautiful sarcophagus, surrounded by weeping willows. The body of the prince, after being embalmed, was sent in the following year to Warsaw; and, in 1816, it was deposited in the cathedral among the remains of the kings and great men of Poland. The celebrated Thorwaldsen was commissioned to execute a monument for his tomb. Prince Poniatowski left no issue but a natural son, born in 1790."

Nearly twenty thousand men either perished or were made prisoners, and two hundred pieces of cannon and an immense quantity of baggage were taken in consequence of this fatal mistake at the bridge. The error is explained as having been caused by the sapper whose duty it was to fire the train, and who thought that the rear-guard had already passed; and it is said, that the officer who was left in charge, was absent at the moment from his post; but, in the rout and confusion, no perfectly distinct explanation was elicited, though Napoleon instituted an inquiry. His detractors have not failed to attribute the premature order to his own selfish fears. The fact is, that the explosion awoke him out of a profound sleep, into which he had fallen after passing the bridge of Lindenau; when his sense of momentary security suffered him to yield to the extreme exhaustion consequent on three days and nights of incessant excitement. Deep memories followed the victims of the catastrophe; but Napoleon was the chief actor in a tragedy, of which this was only one incident, and was constrained to pass onward to the end. The carnage at the battle of Leipsic is almost incredible as stated by some authorities, and it is given so variously as to render any authentic statement impossible. The French writers allow that thirty thousand of their own army were missing, of whom twenty thousand were killed, and that twenty-two thousand wounded were left in the hospitals of the city. Seventeen French generals were taken. The King of Saxony was also made prisoner, and sent into Prussia, under a guard of Cossacks, without being permitted an interview with the sovereign. The loss, in killed and wounded, on the part of the allies, is allowed on all sides to have been much heavier than on that of the French; it is, therefore, certain, that to estimate it at fifty or sixty thousand is no extravagant computation. "The triumph of the allied monarchs," says Scott, "was complete. Advancing at the head of their victorious forces, each upon his own side, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and the Crown Prince of Sweden, met and greeted each other in the great square of the city, where they were soon joined by the Emperor of Austria."

Napoleon, meanwhile, with his broken army, pursued his retreat towards the Rhine by the route of Erfurt, Gotha, Fulda, and Hanau. He was not closely pursued by the allies; but provisions were scarce, and his troops, spread over the country, committed excesses and fell into disorder. He preserved his usual deportment, indulging in no expressions of grief or reproach. At Erfurt, he left a garrison to check the pursuit. Scarcely a single soldier belonging to the confederate German states was now marching under his standard; all had deserted and joined his enemies. Westphalia had already shaken off the government of Jerome Bonaparte, who had retired into France, accompanied by his queen. At Erfurt, also, a desertion, which had long taken place in spirit, was completed in every sense. Murat proposed to push forward, and bring up forces from the French frontier; left the Emperor, in consequence; passed rapidly on to Eisnach, where he was met by the Duke of Rocca-Romana, the grand equerry of the Neapolitan court, and in company with this nobleman started for Italy. Arriving in his dominions, he shortly afterwards, commenced hostilities against the French. It was observed, that when he took leave, Napoleon embraced him repeatedly, as though under the influence of some presentiments that they should never meet again.

The Poles still remained faithful to a man; and when Napoleon, appreciating their honourable conduct, gave to such of them as had only taken up arms in the Russian campaign, for the express purpose of delivering Poland, the choice of abandoning his fortunes at the present crisis, they unanimously agreed to remain with him until he was safely beyond the Rhine, reserving to themselves their right, when that period arrived, to leave his standard. Only a portion of them availed themselves of this liberty. The majority of the Polish corps had served so long under him, that his camp had become their native country. It is impossible to pass over Scott's remarks on this conduct of the Poles. "The manner," says he, "in which Napoleon had disappointed their hopes could not be forgotten by them; but they had too much generosity to revenge; at this crisis, the injustice with which they had been treated." It is very true, that Napoleon had been tardy and over-prudent in his dealings with the Poles; but it ill becomes the partisan of their "legitimate" enemies, or (to use one of his own similes) their robbers and despoilers, to parade this "generosity in not taking revenge" on their friend by siding with their despotic foes.

Napoleon left Erfurt on the 25th of October, and passed the Fulda on the 28th. Few enemies harassed his march beyond this river, with the exception of some hordes of Cossacks. An obstacle, however, not altogether unexpected, had interposed between him and France.

On entering the forest of Hanau on the 30th, he found an army of forty-five thousand Bavarians under General de Wrede, drawn up to oppose his passage. Napoleon attacked them without hesitation; his light troops disputing the ground from tree to tree, and after a combat of several hours, the Bavarians were driven behind the river Kintzig, and took refuge in the town of Hanau. Napoleon, with the advanced guard, pushed on to Williamstadt, leaving Marmont with three corps of infantry to support the rear-guard under Mortier, which had not yet come up. On the following day, a sharp action ensued between these French corps and the Bavarian army, which ended in the total defeat of the latter, with the loss of ten thousand men. General de Wrede was dangerously wounded, and his son-in-law, Prince Oettingen, killed on the spot. The French soldiers, enraged at being thus intercepted by the very men who had so lately fought by their sides, gave little quarter. A Bavarian miller performed a piece of signal service to his countrymen on this occasion. Seeing a corps of their infantry hard pressed by the French cavalry, he suddenly let the water into his mill-stream which the fugitives had passed when dry, and so interposed an obstacle between them and their pursuers. He was rewarded with a pension by the King of Bavaria. The whole of the French army passed through Frankfort, and entered Mentz on the 1st and 2nd of November. The left bank of the Rhine was soon after lined with the encampments of the allied sovereigns, who, once more, after the lapse of twenty years, stood threateningly on the frontier of France.





NAPOLEON IN THE FOREST OF HANAU.

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CHAPTER XIV.

AFFAIRS OF SPAIN TO THE CLOSE OF 1813—NAPOLEON AT PARIS—DECLARATION OF FRANKFORT—SURRENDER OF THE FRENCH GARRISONS IN GERMANY AND PRUSSIA—RESTORATION OF THE POPE—TREATY OF VALENÇAY—NEW CONSCRIPTION OF THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN—CONVOCATION OF THE SENATE, LEGISLATIVE BODY, AND COUNCIL OF STATE.



WHILE the events of the summer and autumn of the year 1813 were deciding the fortunes of Napoleon in Germany, a horrible species of warfare still raged in the Peninsula. The battle of Vittoria had been fought on the 21st of June, 1813. On the 12th of July, Marshal Soult, travelling from Dresden with surpris-

ing expedition, assumed the command of the army of Spain at Bayonne. The reinforcements from the interior, and the addition of some German and Italian battalions, gave him a disposable force of upwards of seventy thousand men, exclusive of the French garrisons in various parts of the country. The first operations of Lord Wellington, after his victory of the 21st, were to blockade Pampeluna, and form the

siege of San Sebastian. Both places made a long and heroic defence. Meanwhile, the talents and energy of Soult maintained the war with vigour; and Suchet, who had obtained successes over Sir John Murray in the south of Spain, had assembled twenty thousand good troops on the Ebro, in July. The names of Foy, Clausel, Abbe, Reille, Rey, Conroux, Drouet, &c., appear as leaders in feats of arms among savage mountain passes, and bringing no result, except that of keeping alive the torch of war, and perpetuating opportunities for the atrocious cruelties which stains the Spanish character, and which was exercised with remorseless cruelty on stragglers, wounded, and prisoners. We read also of cruelties practised by British troops, which give to this fierce struggle an additional aspect of horror. Napier has described the storming of San Sebastian, in August, with his usual graphic and terrible distinctness. "A thunder storm," says he, "which came down from the mountains with unbounded fury, immediately after the place was carried, added to the confusion of the fight. This storm seemed to be the signal of hell for the perpetration of cruelties which would have shamed the most ferocious barbarians of antiquity. At Ciudad Rodrigo, intoxication and plunder had been the principal object; At Badajoz, lust and murder were added to rapine and drunkenness; but at San Sebastian, the direst, the most revolting cruelty was added to the catalogue of crimes. One atrocity, of which a girl of seventeen was the victim, staggers the mind by its enormous, incredible, indescribable barbarity. Some order was at first maintained; but the resolution of the troops to throw off discipline was quickly made manifest. A British staff officer was pursued with a volley of small arms, and escaped with difficulty from men who mistook him for the provost-martial of the fifth division: a Portuguese adjutant, who endeavoured to prevent some atrocity, was put to death in the market-place, not with sudden violence from a single ruffian, but deliberately by a number of English soldiers. Many officers exerted themselves to preserve order,—many men were well conducted,—but the rapine and violence, commenced by villains, soon spread, the camp followers crowded into the place, and the disorder continued until the flames, following the steps of the plunderer, put an end to his ferocity by destroying the whole town." The citadel of San Sebastian did not surrender until the 9th of September. Pampeluna held out till the end of October, and did not yield till the garrison had subsisted for some time on vermin, and the most disgusting food.

The English ministry proposed to Lord Wellington to invade France so early as September; declaring that the Duke de Berri should there join him, at the head of twenty thousand men, with

the view to restore the Bourbons. Lord Wellington, however, declined to co-operate in this scheme, unless the allied sovereigns in Germany would openly avow their intention to dethrone Napoleon. This avowal they were not prepared as yet to venture. The successes of the allies, however, previous to the battle of Leipsic, and the retreat of Napoleon from Dresden, overcame the caution of the English commander-in-chief. He passed the Bidassoa on the 7th of October—still opposed at every step by Soult—leaving the war in Spain smouldering on, and one French garrison after another surrendering, until, at the close of the year, Santona alone remained in the possession of Napoleon.

Napoleon returned to Paris on the 9th of November, 1813, for the second time to confirm the news of an army destroyed and enterprises baffled; and to meet, besides, the murmurs of those who asked—"Why they heard rumours of Russians, Austrians, and Prussians on the east, and of English, Spanish, and Portuguese on the south, approaching the frontiers of France?" Such critics had forgotten, in their security of thirteen years, that similar rumours had made them tremble in 1798, but that their fears had then vanished into air, leaving, in their stead, courage and confidence on the instant that their favourite general, hastening from Egypt, set foot on their shores, and, seizing the management of affairs, gave them peace and safety by one victory. Napoleon was still the same. His untiring energy and extraordinary genius still devoted to the same object—the glory of France. But France was changed. The continual wars, and the unceasing or constantly recurring hostility of all Europe, had already severely tried the patience of the people; and their national character is better fitted to improve advantages and enjoy prosperity, than to endure adversity. The conscription had become a heavy burden; their bravest sons had been mowed down in battle, and their best generals were no longer alive to lead on their ranks. For the change in public spirit and feeling, Napoleon himself was also partly answerable, through his imperial state, his royal marriage, his splendid court, his titled and luxurious marshals, and his line of policy,—too often based on a temporary expediency, instead of the great principles of justice and liberty, and too often pluming itself on exerting a chivalrous generosity towards kings and emperors, in utter forgetfulness that opportunities for such displays are purchased at the expense of the people's blood. Of the universal defection of his allies, as well as much disaffection in his own subjects, his continental system was one great cause. Yet it is a complete mistake to regard those descriptions as correct, which represent the French people as wholly apathetic at this crisis. It will be seen in the narrative of

the succeeding events, that, whatever might be true of the legislators, statesmen, and upper classes, the people of France were never backward in resisting their common enemies when means or opportunity were open to them; and it must be borne in mind that Napoleon himself shrunk from the danger of arousing the dormant spirit of democracy, and placing power in its hands. He chose rather to trust to the regular means of defence. The late disastrous wars had also crippled the resources of the state to so great a degree, that arms were wanting for any extensive rising of the people. Savary declares that muskets were applied for in vain, from one end of the country to the other. "Instead," says he, "of this demand being answered by a supply, the few muskets which the national guard yet retained were taken to form a magazine for the supply of the army. Scott, notwithstanding, and other writers of his party, are not scrupulous in asserting that the nation gladly emerged from the despotic sway of a tyrant, whose power was overthrown, and who had supported his government by an extensive system of corruption. The following noble defence of Napoleon, from such charges, is extracted from the work of a generous enemy, "Napier's Peninsular War:"—"The annual expenditure of France was scarcely half that of England, and Napoleon rejected public loans, which are the very life-blood of state corruption. He left no debt. Under him no man devoured the public substance in idleness, merely because he was of a privileged class; the state servants were largely paid, but they were made to labour effectually for the state. They did not eat their bread, and sleep. His system of public accounts, remarkable for its exactness, simplicity, and comprehensiveness, was vitally opposed to public fraud, and, therefore, extremely unfavourable to corruption. Napoleon's power was supported in France by that deep sense of his goodness as a sovereign, and that admiration for his genius which pervaded the poorer and middle classes of the people; by the love which they bore towards him, and still bear for his memory, because he cherished the principles of a just equality. They loved him, also, for his incessant activity in the public service, his freedom from all private vices, and because his public works, wondrous for their number, their utility and grandeur, never stood still; under him, the poor man never wanted work. To France, he gave noble institutions and a comparatively just code of laws. * * * To say that the Emperor was supported by his soldiers, is to say that he was supported by the people; because the law of conscription made the soldiers the real representatives of the people." In the following conclusion of this passage, the order of events is forestalled; but, as it relates to the return from Elba, a circumstance known to all the world, and which

it is highly important to bear in mind while passing under review the tenacity with which Napoleon clung to power, and his unfailing conviction that his cause was identified with the cause of France, it is here given. "His march from Cannes to Paris," continues Napier, "surrounded by hundreds of thousands of poor men, who were not soldiers, can never be effaced or even disfigured. For six weeks, at any moment, a single assassin might, by a single shot, have acquired the reputation of a tyrannicide, and obtained vast rewards besides from the trembling monarchs and aristocrats of the earth, who scrupled not to instigate men to the shameful deed. Many there were base enough to undertake, but none so hardy as to execute the crime; and Napoleon, guarded by the people of France, passed unharmed to a throne from whence it required a million of foreign bayonets to drive him again. From the throne they drove him, but not from the thoughts and hearts of men."

The first measure of Napoleon, on his return from Leipsic to Paris, was to convoke the senate and legislative body. The Empress, as regent, had met the senate before the conclusion of the campaign; and, laying before them the exigency of the circumstances, at the express desire of the Emperor, had obtained another conscription of two hundred and eighty thousand men: but the disasters of the retreat to Mentz had rendered necessary a further demand on the country.

Meanwhile, important events daily succeeded each other. The ministers of the allied powers, who were assembled at Frankfort, transmitted to Napoleon, by the hands of M. de St. Aignan, a declaration of their desire for a general peace. They proposed to open negotiations if the Emperor of France would accede to their bases, that "France should be reduced within her natural limits of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees;" and, as a necessary consequence, that the countries lately under its influence should return to their former independence. Lord Aberdeen, on the part of England, declared that "his government would make the greatest sacrifices to secure a peace founded on these bases, and would recognise the freedom of trade and navigation *which France is entitled to demand.*" The document concluded with a proposal that, "after the Emperor of France had acceded to these bases, a town, situated on the right bank of the Rhine, should be nominated for the opening of the conferences, *the progress of the events of the war not being suspended by the negotiations.*" This document was transmitted to Napoleon on the 15th of November. The Duke of Bassano, on the part of Napoleon, replied on the 16th, that "a peace founded on the independence of all nations in the continental point of view, *as well as in that of maritime trade,* had always been

the object of the Emperor's wishes;" and that he consented to the nomination of Manheim as the place of meeting for the plenipotentiaries. The passages marked in italics will indicate the equivocal nature of the offers on the one hand, and the perception of this equivocation on the other. It was impossible to believe that England would give up in the moment of victory that maritime supremacy which she had maintained throughout the long and doubtful struggle; and Lord Aberdeen's declaration is therefore sufficiently vague. The continuance of the war when France was crippled and exhausted manifested no very serious intentions of the conclusion of peace on the terms proposed, but rather a desire further to humble that empire, after obtaining the concessions required; for it must be remarked that these concessions were not to secure peace, but only to obtain the opening of negotiations. They were, besides, not conveyed officially, but contained in a memorandum of M. de St. Aignan, and might in consequence have been disavowed. The answer of Napoleon was therefore purposely couched in general terms. On the 2nd of December, however, he explicitly replied to the official communication of Prince Metternich, that he acceded to the general and summary bases proposed. "They will entail," concludes the dispatch, "great sacrifices on France; but his Majesty will submit to them without hesitation, if England will thereupon furnish the means of obtaining a general peace, honourable to all parties, which your excellency affirms is the wish not only of the coalesced powers but of England." It is important to a just understanding of the position of Napoleon and his enemies, that these facts and dates should be carefully stated, because Napoleon is accused of refusing, or at best tardily accepting, the bases offered at Frankfort. Lord Castlereagh now arrived at Frankfort, charged with the important mission of representing Great Britain in the approaching congress. To that minister is ascribed, by the admirers of the policy which ensued, the honour of influencing in a superior degree the councils of the allies. "His undaunted courage, manly steadiness, and deep political sagacity," says Scott, "had the principal share in infusing that spirit of continued exertion and unabated perseverance into the councils of the allies, which supported them through many intervals of doubt and indecision, and finally conducted them to the triumphant conclusion of the most eventful contest which Europe ever saw." Whatever effect, however, his influence may have produced on the allies, it is quite certain that their own intentions were rigorous, and the offers of peace which they made a delusion from the first. This is evident from ascertained facts and indirect confessions, previous to the opening

of these negotiations. Dumas, describing his interview with the Russian Count Tolstoy, at Dresden, in the beginning of November, says, "Count Tolstoy, talking with me about the passage of the Rhine and the invasion of France, said—'You may be certain that peace will not be made anywhere but at Paris, after we have returned in your capital the visit which you paid us at Moscow.'" Bourrienne makes an affirmation of the same kind on his own authority. "When the war resumed its course," says he, "after the disaster of Leipsic, the allied sovereigns determined to treat with Napoleon only in his own capital, as he, two years before, had refused to treat with the Emperor of Austria except at Vienna." Another strong indication of the views and purposes of the allies was afforded by the appearance of the princes of the house of Bourbon on the French territories and their immediate neighbourhood, in October and November. The Count d'Artois followed in the route of Lord Castlereagh, and remained in Franche Comté. The Duke d'Angouleme proceeded by sea to the head-quarters of Lord Wellington, near Bayonne; and the Duke de Berri settled himself in Jersey. Napoleon had never forgotten the existence of the royalists as a party in France, and was well aware of the important place they would assume at the first opportunity afforded them by his reverses of fortune; though, in the splendour of the empire, their very existence had been forgotten by his marshals and courtiers. "I thought him mad," said Ney (whose head, according to Fouché, could not embrace two political ideas), "when, taking leave of the army at Smorgoni, he used the expression, 'the Bourbons will make their own of this.'" A very curious conversation between Alexander and General Reynier, which occurred early in February, is reported both by Bourrienne and Savary, and is confirmatory of the determination, on the part of the allies, to set aside Napoleon, long before they ceased ostensibly to treat with him. "Alexander added," says this report, "that he was Napoleon's friend, but that he had personally much reason to complain of his conduct; that the allies would have nothing more to do with him; that they had no intention of forcing any sovereign upon France, but that they would no longer acknowledge Napoleon as Emperor of the French." All the declamation against the madness of Napoleon in refusing to make peace, is therefore quite misplaced. Peace was out of his power from the first, except by an abdication. The famous "Declaration of Frankfort" appeared on the 1st of December, in which the allied powers, ostensibly taking umbrage at the active preparations for war which Napoleon was necessarily carrying on at a period when negotiations were not per-

mitted to supersede hostilities, addressed the French people in a manifesto, in which they began to separate the cause of the nation from that of Napoleon. "The allied powers," said the manifesto, "do not wage war against France, but against that preponderance which has been so loudly proclaimed, and which, to the misfortune of Europe and of France, the Emperor Napoleon has too long exercised beyond the limits of his empire." From this moment, France could not be deceived as to the real purpose of the war, whatever might be the outward tenor of offers and treaties. Napoleon had understood the nature of his position for some time, and had ceased to place any confidence in the declarations of the allies. "They have appointed my grave as their place of rendezvous," said he, "but none of them will venture to come first. They think the lion dead; and the question is, who will give the ass's kick. If France abandon me, I can do nothing; but she will soon repent of doing so." A million of enemies were arrayed against the sovereignty of Napoleon. France did not rise *en masse* to defend its Emperor; neither did its population shake off their allegiance and reject him. For the want of enthusiasm, we have shewn many causes; the continued loyalty, the popular efforts which were partially made, and the devotion of the army, are sufficient refutations of the calumnies cast on his character and government. Even when a new conscription of three hundred thousand men (the third within the year) was voted, and when, by the confession of Savary, the necessity of supplying horses gave rise to the most oppressive measures in the country, no spirit of revolt was generated. The people endured in silence. A royalis-



conspiracy had existed since the month of March, but it made little progress except in La Vendée, and at Bourdeaux, where the continental system pressed especially hard on the mercantile classes. That Napoleon did not immediately abdicate; that at such a time he should utter his well-known declaration, "France has more need of me than I have of France," marks his character in the strongest light. It affords a proof more striking than any event of his life, of his inward conviction of his own strength. It shews that confidence of power which always accompanies great genius; tells of vast undertakings unaccomplished; of designs conceived but never begun; of energies which, not thwarted and beneficially directed, might have blessed the world. But the legitimate kings were in league against him with irresistible physical forces, and therefore it remains a question, whether he would not have acted a worthier part in an immediate abdication than in disputing the point with indomitable firmness to the last grasp. He could do no more for France but deluge its soil with blood.

The cause of Napoleon was daily becoming more desperate. His numerous garrisons shut up in the German and Prussian fortresses, began to suffer all the hardships attendant on a long blockade. Those which had received the wrecks of the Russian campaign, were visited, in addition, with the scourge of a pestilential fever, generated by the miseries of that retreat. Marshal St. Cyr held out in Dresden till the 11th of November, when he capitulated "on the same terms granted by Napoleon to Marshal Wurmser, at Mantua, in 1797." He accordingly marched out with his garrison of thirty thousand men with the honours of war; but, when some leagues on his way to France, he was stopped by the authority of the allied sovereigns, who had refused to *ratify* the capitulation, but gave the marshal permission to return to Dresden with his garrison, where he would find everything replaced as it was before. This insulting proposal was rejected by St. Cyr. He made a strong protest against the flagrant breach of faith under which he suffered, and resigned himself and his troops prisoners of war. Stettin surrendered on the 21st. On the 14th, a simultaneous rising of the people of Holland effected a bloodless revolution, and restored their ancient government. The Orange flag was hoisted at Amsterdam and the Hague; the French authorities were permitted to retire; and the French troops threw themselves into two or three forts at the approach of the Russians and a body of six thousand English under General Graham. Utrecht surrendered to the allies on the 2nd of December; Lubeck, Breda, and Wilhemstadt shortly afterwards. Davoust still occupied Hamburg; and the strong fortress of Torgau held out under Narbonne, though his



garrison was a prey to a frightful pestilence, in addition to famine,—and the waters of the Elbe, which had served for their cemetery, were now frozen over, and covered by the troops of their besiegers.

Murat consummated his treason in the course of December, and, openly joining the English and Austrians, marched upon Upper Italy. Eugene had hitherto carried on an honourable and successful campaign against the Austrians, and Napoleon had meditated the bold scheme of uniting the army of Italy with that of Naples, and directing the combined forces upon Vienna, when this defection and the insurrection of the Tyrolese, who returned to their ancient allegiance to the house of Austria, at once overturned his design. Eugene retired behind the Adige. "When first informed," says Bourrienne, "of Murat's treason, by the viceroy, the Emperor refused to believe it. 'No,' he exclaimed to those about him, 'It cannot be! Murat—to whom I have given my sister! Murat—to whom I have given a throne! Eugene must be misinformed. It is impossible that Murat has declared himself against me!' It was, however, not only possible, but true."

The confirmation of the news induced Napoleon immediately to restore Pope Pius VII. to his dominions. This was a measure dictated by sound policy, and was carried into effect early in the year 1814. He travelled under a French escort as far as Fiorenzuola, where he was received by an Austrian detachment, and arrived in Rome in May, just in time to dispossess the Neapolitan army which had occupied the city.

Towards the close of 1813, Napoleon also came to the resolution of restoring Ferdinand VII. to the Spaniards, whose long devotion to the cause of their monarch deserved a very different requital from that which he was destined to give them. Savary affirms that Joseph Bonaparte made some objections to an unconditional renunciation of the crown. If so, it must have been conditions for the protection of his late subjects which he wished to make, for it is well known that he had long desired, and more than once offered, to resign his crown. In the discussion between the brothers, Napoleon, irritated at any opposition, was heard to exclaim,—“One would really suppose that I was robbing you of your portion of the inheritance of the late king our father!” A treaty was concluded at Valençay between Ferdinand and Napoleon on the 11th of December, 1813, by which Ferdinand, on consideration of being restored to his throne and kingdom, undertook that the English should evacuate Spain, and renewed the ancient alliance with France. He was released from confinement, and returned to his dominions early in 1814, but the Cortes naturally refused to ratify the treaty. The restoration of Ferdinand should have been completed sooner; but his retention could at all events no longer serve any purpose, and one difficulty was removed by his dismissal.

A decree of the Senate had already granted the new conscription of three hundred thousand men, and the taxes paid by the people had been increased by one-half. Napoleon also again drew forth from his private treasure a large sum, amounting to upwards of a million sterling, to be applied to the public service. A purpose existed in his mind, at this period, to recall Talleyrand to the ministry, but it was not carried into effect. Caulaincourt, the Duke of Vicenza, became minister for foreign affairs; and Maret, the Duke of Bassano, resumed his old office of secretary of state.

The meeting of the legislative body took place on the 20th of December. This assembly, which had been hitherto the mute instrument of the Emperor's will, chose the moment of all others, in which perfect unanimity in the organised bodies of the government was essentially necessary, to institute an inquiry into the state of the nation. Five of the members were set apart to form a report, the substance

of which, when completed, contained a strong recommendation to the Emperor to renounce all his schemes of foreign aggrandisement; to obtain peace by a solemn and specific abjuration of such purposes; and, at the same time, to restore to his subjects some degree of political liberty. The report, in short, insinuated that despotism had taken the place of the laws, and that the prolongation of the war was solely to be attributed to the Emperor, whose ideas of aggrandisement were the only obstacles to a general peace:—it thus echoed the proclamations of the allied sovereigns,—caught their tone and forwarded their views. Napoleon immediately dissolved the legislative body, and ordered all the copies of their report to be seized. In a meeting of the Council of State, he gave the following explanation of his conduct on this occasion. “You are acquainted,” said he, “with the situation of affairs, and the dangers of the country. I considered it my duty to lay before the legislative body a confidential communication of these circumstances (without being obliged to do so), but they have converted this act of confidence into a weapon of offence against me,—that is to say, against the country. The legislative body, instead of assisting in saving France, hurries on its ruin. The members have betrayed their duty: I fulfil mine; I dismiss them.”

All the more moderate of Napoleon's councillors deeply regretted, at this crisis, the schism between him and that public body which alone retained some shadow of the forms of political liberty. They conceived that by temper and prudence the breach might have been repaired, and the gloom which the whole affair unquestionably threw over the country, have been prevented. But, in the desperate circumstances of the empire, there was no time for cavils and managements. Napoleon, since he had resolved on resistance to the allied monarchs, was necessitated to keep his will and actions unfettered.

A commission of the members, consisting of MM. Lainé, Raynouard, Maine de Biran, and Flaugergue, waited on the Emperor to take leave on the 1st of January, 1814, when he descended from the platform on which the throne was placed, and addressed them in severe terms, yet preserving his self-possession. The tenor of his speech will be understood by the following abrupt extracts:—“I have suppressed the printed impression of your address: it was seditious. Eleven parts of the legislative body are composed of good citizens, but the twelfth is full of the factious, and your commission belongs to that portion. M. Lainé is a traitor who is in correspondence with the Prince Regent of England: I know it, I have the proof of it.” (This accusation was not unjust.) “I called you together for the purpose of assisting me, but you came to say and do all that was



necessary to assist the enemy. If abuses exist, is it a time for remonstrance when two hundred thousand Cossacks are passing the frontiers? Rather follow the example of Alsace and Franche-Comté, where the inhabitants ask for arms and leaders to drive the invaders back. You seek in your address to separate the sovereign from the nation. *I, alone, am the representative of the people. And which of you could sustain such a burden? The throne is merely a piece of wood covered with velvet.* If I were to follow your counsels, I should cede to the enemy more than he requires: you shall have peace in three months, or I will perish. The enemy aims at me

more than at France; but should I be permitted on that account to dismember the state? Do I not sacrifice my pride and my conscious superiority to obtain peace? Think you I speak proudly? Yes, I am proud because I have courage: I am proud because I have done great things for France. The address was unworthy of me, and of the legislative body. You wished to cover me with dirt, but I am one of those men who may submit to death,—but never to dishonour. Return to your homes. Even supposing that I had done wrong, you ought not to have reproached me before the world. Soiled linen should not be washed in public. To conclude, France has more need of me, than I have of France."

While accumulated difficulties, within and without his empire, thus pressed upon Napoleon, he laboured unremittingly in the task of raising the means to meet them. By day, he was incessantly occupied in reviewing new troops; by night, the lights were seen long and late in the windows of his private apartment in the upper story of the Tuileries. Only a short period elapsed before the threatened invasion began to drive the terrified inhabitants from the frontiers towards the interior of France.





CHAPTER XV.

INVASION OF FRANCE—CAPITULATION OF DANTZIC—NAPOLÉON LEAVES PARIS FOR THE ARMY—BATTLES OF BRIENNE AND LA ROTHIERE—CONGRESS OF CHATILLON—BATTLES OF CHAMPAUBERT AND MONTMIRAIL—FLIGHT OF THE ARMY OF SILESIA—BATTLE OF NANGIS—THE ALLIES RETREAT AT ALL POINTS—QUADRUPLÉ ALLIANCE—LORD WEL- LINGTON ENTERS BORDEAUX—THE ALLIES MARCH ON PARIS—BATTLES OF ARCIS AND FERÉ-CHAMPENOISE—CAPITULATION OF PARIS.



On the 21st of December, 1813, the grand army of Austria, commanded by Prince Schwartzenburg, who was nominated generalissimo of the allied armies, crossed the Rhine at four points. They had marched by the route of Switzerland, the neutrality of which they violated; took possession of Geneva, and advanced by slow and cautious marches to Lan-

gres, which surrendered on the 17th of January, 1814, and Dijon on the 19th. General Bubna summoned Lyons, but that important city repulsed the invaders. The Austrian advanced posts were stationed at Bar-sur-Aube. The army of Silesia, composed of Prussians and

Russians, commanded by Blucher, advanced also in four great divisions, blockading the strong frontier fortresses on the Rhine, and, forcing a passage through the defiles of the Vosges, pushed forward to Joinville, Vitry, and St. Dizier. The warlike inhabitants of the mountainous districts through which this army had penetrated into France, had been called to arms by Napoleon; and their natural courage was roused to desperation by the excesses and ravages of the hordes of Cossacks, Huhlanas, and Croats, who accompanied the march of the Russians, and spread desolation over the country. For the purpose of repressing the dangerous spirit of resistance, Prince Schwartzburg promulgated threats of military execution on every peasant taken with arms in his hands. The third armament of the allies, called the army of the north of Europe, was commanded by Bernadotte. It consisted of Swedes, Russians, and Germans. Whether from a dislike to invade the actual soil of his native country, or from lukewarmness in the cause of the sovereigns, originating, as some authorities insinuate, in the disappointment of his ambition to be nominated the successor to the throne of France, Bernadotte chose to confine his personal operations to Belgium, and to maintain the war against Denmark for the cession of Norway. One of his divisions carried on the siege of Hamburg; the Saxons under his command were employed in Holland, and co-operated with the English in the blockade of Antwerp; the Russians, under Bulow and Winzingerode, invaded the northern frontier of France. The important city of Dantzic capitulated on the same terms as that of Dresden, about this time, and the garrison, with the same shameless violation of good faith and military honour, were sent as prisoners of war into Russia. Lord Wellington was making a slow but certain progress in the south against the army of Soult. The amount of these combined armaments, with their reserves, is estimated at five or six hundred thousand men. The number of the invaders present on the territory of France, employed in active service, exclusive of those occupied in sieges, blockades, or garrisons, cannot have fallen far short of two hundred thousand.

The sudden irruption of this prodigious force had prevented the levy of the last conscription granted by the Senate. The third part of France was occupied by hostile armies, before Napoleon had time to organise an efficient resistance. He had, however, concentrated about sixty thousand men in readiness for actual service. Augereau commanded thirty thousand at Lyons; but the importance of this division was greatly lowered by the defection of Murat. Napoleon's original plan had designed the co-operation of Augereau with the armies of Italy and Naples, in a grand movement against the aggressions of Austria. The veteran troops of Spain, under Suchet, had

received orders to evacuate that country, and to march towards the scene of conflict.

Early in January, the conferences had been removed from Frankfort to Chatillon-sur-Seine. The allied sovereigns were also in France, following the track of the Austrian army. Their ministers at Chatillon consisted of Counts Razoumowski, Stadion, and Humboldt. England was represented, as before stated, by Lord Castlereagh, in addition to Lord Aberdeen and Sir Charles Stewart. It was not until the 18th of January that the Duke of Vicenza, bearing the full instructions of the Emperor Napoleon, received permission from the head-quarters of the allies to proceed through their outposts, for the purpose of conducting the negotiations on the part of France. He had been detained sixteen days at Luneville, vainly protesting against the delay. His instructions, dated the 4th of January, clearly shew that Napoleon was never deceived by the professed desire for peace on the part of the allies, nor blind to the actual causes, and probable results, of the war. "I think," he says, "that both the good faith of the allies, and the wish of England to make peace, are doubtful: for my part I desire peace, but it must be solid and honourable. I have accepted the basis proposed at Frankfort, yet it is more than probable the allies have other notions. These propositions are but a mask; the negotiations are placed under the influence of the military operations, and it is easy to foresee what the consequences of such a system must be—— * * * * If I should be seconded by the nation, the enemy are hastening to their own ruin: if fortune should betray me, my determination is already formed: *I am not wedded to the throne.* I will neither disgrace the nation nor myself, by subscribing dishonourable conditions."

The national guard of Paris, to the number of thirty thousand, was enrolled, and the command conferred upon Marshal Moncey before Napoleon joined the army, which he now prepared to do. Bourrienne, who was made a captain in this guard, declares, that though Marshal Moncey was worthy of the highest confidence, his staff was a focus of intrigues, in which the defence of Paris was less thought of than the means of taking advantage of Napoleon's overthrow. He is good authority in this matter, being even at that time entirely estranged in feeling and purpose from the imperial government, and he soon after united himself to the Bourbon interest. It was thus that the cause of Napoleon was betrayed by those intrusted with authority at this trying period. The two opposite parties of royalists and republicans desired his downfall. The men of intrigue and ambition were tired of his supremacy, and wanted a stage to bustle upon. The men of pure theory seized the moment of his

weakness to obtain political liberty, and, as he afterwards described it, "spent the time in discussing abstract principles of government when the battering-ram was at the gates." The herd of time-servers turned their looks as usual towards the rising power. Few remained who served him efficiently. For the most part, wherever his superintendence was removed, neglect and disorder crept in; and where there was not open treachery, there was generally failure and disappointment. There were some honourable exceptions, but their number was too small to save the cause. Among those whose names should be recorded as noble examples of an adherence to principle, stands the firm republican Carnot, whose single voice had been raised against Napoleon's assumption of the imperial rank; but who now, when he saw the cause of the revolution in danger of destruction, came forward and offered his valuable services to the Emperor, and was intrusted by him with the important defence of Antwerp.

The idea of turning to account the affection which the mass of the people entertained for him, occurred to Napoleon at this period. He even tried to bring himself into communication and sympathy with them; but the effort was contrary to the habits and prejudices of his whole life, and came to nothing. Nevertheless, he would not hear the populace decried. On one occasion, when he returned to the palace, after riding on horseback through the Faubourgs Saint-Antoine and Saint-Marceau, receiving the acclamations of the artisans, and talking familiarly with them, some of the courtiers began to represent to him, that "instead of seeking this absurd kind of popularity, it would be more advisable to rely on the nobility and the higher classes of society." "Gentlemen," replied Napoleon, "you may say what you please; but in the situation in which I stand, my only nobility is the rabble of the Faubourgs; and I know of no rabble but the nobility whom I have created." "This," says Bourrienne, from whom the anecdote is taken, "was a strange compliment to all ranks; for it was only saying that they were all rabble together."

The officers of the national guard were summoned to the Tuileries on the 21st of January, when Napoleon took leave of them previous to quitting Paris. "He entered," says Bourrienne, "with the Empress. He advanced with a dignified step, leading by the hand his son, who was not yet three years old. It was long since I had seen him. He had grown very corpulent, and I remarked on his pale countenance an expression of melancholy and irritability. There was something melancholy in this solemn and impressive ceremony. I have rarely witnessed such profound silence in so numerous an assembly. At length, Napoleon, in a voice as firm and sonorous as when he used to harangue his troops in Italy or Egypt, but without that air of



confidence which then beamed on his countenance, delivered to the assembled officers an address, at the commencement of which he said, 'I set out this night to take the command of the army. On quitting the capital, I confidently leave behind me my wife and my son, in whom so many hopes are centred.'" The strong emotion with which he was heard, and the burst of acclamations with which he was greeted, when, at the conclusion of his speech, he took his son in his arms and walked round the circle of the officers, seemed like sincerity, and probably, for the moment, were sincere. Napoleon took leave of his wife and child after this ceremony. Sad presages are said to have haunted him; but the reality exceeded the forebodings. He was taking leave for ever.

Napoleon set off at midnight for the head-quarters of the army at Chalons-sur-Marne. He had a long conversation with Count Molé, one of his ministers, before he started, in which it is remarkable that he demonstrated the impossibility of his overcoming the allies, from the want of physical means, except by some miraculous chance; said he should try to do his best just the same as if he were secure of success, and then, appearing to feel that he had settled the matter, fell asleep overcome by fatigue.

Having marched their numerous armies into the heart of France, the allies halted, irresolute how to use their advantages. No irresolution attended the course of Napoleon. He placed himself at the head of his army of sixty thousand men on the 26th of January, and at once advanced upon his enemies, conducting the campaign with a degree of military skill, which, it is allowed on all hands, has never been matched.

The first attack of Napoleon was directed upon the force commanded by Blücher. On the 27th, the French army entered St. Dizier, dislodging the Russians, who had been committing terrible excesses. Blücher, now apprised of the coming storm, concentrated his army at Brienne, and prepared, in all haste, to give battle to Napoleon, whose rapid approach, however, outsped all Blücher's expectations. While the Prussian veteran was seated at table in the chateau, with his staff, the Russian cavalry, flying in disorder before the French, announced that his position was surprised. The town and chateau were speedily occupied by Napoleon. Blücher narrowly escaped capture, and a Prussian general was taken at the foot of the stairs. During the combat, Napoleon was exposed to personal danger by a sudden attack of the Cossacks in the park. At the very moment when he was obliged to defend himself, sword in hand, against the loss not of power only, but of life, his eye chanced to fall on a certain tree, which, by the rapid power of association, brought a far

different scene before his mind. He remembered that under that tree he had sat, when a school-boy, and read the "Jerusalem Delivered" of Tasso. Blucher made desperate efforts to regain the town, which was burnt in the struggle, and it was not till midnight that he retreated, with the loss of four thousand men, and took up a new position on the road to La Rothière. Napoleon, advancing, occupied the villages of La Rothière and Dienville. Here he was attacked on the 1st of February by the united armies of Blucher and Schwartzenburg; but after a desperate battle, which lasted the whole day, nightfall left the French in possession of their original positions. A battery of the guard had been taken, however, and Napoleon lost, on this occasion, seventy-three guns and some hundred prisoners, besides a heavy amount of killed and wounded. The result of this action was equivalent to a defeat of the French army.

The allies now resolved to march on Paris, Blucher advancing by the Marne, and Schwartzenburg by the Seine. Their movements warned Napoleon that he was in danger of being cut off from his capital. He retreated across the Aube, burning the bridge of l'Écluse in his rear; occupied Troyes on the 3rd of February, and Nogent on the 7th. Here, dispatches from the Duke of Vicenza informed him that now the "Allies dissent from the bases proposed at Frankfurt. To obtain the opening of negotiations for peace, France must retire within her ancient limits; the boundary of the Rhine must be relinquished." The progress of the English and Prussians in Belgium supported the increasing demands of the sovereigns. Bulow had entered Brussels on the 1st of February, and Antwerp was blockaded. Napoleon shut himself up in his chamber after reading the dispatches, and maintained a mournful silence. Berthier and Maret (the Duke of Bassano) at length ventured to hint to him the necessity of yielding. He replied with a burst of passionate emotion, in which he repelled with loathing the idea of leaving France less than he had found her, after all the blood shed and the victories gained. "Can I do so," he exclaimed, "without deserving to be branded as a traitor and a coward?" He threw himself on his camp-bed, beside which the faithful Duke of Bassano sat throughout the night, and, by taking advantage of the first moment of subsiding passion, brought him at length to the power of calm deliberation. The terms required by the allies were forwarded to Paris for the consideration of the council of state. With the single exception of Count Lacuée de Cessac, the councillors were unanimously of opinion that the terms should be accepted. The Duke of Vicenza was in consequence authorised by Napoleon, on the 9th of February, to write to the commissioners of the allies, that "if an immediate armistice were entered

into, the Emperor was ready to consent that France should retreat within her ancient limits, according to the basis proposed." He offered, also, to cede instantly (on condition of the armistice being granted), some of the strong places in his possession. The latter clause was accompanied by secret instructions to the Duke of Vicenza, which directed that the choice of the fortresses so yielded should be made dependent on the events of the war. It must be especially borne in mind that it was this latter clause of the treaty which became a source of contention afterwards. Napoleon never attempted to recede from his submission to the new basis, that "France should retreat within her ancient limits," after the revulsion and anguish which it cost him to agree to it; but he struggled to retain possession of Antwerp, Alessandria, and Mentz, and he procrastinated, and avoided giving definitive answers, or coming to the point about an actual signature, partly because he hoped that the fortune of war would aid him in procuring more favourable conditions than he had yet been able to command; but much more from his natural tenacity of purpose,—his strong reluctance to affix the sanction of his name to conditions which outraged his ruling passion for enhancing the glory of France,—and, lastly, from the clearness of his intellect, which made him perfectly aware that the offered peace, even if granted by the sovereigns on any conditions whatever (and that was very doubtful), would be nothing more than a suspension of arms for a year or two; to gain time to rest and reinforce their armies, and then return to his destruction.

When, accordingly, on the occasion in question, Maret came back to him in the morning with his dispatches ready for signature, Napoleon was poring over his maps, tracing the route of Blucher on Paris, through the Brie-Champenoise. "Oh, here you are," he exclaimed, as Maret entered; "but I am now thinking of something very different,—I am beating Blucher on the map. He is advancing by the road of Montmirail; I will set out and beat him to-morrow. I shall beat him again the day after to-morrow. Should this movement prove as successful as I expect it will, the state of affairs will be entirely changed, and we shall then see what can be done." The answer was transmitted to the allies, while he prepared for one of the most extraordinary and successful manœuvres which have ever been recorded in the annals of war.

By a masterly feint, he contrived to deceive Schwartzburg into the belief that his attack was about to fall on the Austrian army; which, in consequence, suspended its advance by the Seine, and moved in a direction which increased its distance from Blucher. Then leaving Victor and Oudinot to keep the Austrians in check, Napoleon

abandoned the high road from Paris to Troyes,—traversed a most difficult country, intersected by ditches, thickets, and marshes, by crossways, usually reckoned impassable in winter,—and transferred his army in an astonishingly short period to the high road from Paris to Chalons. Here, on the 10th of February, at Champaubert, he fell upon the flank of Blucher's army, marching towards the capital in careless security, in the idea that Schwartzenburg was grappling with Napoleon. They were advancing in three divisions. Napoleon's first attack was directed upon the central one, consisting of Russians. He surrounded, defeated, and totally dispersed them, taking the whole of their artillery, their general, and two thousand prisoners; the remainder either lay dead on the field or fled into the woods. Napoleon had now interposed his army between the advanced guard of the Silesian army commanded by Sacken, and the rear commanded by Blucher himself. Sacken, on hearing of the disaster, countermarched to support Blucher. He was attacked by Napoleon on the 12th, defeated and put to flight, after the loss of one-fourth of his division. The peasantry revenged themselves on the fugitives for the cruelties they had committed in their advance, and collecting the scattered arms,



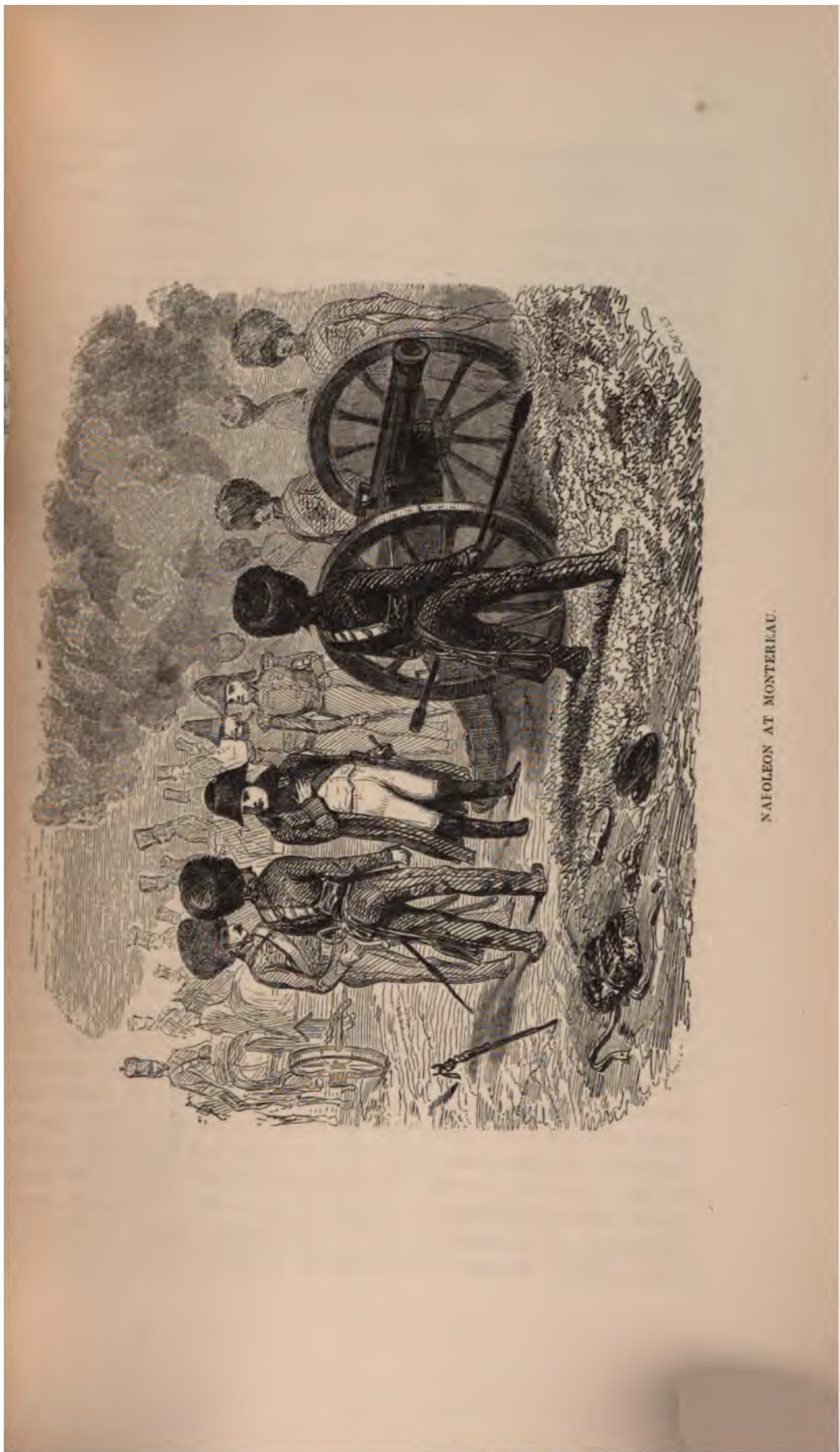


SPANISH DRAGONS CHARGING AT NANCY

joined in the pursuit. The allies, in return, plundered, sacked, and practised every excess of violence; and war began to assume its most hideous forms. Sacken fled by Chateau-Thierry, where he attempted to make a stand, being joined by General Yorck and Prince William of Prussia, who had been also checked in their advance on Paris, by the unexpected arrival of Napoleon; but the utmost they could do, was to secure a retreat by destroying the bridge over the Marne. Marmont had been left to keep Blucher in check. Mortier was charged with the pursuit of the fugitive corps of Sacken and Yorck in the direction of Soissons, while Napoleon mounted his horse, at midnight, on the 13th, to attack Blucher. He found Marmont in the plain of Vauchamps, resisting the entrance of the Prussians into Montmirail. At eight in the morning, the shouting of the soldiers announced the presence of the Emperor. Blucher would gladly have declined battle, but it was out of his power. He was conquered, but retreated with great skill and courage. After many hours of hard fighting, his retreat became a flight. Blucher was frequently obliged to defend himself with his sabre, surrounded by his staff, and chiefly owed his escape to the darkness of the night. The whole of his rear-guard was taken or dispersed.

Having thus disposed of the army of Silesia, Napoleon set forward, without a moment's delay, to attack the Austrians. Schwartzenburg had succeeded in passing the Seine, and his divisions occupied Guignes and Nangis. Early on the 16th, Napoleon quitted Meaux to reach Guignes. As the day advanced, the sound of firing hurried him onwards. Victor and Oudinot had obstinately maintained the ground for some hours against the Austrians. The artillery advanced at full speed; the country people lined the road with carts, in which they helped forward the infantry; by evening the Emperor had effected his junction with his marshals; an hour later he would have found it difficult. His arrival checked the Austrians in their advance upon Guignes. "So alarmed," says Scott, "were the allies at the near approach of their terrible enemy, that a message was sent to Napoleon, from the allied sovereigns, by Prince Schwartzenburg's aide-de-camp, Count Par, stating their surprise at his offensive movement, since they had given orders to their plenipotentiaries at Châtillon to sign the preliminaries of peace, on the terms which had been assented to by the French envoy." Napoleon had, however, learned the meaning of such messages in the course of his career, and paid no attention to this one. On the 17th, he marched upon Nangis, occupied by the Russian corps of Wittgenstein, and despatched General Gérard against another Russian corps stationed at Mormant. Both attacks were completely successful. The veteran cavalry just arrived

from Spain, contributed greatly to the victory at Nangis. The Russians were broken, their infantry taken almost entire, generals, officers, and soldiers; and Wittgenstein, with great difficulty, made his escape. He fled by Provins, where he announced the rapid advance of the French. Oudinot quickly verified this report; he drove out the Austrians two hours afterwards, and occupied the place, while General Gérard attacked and beat the Bavarians at Villeneuve. Napoleon had sent forward Victor to take possession of Montereau and intercept the defeated Austrians in their flight. He himself passed the night between the 17th and 18th at the castle of Nangis. But Victor had failed to fulfil his duty. When, on the morning of the 18th, General Chateau, with the advanced guard, presented himself before Montereau, he found the place in possession of the Austrians. Chateau, without a thought of his inferiority of numbers, instantly commenced the attack, and maintained the ground till the Emperor came up, but he paid for his intrepidity with his life; he was shot dead on the bridge of Montereau. The presence of Napoleon renewed the ardour of the troops. They seized the heights which command the town,—planted a battery there, and Napoleon himself pointed the guns. The soldiers murmured to see him thus expose himself to extreme danger, but he exclaimed, "Courage, my friends; fear nothing; the ball that is to kill me is not yet cast." The inhabitants of the town fired from their windows on the Austrians; the national guards of Bretagne took part in the action. The Austrians were dislodged and put to flight. After the battle, Napoleon gave his meed of praise to the generals who had contributed to the victory, but was obliged to add censures on many who had failed. Among these was Marshal Victor. The official report contained the following reproach:—"The Duke of Belluno ought to have arrived on the 17th at Montereau; he halted at Salins; this was a serious fault. The occupation of the bridges of Montereau would have saved the Emperor a whole day, and enabled him to take the Austrian army in full retreat." At the same time, Victor was deprived of his command, and received 'permission to retire from the army.' The veteran marshal did not take his dismissal in silence. He repaired to head-quarters, and endeavoured to explain his tardiness, but without success. He then reminded Napoleon of his private grief for the death of the brave General Chateau, who was his son-in-law, and, observing that the Emperor was softened at this recollection, he exclaimed with emotion that he would never quit the army; "I can shoulder a musket," said he; "I have not forgotten the business of a soldier. Victor will range himself in the ranks of the guard." These words completely subdued Napoleon: "Well, Victor," he said, "stretching out his hand, remain with me.



NAPOLEON AT MONTEREAU.

"I cannot restore your command, because I have given it to Gérard, but I give you two divisions of the guard; and now let everything be forgotten between us."

The whole army of Schwartzburg had now sustained the fate of that of Blücher. Both these great armaments had been arrested on their progress towards Paris,—broken, put to flight,—and upwards of a hundred thousand men were now pursued through an exasperated population towards the Rhine, by about forty thousand French troops. The inhabitants of Paris saw long lines of prisoners, standards, and trophies, enter their city as evidences of the success of their army. Rejoicings and thanksgivings were offered up there. Napoleon wrote to his minister to assume a higher tone at the congress, and at the same time transmitted a letter to the Emperor of Austria with fresh proposals of peace, under the mediation of the latter. The pursuit of the routed armies continued in the mean while. On the 22nd, Napoleon slept at Chartres, in the shop of a blacksmith. Here, on the morning of the 23rd, he was visited by the Prince of Lichtenstein, who came on the part of the Emperor of Austria with proposals for an armistice. This message, in return for the letter lately sent by Napoleon, fostered a hope which naturally enough never deserted him during the campaign: he always conceived the possibility of detaching his imperial father-in-law from the coalition, and engaging him to make a separate peace. He therefore consented to open negotiations for an armistice, and sent Count Flahault as his envoy to Lusigny for that purpose; but the whole proposal simply originated in a desire to gain time for bringing up reinforcements. This is avowed by the historians of the campaigns of the allies.

The Austrian envoy had scarcely left the presence of Napoleon when M. de St. Aignan arrived from Paris, with the pressing instances of his councillors for submission to all demands rather than a prolongation of the war. He could not have come at a more inauspicious moment. His instructions announced that while Napoleon had been routing the Austrians, the army of the north—the third great force of the allies—had at length effected a junction with Blücher, who was now at the head of a much larger force than he had yet commanded, and was threatening to descend on Paris by the route of Chalons. They, therefore, urged Napoleon to accede to all the conditions demanded by the allies. The marshals about his person urged the same; but he would not consent to relinquish Antwerp;—"If I am to be scourged," said he, "let the whip at least come on me of necessity, and not through any voluntary stooping of my own." With these words he dismissed his councillors, remaining alone with M. de St. Aignan, who was still waiting for his



official reply. "Sire," said the latter, "the speediest peace will be the best."—"It will be speedy enough, if it be dishonourable," replied the Emperor, whose countenance was clouded with severe displeasure. On the night of the 23rd, Napoleon entered Troyes, the Austrians retreating before him to Langres. The royalists, encouraged by their presence, had proclaimed the Bourbons in Troyes. The Chevalier Goualt, one of their principal leaders, was in consequence seized by order of Napoleon,—tried by a military commission, and shot. A decree was also published, denouncing the penalty of death against all emigrants who joined the allies, and all royalists who wore the colours of the Bourbons.

While Napoleon had thus triumphed over the vast armies of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, Lord Wellington was making a steady progress in the south of France, preserving at the same time the strictest discipline; to the full accomplishment of which he was under the necessity of sending some divisions of the Spaniards back into their own country, from the impossibility of restraining their cruel excesses. Napier has held up to honourable contrast with that of the other invaders of France this noble conduct of the English commander-in-chief. "On the eastern frontier," says he, "the Cossack let loose to ravage with all the barbarity of Asiatic warfare. On the western

frontier, the Spaniards turned back into their own country in the very midst of triumph, for daring to pass the bounds of discipline prescribed by the wise and generous policy of their commander. Terror and desolation, and the insurrection of a people rendered frantic by the cruelty of the invaders, marked the progress of the ferocious multitudes who crossed the Rhine. Order and tranquillity, profound even on the very edge of the battle-field, attended the march of the civilised army which passed the Bidassoa. And what were the military actions? Napoleon, rising even above himself, hurtled against the armed myriads opposed to him with such a terrible energy, that though ten times his number, they were rolled back on every side in confusion and dismay. But Wellington advanced without a check, victorious in every battle, although one-half of the veterans opposed to him would have decided the campaign in the eastern frontier. Nor can this be gainsaid, since Napoleon's career in this campaign was only stayed by the defection of his brother-in-law Murat, and by the sickening treachery of two marshals to whom he had been prodigal of benefits."

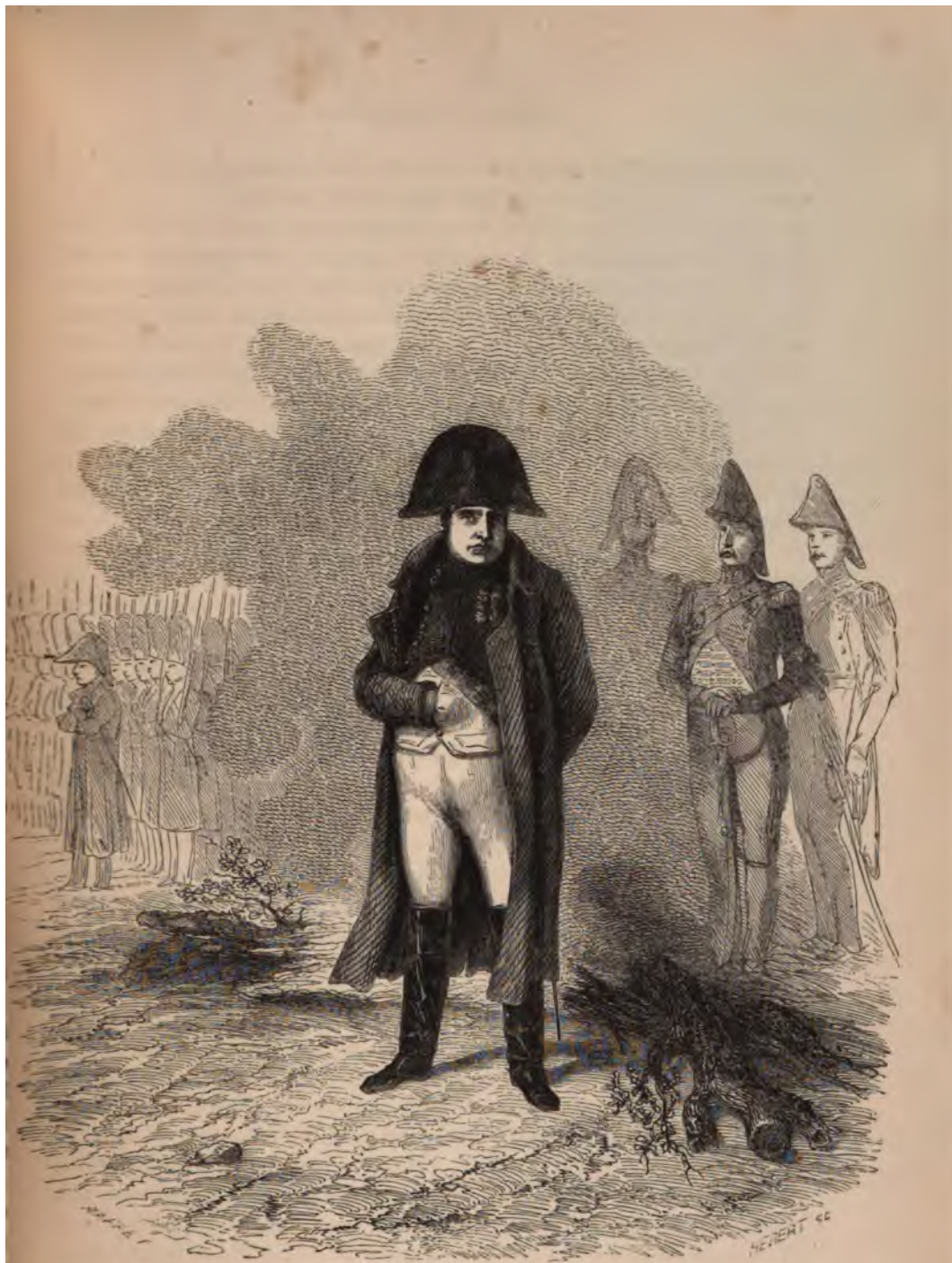
This was the crisis of the campaign in which Augereau, with the army of Lyons, should have co-operated with Napoleon. But Murat's treachery had crippled the army of Italy, and Augereau, though reinforced by Suchet's divisions, which had now arrived from Spain, attempted nothing. His conduct was called lukewarmness at the time; it soon assumed a more positive character.

Blucher had, meanwhile, rallied his fugitives and formed a junction with the two Russian corps, stationed as before mentioned on the frontier. With a hundred thousand fresh troops, he now made a rapid descent along the two banks of the Marne, advancing on Paris. Marmont and Mortier had already returned before him to Ferté-sous-Jouarre, when the news reached Napoleon on the 26th of February, at Troyes, where he was occupied with the "proposal" for a suspension of arms. He instantly set forward in pursuit of the Prussians, leaving Oudinot and Macdonald to keep the Austrians in check. At Sezanne, he learned that Marmont and Mortier had fallen back on Meaux, where they still maintained their position against Blucher's army. Napoleon pressed forwards. When he reached the heights which command Meaux, he saw the Prussian army in full retreat. Blucher had been apprised of his approach,—had recrossed the Marne, and destroyed the bridge. Napoleon issued orders for the reconstruction of the bridge, and commanded his two marshals to advance northward and form the left of a circle in which Blucher should be enclosed. The plain between the Marne and the Ourcq was covered with detachments of the Prussian army, retreating in disorder on

Soissons. The roads were bad, owing to the weather, and their equipages stuck in the mud. Napoleon crossed the Marne on the 3rd. By this time, a hard frost had rendered the roads passable, and favoured the retreat of Blucher. Still, the Aisne opposed a barrier to him, and Soissons, the key of that barrier, was in possession of the French. Blucher was in imminent danger of being hemmed in between the Marne and the Aisne, on the rear and front; and between Marmont and Mortier, who were advancing through Villers-Cotterets and Neuilly on one flank, while Napoleon by rapid movements pressed on the other, marching by the route of Chateau-Thierry. At this critical moment, to the astonishment of both armies, the drawbridges of Soissons were lowered to receive the Prussians. Two Russian divisions had taken the place on the 2nd of March.

While Blucher, by this unexpected stroke of fortune, escaped the impending peril of being forced to surrender, Schwartzburg, having discovered that the French force opposed to him was only a screen, had forced Oudinot and Macdonald to retreat, after a sanguinary action at Bar-sur-Aube on the 27th, and had felt himself strong enough to despatch two divisions against Augereau at Lyons. An important treaty had also been ratified at Chaumont on the 1st of March, between the sovereigns of Austria, England, Russia and Prussia, by which the four contracting powers bound themselves each to maintain in the field an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men until the objects of the war were attained; England, as usual, engaging over and above, to furnish a subsidy of four millions sterling. In a second clause, each of the four powers was bound never to make a separate peace with the common enemy. About the same time, the commissioners at Lusigny broke up the negotiations for an armistice, on the plea of an inability to settle the line of demarcation.

Napoleon's operations were not checked by his disappointment before Soissons. He detached a division to occupy Rheims, and manœuvred to surprise the passage of the Aisne. On the 7th, he fought a sanguinary battle at Craonne, with the Russians and Prussians, in which he remained master of the field, but with no trophies except the enemy's dead. On the 9th, he advanced upon the strong position of Laon, where Blucher, now reinforced by the vanguard of Bernadotte's army, had stationed himself. Marmont, Ney, and Mortier, at different points, conducted the attack; but during the night of the 9th, Marmont's position was surprised, and his division dispersed or cut to pieces. On the following day, Napoleon retreated from Laon. He lost several thousand men, and some cannon, before this strong position. On the 13th, he attacked the Russians who had taken Rheims,—drove them out, and occupied the city. Here he



NAPOLEON AT CRAONNE.

halted for three days. But of what avail were all the masterly combinations of Napoleon, or all the exploits of his army, or all the bloodshed in these constantly renewed combats against all Europe. Bourrienne may well exclaim, "How much useless glory did not our soldiers gain in these conflicts! In spite of prodigies of valour, the enemy's masses advanced, and approximated to a central point, so that this war might be compared to the battles of the ravens and the eagle in the Alps. The eagle slays hundreds of his assailants, every blow of his beak is the death of an enemy; but still the ravens return to the charge, and press upon the eagle until they destroy him."

At this very period, two events, ominous of Napoleon's future fortunes, occurred. The English army entered Bordeaux on the 13th of March, accompanied by the Duke d'Angoulême; the population, headed by their mayor, Count Lynch, hoisted the colours of the Bourbons, raised the cry of "Vive le Roi," and proclaimed Louis XVIII. The second event to which allusion has been made, was the defection of Augereau. The marshal had, by a series of reverses, occasioned chiefly by his own want of zeal in the service, suffered Lyons to fall into the power of the Austrians. The loss of this important city was a serious blow to the cause of Napoleon.

The conferences of Chatillon were broken up on the 20th of March. The blame is laid on every party by turns, according to the bias of the different authorities; but the question is of little importance. There was never any sincerity in the negotiations.

Schwartzenburg had advanced upon Troyes, and had taken possession of that city after the battle of Bar-sur-Aube. Notwithstanding the route to Paris was thus again open to the grand army of the allies, now strongly reinforced, they hesitated at the intelligence that Napoleon had taken Rheims, and at the spirit of resistance which the excesses of their soldiery had aroused among the inhabitants of the frontier districts. Schwartzenburg actually recommended a retreat behind the Aube. A council was held at midnight, in which their future motions were discussed. The Emperor Alexander opposed the over-caution of Schwartzenburg with great steadiness, and Lord Castlereagh, foreseeing that a retreat behind the Aube would only be a preface to another behind the Rhine, announced to the assembled powers that so soon as they commenced their retrograde movement, the subsidies of England would cease to be paid to them. It was, at length, resolved to resume offensive operations; to unite their two great armies, hitherto separated; to offer battle to Napoleon at Arcis, and should he decline to accept the engagement, to march boldly on Paris. So many, however, had been the anxieties and conflicting opinions of the night, that Alexander himself declared that he believed the half

of his hair had grown grey in those few hours. The spirit of the council was the more readily raised to a sufficient pitch of resolution by the intelligence laid before them by the Messieurs de Polignac, who had recently arrived at head-quarters. These noblemen, whose names have always been identified with the cause of legitimacy, brought information of the various intrigues which existed in the capital. At the head of the plotters there, was Talleyrand. The royalists supposed that he plotted for the Bourbons; but it is very clear that he would, at first, have preferred a regency, under which he might hold a foremost place of power. He had naturally considerable apprehensions of the resentment of the Bourbon princes for certain portions of his past career, which he unfortunately could not blot out of memory. He manœuvred, however, so as to keep well with whatever party should be uppermost, and make each believe he had promoted its success. Certain it was that the allies had little to fear from the constituted authorities and leading men of Paris. Few remained faithful to their trust. The majority were employed in listening to every rumour, and providing for their own safety in all emergencies.

Napoleon had not failed to perceive the hesitation and uncertain movements of Schwartzenburg, and had received rumours of the probable retreat of the Austrians. Unaware of Lord Castlereagh's very effective threat, he broke up his head-quarters at Rheims on the 17th, advancing by Epernay to attack the rear of the Austrian army in its retreat. His advanced guard encountered an Austrian division at Arcis on the 20th. The engagement became fierce; the Austrians brought up fresh battalions supported by cannon; and Napoleon found that, instead of attacking a rear-guard in retreat, he was in front of the whole of the grand army in its advance on Paris.

The cavalry of Napoleon had orders to attack the Austrian light troops while his infantry debouched from Arcis; but they were repulsed by the overpowering numbers opposed to them, and driven back upon the town. In this extremity, Napoleon evinced the same heroic and almost reckless courage which he had shewn at Lodi and Arcola, and on other occasions. He threw himself, sword in hand, among the broken cavalry,—called on them to remember their former victories, and checked the enemy by an impetuous charge, in which he and his staff-officers fought hand to hand with the invaders. A Cossack's lance had nearly passed through him, but the thrust was averted by his aide-de-camp Girardin. The battle raged throughout the day, and more than once it appeared to the witnesses of his deportment that Napoleon courted death. He exposed himself repeatedly to the extremity of danger, and on one occasion was seen



to spur his horse with wilful defiance upon a shell which fell at his feet. The missile exploded,—a cloud of smoke hid him from sight, but he emerged untouched. At the close of the day, the French remained in possession of their original ground, and Macdonald, Oudinot, and Gérard, brought up their forces during the night.

The overwhelming superiority of numbers opposed to him, compelled Napoleon to resolve upon a retreat. This he executed on the 21st, through difficult defiles, with his five and twenty, or thirty thousand men, in the face of the whole Austrian army; and though pursued and annoyed, sustained little loss. All accounts, descriptive of the motions of the allies, have censured them for permitting Napoleon to escape them with impunity on this occasion. He retreated, not on Paris, but on Vitry-le-Français. Schwartzburg, on the two following days, formed his junction with Blücher. The two armies, now united, marched on the capital, forcing before them the divisions of Marmont and Mortier, whose last determined stand was attempted at Fère-Champenoise on the 25th. Conquered there by irresistible numbers, assisted by a tremendous storm which beat in the faces of the French soldiers, the two marshals continued their retreat, till on the 29th they halted under the walls of Paris. About the same

time, a convoy of provisions and ammunition, escorted by about five thousand French infantry, chiefly young conscripts, fell into the power of the allies, but not until the escort, refusing to surrender, had been slain nearly to a man.

When Napoleon had retreated on Vitry-le-Français, instead of marching to the defence of Paris, it was his plan to break through the circle which his enemies were drawing around him,—to strengthen his army with the garrisons drawn from the frontier fortresses,—to rouse afresh the already awakened spirit of the peasantry,—to bring the army of Augereau into operation, and thus reinforced, to act on the rear of the allies, and endanger their communications. The success of such an attempt depended on the power or inclination of the capital to maintain a defence for, at least, a few days; on the accustomed caution of the allies, which, in all probable calculation would lead them to abandon their attempt on Paris, and follow the army commanded by Napoleon; and lastly on Augereau's fidelity, of the failure of which the Emperor was still ignorant.

It appears by the history of the operations of the allies, that they were considerably embarrassed by the new tactics adopted by Napoleon, and that serious apprehensions were entertained in their councils in consequence, but that on the receipt of a certain important dispatch which fell into their hands, they resolved to proceed in their march towards Paris. Savary conceives this dispatch to have been an intercepted letter from Napoleon to Maria Louisa, in which he disclosed his plan so clearly as to shew them the means of counteracting it. The two great armies of the allies, reinforced and reorganised, rapidly approached Paris. They moved in columns along the three grand routes of Meaux, Lagny and Soissons, and on the 29th of March had occupied positions which threatened the whole of the north-eastern frontier of the city. The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia accompanied their armies, but the Emperor of Austria was sent out of the way with an escort, probably from delicacy to his paternal feelings. Singularly enough, he nearly fell into the hands of one of Napoleon's divisions, and while his brother sovereigns were triumphing at the gates of Paris, he had been forced to fly with a single gentleman and one servant in a German *droschka*, and took refuge in Dijon, where he remained for thirty hours, in the greatest danger of being taken prisoner.

The sovereigns issued proclamations as they advanced, to the effect that they made war, not on France, but only on Napoleon Bonaparte. Multitudes of country people were, nevertheless, flying in all directions, at the approach of these invading armies, and pouring into Paris. As for the Parisians, they had already been three times thrown



COMBAT OF FÈRE-CHAMPENOISE.



into consternation by the threatened attack of the allied armies, and as often they had been relieved of all apprehension by the rapid and successful movements of Napoleon; they, therefore, fell into no state of panic, when for the fourth time they heard of Cossacks making their appearance at Meaux; but matters soon grew more serious. Still, the extent of the danger was not understood, and the approaching enemy was believed to be a single division, or at most the invading armies.

Joseph Bonaparte, conducting the government in the name of Maria Louisa as regent, called a council to deliberate on the measures to be taken at this alarming crisis. The Empress Regent and all the members of the government were present at this important meeting. The Duke of Feltre (Clarke), minister of war, laid before them the resources and the emergencies of the capital, dwelling on the latter, and strangely diminishing the former. The important question was then agitated what course to pursue for the safety of the Empress and her son. After a long debate, it was resolved that they should be removed from the scene of danger. This resolution was warmly opposed by Talleyrand, and by the Duke of Cadore and others. It was, however, carried into effect on the following day, the 29th. Maria Louisa is said to have manifested great distress of mind on this occasion, and the young Napoleon resisted his removal from the Tuileries with all his childish power. He clung to his attendants, exclaiming with cries and tears, that "his papa was betrayed," and that he would not go away. The circumstance is singular, and can only be explained by the supposition that he had heard the subject discussed among those who considered that all was lost in abandoning the capital; and it corroborates the accounts of him as having been a finely sensitive and intellectual child. The Empress, escorted by a regiment of seven hundred men, went to Blois, where she was followed by all the members of the government. Joseph remained to superintend the defence; and Talleyrand took care to delay his departure so long, that he was stopped at the barriers, and consequently returned to his hotel, where he held himself in readiness to watch and direct the intrigues of the day.

Paris is capable of making a formidable defence, from the nature of the ground on its north and east frontiers. It is defended on the south by the Seine, and it was the difficulty of effecting the passage of that river which directed the attack of the allies on the stronger quarter. If Clarke had been true to his trust, the siege of Paris would have detained the sovereigns many days, but as it was, the preparations were quite inadequate; the natural defences of the city had received little assistance from art. A powerful artil-

lery was, indeed, stationed on the heights of Montmartre, and a strong redoubt planted with cannon erected at the farm of Rouvroi, forming together the centre of the line of defence. The heights extending on the right towards the Marne, and on the left towards the Seine, were planted with cannon, placed with great science but very weak in point of numbers, though a large park of artillery was ready for use in the Champ de Mars. The national guard was called out, to the number of thirty thousand, but the majority did not receive their arms, though the arsenal was well furnished. The garrison of Paris, consisting of about eight thousand men, commanded by General Gérard, and the divisions of Marmont and Mortier were all the regular troops present to defend the city against the hosts who were ready to commence the attack. These defenders, amounting to about thirty thousand men, were drawn up in order of battle, occupying a semicircular line of great strength, but they were opposed to upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand enemies. Two successive flags of truce were sent to summon the city to surrender, but both were refused admittance.

The battle began at five o'clock on the morning of the 30th, by a simultaneous attack of the Russians upon the whole front of the French line. The defenders of Paris received the shock with unbroken firmness, and the strife soon became fierce and deadly. The want of men was in part supplied by the pupils of the polytechnic school, most of them youths between twelve and sixteen years of age, who worked the guns with great skill and courage. The French frequently



rushed in columns from the heights, and became the assailants in their turn; till at length the dreadful loss of life made the Russian commander draw off his forces from the front attack. The Prussians and Austrians then, in overpowering force, attacked the line of defence at both extremities in flank. Again the conflict raged with fierce obstinacy, but by noon, in spite of their desperate resistance, the French had lost all their positions, with the single exception of Montmartre: their own guns were turned upon the city; the light cavalry of the allies began to penetrate to the barriers, and a party of Cossacks had been with difficulty repulsed from the Fauxbourg St. Antoine. The right wing of Blücher's army had just advanced to the foot of Montmartre, and Count Langeron was preparing to storm the height, when a flag of truce from Marshal Marmont, authorised by Joseph, requested a suspension of hostilities to arrange the terms on which Paris was to be surrendered. The armistice was granted on condition that Montmartre should be immediately given up to the assailants, which was complied with. The terms of surrender were then discussed, and speedily settled. The French regular troops were permitted to retire from Paris unmolested, and the city was next day to be delivered up to the allied sovereigns, to whose generosity it was recommended. Joseph left the city at the moment that the defence was given up, and repaired to Blois. He is censured for this as well as for the surrender, but his capture might have embarrassed Napoleon, and his presence could no longer avail. As for the surrender, it was inevitable under the circumstances, and the Emperor Alexander had intimated to Joseph that "fair terms would be allowed, provided it was proposed to capitulate before the barriers were forced, but that if the defence were prolonged beyond that period, it would not be in the power either of the Emperor, the King of Prussia, or the allied generals, to prevent the total destruction of the city." With such a threat hanging over him, Joseph cannot be blamed for surrendering; the fault lies in the inadequate preparation for the defence, and in attempting the defence at all when the preparation was found to be so inadequate; thus causing a deplorable waste of life. Four thousand French were killed and wounded, and the loss of the allies amounted to nearly twelve thousand. But, it appears likely, that Joseph was not aware, at the commencement of the action, that the united armies of the allies were drawn up before Paris; he believed he had to contend with only one. The absence of Napoleon, at so critical a period, also caused a degree of uncertainty and irresolution, fatal to any determined course of action even among the few who remained true to him. Savary asserts that the poorer portions of the population were ripe for insur-

rection; that he, as minister of police, had it in his power to have incited them to a desperate resistance, but he owns that he shrunk from the responsibility, under the well-founded apprehension that Napoleon might have been the very first to call him to account, and to reprobate his conduct. Napoleon's words "I am not wedded to the throne" could not be forgotten, and the allies had carefully separated his cause from that of France.

The following curious, and, it is to be feared, very true description of the Parisians during the battle, is taken from Lockhart, as quoted by him from the account given by an English *détenu*:—"During the battle, the Boulevard des Italiens and the Café Tortoni were thronged with fashionable loungers of both sexes, sitting as usual on the chairs placed there, and appearing almost uninterested spectators of the number of wounded French brought in. The officers were carried on mattresses. About two o'clock, a general cry of '*Sauve qui peut!*' was heard on the Boulevards, from the Porte St. Martin to Les Italiens; this caused a general and confused flight, which spread like the undulations of a wave, even beyond the Pont Neuf. * * * During the whole of the battle,* wounded soldiers crawled into the streets, and lay down to die on the pavement. * * * The "Moniteur" of this day was a full sheet; but no notice was taken of the war or the army. Four columns were occupied by an article on the dramatic works of Denis, and three with a dissertation on the existence of Troy."

Napoleon, in his march to the eastward, had passed the night of the 21st of March at Sommepeuis; on the 23rd, his head-quarters were at St. Dizier, where he was rejoined by the Duke of Vicenza, who brought him intelligence of the rupture of the conferences. A last attempt to conclude peace was here made by Napoleon in a letter from Caulaincourt to Metternich: the following is an extract:—"Arrived only this night near the Emperor, his majesty has immediately given his pressing orders for the conclusion of peace, and at the same time, his majesty has given me full powers to negotiate and sign it." Advancing to Donlevant on the 24th, Napoleon found a secret dispatch from Lavalette, then head of the post-office department. It contained these words:—"The partisans of the stranger are making head, seconded by secret intrigues. The presence of the Emperor is indispensable. There is not a moment to lose if he wishes to save the capital." On the 26th, a heavy cannonade recalled Napoleon to St. Dizier. His rear-guard had been attacked by superior forces, which Napoleon supposed to be the advanced guard of the allies retreating from Paris in consequence of his movement. He forced the attacking army to retreat on Bar-sur-Ornain and Vitry;

but on the 27th, he learned that the enemy in pursuit of him was not the grand army of the allies, but a division of thirty thousand men commanded by Winzingerode, and detached from the main armies to mask their march upon Paris; he also received positive intelligence that Schwartzburg and Blucher had effected their junction. By break of day on the 28th, Napoleon commenced a forced march upon Paris. To surprise the allies by an attack in the rear, before the cannon of Paris were silenced, was now the object of all his energies. He rested at Troyes on the night of the 29th, the imperial guard having marched fifteen leagues in one day. Hence he despatched General Dejean, and, after him, Girardin, to ride post to Paris and announce his approach. On the 30th, after a march of some leagues with his guard, he threw himself into a post-chaise, and hurried forwards, leaving the army to follow with all possible expedition. He mounted on horseback at Villeneuve, and rode to Fontainebleau; and there, although the night had fallen, took a carriage for Paris, accompanied by Berthier and Caulaincourt. But on reaching an inn, called "La Cour de France," at a few miles' distance from the capital, he met General Belliard with the cavalry, retreating according to the terms made with the allies. He was too late. Paris had capitulated.

Leaping from his carriage as the words reached his ears, Napoleon walked onwards with Belliard, asking a few hurried questions, and then instantly called for his carriage again, and gave orders to proceed to Paris. It required considerable expostulation from Belliard, as well as Berthier and Caulaincourt, to divert him from his resolution; it was impossible for him at the moment to comprehend the astounding intelligence of Belliard. "Paris is surrounded by a hundred and thirty thousand enemies. I have only been allowed to march out by a convention: I cannot re-enter the city." Napoleon still strode onwards, Belliard following, until about a mile beyond the post-house, when he met the first column of the retreating infantry. Their commander, General Curial, gave the same answers as Belliard. Napoleon then perceived that the fate of Paris was decided. He became at once perfectly composed; gave orders that the troops should be drawn up, as they arrived, behind the river Essonne, and despatched the Duke of Vicenza to Paris, to ascertain if it were yet possible for him to interpose in the treaty. Having taken this measure, the best which he could adopt at the moment, Napoleon waited the reply in anxious suspense, separated only by the river Seine from the outposts of the allied army. They had forced the bridge of Charenton, and spread themselves over the plain of Villeneuve St. Georges, and the light of their bivouacs was reflected on the banks of the river, near which, in a spot shrouded in profound darkness, Napoleon was

stationed with a few attendants. At four o'clock in the morning, a courier brought him intelligence, from the Duke of Vicenza, that all was over; that the capitulation had been signed at midnight, and that the allies were to enter Paris in the course of the day. Napoleon immediately returned to Fontainebleau. He alighted at the palace, on the 31st of March, at six o'clock in the morning, and repaired to his small apartment situated on the first story, in a line with the gallery of Francis I. In the course of some hours, the different columns of his army successively came up, and the divisions of Marmont and Mortier arrived from Paris. The troops were posted around Fontainebleau, and the park of artillery was sent to Orléans. The advanced posts stationed at Essonne were commanded by Marshal Marmont, to whom was thus confided the task of protecting the camp at Fontainebleau, and the remains of the army, which still rallied round the Emperor, amounting altogether to about fifty thousand men.





CHAPTER XVI.

THE ALLIED SOVEREIGNS ENTER PARIS—TALLEYRAND—MEETING OF THE SENATE—PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—THE SENATE PROCLAIMS THAT NAPOLEON HAS FORFEITED THE THRONE—CONFERENCE AT FONTAINEBLEAU—NAPOLEON ABDICATES IN FAVOUR OF HIS SON—DEFECTION OF MARMONT—NAPOLEON ABDICATES UNCONDITIONALLY—TREATY OF FONTAINEBLEAU—DEATH OF JOSEPHINE—BATTLE OF TOULOUSE—LOUIS XVIII. ENTERS PARIS—NAPOLEON LEAVES FONTAINEBLEAU, AND LANDS IN ELBA.



ON the 31st of March, 1814, the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, attended by Schwartzenburg, and followed by fifty thousand picked troops, made their entrance into the conquered city of Paris. The foreign hosts filed along the Boulevards in broad and deep columns, exhibiting a forest of bayonets, interrupted at intervals by long trains of artillery, and preceded by numerous regiments of cavalry. The monarchs and their train made the circuit of one

half of Paris, and halted in the Champs Elysées, where the Cossacks of the guard established their bivouac. The Parisians, for the most part, beheld this spectacle with a kind of silent stupor. It would have been

temerity indeed, to manifest any disrespect or indignation; and those who felt their degradation too keenly to conceal their feelings, kept out of the way. The entrance of the sovereigns had been preceded by proclamations which held forth a conciliatory tone to France, and pointed to Napoleon as the sole object of their hostility; and simultaneously with these manifestations of the policy which the allies were about to adopt openly, the royalist party began to shew itself. Monsieur de Chateaubriand put forth at this moment his pamphlet entitled "Bonaparte and the Bourbons," which Scott has characterised as a "vigorous and affecting comparison between the days when France was in peace and honour under her own monarchs, contrasted with those in which Europe appeared in arms under her walls." The peaceful and honourable condition of the people of France in those former days, is thus described by Carlyle:—"They are sent for, to do statute-labour; to pay statute-taxes; to fatten battle-fields (named beds of honour) with their bodies, in quarrels which are not theirs; their hand and toil is in every possession of man; but for themselves they have little or no possession. Untaught, uncomforted, unfed; to pine dully in thick obscurity, in squalid destitution and obstruction: this is the lot of the millions: *peuple taillable et corvéable à merci et à miséricorde*. In Brittany, they once rose in revolt at the first introduction of pendulum-clocks; thinking it had something to do with the *gabelle*. Paris requires to be cleared out periodically by the police; and the horde of hunger-stricken vagabonds sent wandering again over space—for a time. 'During one such periodical clearance,' says Lacretelle, 'in May, 1750, the police had presumed withal to carry off some reputable people's children, in the hope of extorting ransoms for them. The mothers fill the public places with cries of despair; crowds gather, get excited; so many women in distraction run about exaggerating the alarm: an absurd and horrid fable rises among the people; it is said that the doctors have ordered a Great Person to take baths of young human blood for the restoration of his own, all spoiled by debaucheries.' 'Some of the rioters,' adds Lacretelle, quite coolly, 'were hanged on the following days:' the police went on. Oh, ye poor naked wretches! and this then is your inarticulate cry to Heaven, as of a dumb tortured animal, crying from uttermost depths of pain and debasement? Do these azure skies, like a dead crystalline vault, only reverberate the echo of it on you? Respond to it only by 'hanging on the following days?' Not so: not for ever! Ye are heard in Heaven. Also the answer will come,—in a horror of great darkness, and shakings of the world, and a cup of trembling which all the nations shall drink."• Within forty years the revolution began.

• Carlyle's "History of the French Revolution," vol. i. p. 19.

Early in the morning of the day on which the allied sovereigns were to make their entrance, groups of royalists had gathered together, and began to raise the cry of "Vive le Roi!" Not only noblemen, but some ladies of the highest rank, traversed the streets in procession, distributing white cockades, and recalling the people to their ancient loyalty. The Princess of Leon, and Mesdames de Chateaubriand and de Choiseul, distinguished themselves in this manner, and are said to have torn their own dresses to replenish their stock of royalist emblems. When their eloquence began to receive the powerful assistance of the moving forest of foreign bayonets, and of the open-mouthed artillery which accompanied them, portions of the populace joined them, and the progress of the sovereigns was greeted at various spots by enthusiastic acclamations. At the Boulevard des Italiens, they were absolutely impeded in their advance by a crowd, foremost amongst whom were ladies, who pressed around them with cries of welcome as "Liberators!" "Vive le Roi!" and such like testimonies of joy; and several elegantly-dressed females pressed forward for the honour of touching their clothes. The Emperor Alexander, after passing his troops in review, established his head-quarters at the hotel of M. de Talleyrand.

A large meeting of the leading political intriguers of Paris awaited the arrival of the Emperor of Russia at the hotel of Talleyrand. Bourrienne was among the number, and he has given a circumstantial description of the meeting. The great majority of those assembled met the Autocrat with an urgent demand for the restoration of the Bourbons. Alexander affected some hesitation. He observed that three plans remained for consideration. First:—The maintenance of Napoleon on the throne. Secondly:—The establishment of a regency. Thirdly:—The recall of the Bourbons. All present urged the adoption of the last measure, and the meeting terminated in an unanimous resolution to place the Bourbons on the throne. This resolution was not publicly announced, at once, but a declaration was drawn up and signed by the Emperor Alexander, to the effect that "the allied sovereigns would no longer treat with Bonaparte, nor any member of his family." The document, further, invited the senate to appoint a provisional government to manage the business of the state, and to prepare the constitution which might be agreeable to the wishes of the people: adding,— "The sovereigns will recognise and guarantee any constitution of which the French nation may make choice." The mockery of these words was ere long made apparent. The wall of Paris, however, were covered with this declaration in less than
 "Thus," says Hazlitt, "nations are disposed of, while they look on and wonder!"

The senate met on the 1st of April, under the presidency of Talleyrand. The provisional government was immediately appointed. It consisted of Talleyrand, Bournonville, Jaucourt, Dalberg, and the Abbé Montesquieu. Bourrienne was placed at the head of the post-office. Lavalette had left Paris. On the 3rd, the senate proclaimed "That Napoleon Bonaparte had forfeited the throne, and the right of inheritance which had been established in his family," and further, "That the people and army of France were disengaged and freed from the oath of fidelity which they had taken to Napoleon and his constitution." Eight formal inductive causes which were asserted to have led to these final resolutions, were appended. They were made up of complaints against the acts of Napoleon's government, nearly every one of which had been sanctioned by the senate, who now reprobated them. Their present proclamation was full of excuses for their tergiversation. Their true motives might have been summed up in few words; namely, that perceiving their present master was conquered, they were ready to pay their court to a new one. The council-general of the department of the Seine immediately gave in its adherence to the provisional government, and the example was followed by the various public bodies in and around Paris, as well as by numerous individuals, most of whom had been enriched and raised into consequence by Napoleon.

The Duke of Vicenza returned to Fontainebleau on the night of the 3rd of April. The resolution of the allies to cease negotiations with Napoleon, had rendered his mission to Paris merely nominal, but the language of the Emperor of Russia did not openly avow a determination to set aside the son of Napoleon. The Duke of Vicenza was therefore ready to recommend to the Emperor a personal abdication, and to ask to be empowered to treat for a regency. Napoleon, on the contrary, was preparing to advance upon Paris. He was again at the head of fifty thousand men, and he still hoped that the sound of his cannon would rouse the national spirit, and that a *coup de main* might produce such results as to ensure better conditions. On the 4th, he reviewed his army, and ordered head-quarters to be removed to a position between Ponthierry and Essonne. He announced to the troops his intention of marching on the capital, and was answered with enthusiastic shouts of "Paris! Paris!" After the review, however, he was followed to his apartment by his principal marshals and councillors, whose purpose it was to discountenance the attempt on Paris. They adverted to the proposal that he should abdicate; talked of it as a sacrifice which he was called upon to make, and held forth to him the prospect of a peace on the basis of a regency. The feeling of his old companions in arms against any

warlike attempt at length decided Napoleon, and after a severe struggle of emotion, he wrote with his own hand the following act of abdication:—

“The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to peace in Europe, the Emperor, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to resign the throne, to quit France, and even to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the country, which is inseparable from the rights of his son, those of the regency of the Empress, and the maintenance of the laws of the Empire.”

“Given at our palace of Fontainebleau, April 4th, 1814.

“NAPOLÉON.”

The Duke of Vicenza, and Marshals Ney and Macdonald, were appointed to convey to Paris this important document. They now inquired, on what stipulations, as concerned the Emperor personally, they were to insist. “On none,” he replied; “obtain the best terms you can for France,—for myself I ask nothing.”

The demeanour of Napoleon continued calm and dignified throughout this trying scene. When the discussion was concluded, his firmness gave way for a few minutes. He threw himself on a sofa and hid his face; then starting up, with that smile which had so often proved irresistible, he exclaimed,—“Let us march, my comrades; let us take the field once more.” No answer was made, except by some tears from those to whom he appealed, and he immediately dismissed the assemblage.

The trials of the day were not yet over. Only a few hours had elapsed, when Napoleon received tidings which inflicted on his heart one of the severest blows which it had ever sustained. Marmont had entered into a separate convention with the allies, and had marched his division into the Russian cantonments, and left Fontainebleau undefended. At this intelligence, Napoleon's eye became fixed, and he fell back into a chair. His first exclamation was, “Ungrateful man! —but he will be more unhappy than I!” The event was one of great importance. It must be remembered that the army had as yet remained faithful to Napoleon; that, besides the fifty thousand men under his immediate command, the armies of Marshals Soult and Suchet, and the corps of Augereau, composed a powerful force; and that if they had all been combined and swelled by the garrisons of the frontier towns, a hundred thousand men would have been ranged under his banner. The temporising policy of the sovereigns had been caused solely by their apprehensions of the army. They hesitated to declare the restoration of the Bourbons while the army continued to recognise Napoleon as Emperor. They had, therefore, made strenuous efforts to break the imposing appearance of its unanimity. With Marmont,

they had succeeded, and the consequences were speedily apparent. The intelligence of the march of his division to Versailles was brought to them at the very moment when the Duke of Vicenza and Marshals Ney and Macdonald, who had been admitted to a conference, were pleading the cause of a regency before the allied sovereigns and the members of the provisional government. All debate was immediately at an end. The Emperor Alexander at once told the commissioners, without further disguise, that the allies would not treat with Napoleon except on the footing of unconditional abdication. With this reply, and the offer of an independent principality for their Emperor, they departed for Fontainebleau.

Savary says that Marmont, who was present at this conference, was struck with shame at the expressions of the Emperor of Russia, and exclaimed, "I would readily sacrifice an arm to avert this event!"—"An arm, sir!" replied Macdonald; "rather say your existence!" A dangerous mutiny occurred among the soldiers of Marmont's division, when they discovered the meaning of the movement which they had made, of which they were entirely ignorant until they were surrounded by the troops of the allies, who had been ordered out for the purpose. Some Polish lancers contrived to break from their ranks, and returned to Fontainebleau. The rest were reduced to subordination, but not without great difficulty. Marmont stipulated for the personal safety of the Emperor, in case his own defection should cause him to fall into the power of the sovereigns. This defection was felt by Napoleon the more deeply, because Marmont had been one of his first pupils in war; had been loaded with his favours, and had fought at his side in the army of Italy, and in every succeeding campaign.

On the morning after these events, Napoleon addressed the following order of the day to the army. It bears the date of Fontainebleau, April 5th, 1814:—"The Emperor thanks the army for the attachment it has evinced to him; and principally because it acknowledges that France is with him, and not with the people of the capital. It is the soldier's duty, honour, and religion, to follow the fortune and misfortune of his general. The Duke of Ragusa has not sought to inspire this sentiment in the heart of his troops. He has gone over to the allies. The Emperor cannot approve of the condition on which he has taken this step: he cannot accept of life and liberty at the mercy of a subject. The senate has presumed to dispose of the French government; but it forgets that it owes to the Emperor the power which it now abuses. The Emperor saved one half of the members of the senate from the storms of the revolution: and the other half he drew from obscurity, and protected against the hatred of the people. These men avail themselves of the articles of

he constitution as grounds for its subversion. The senate blushes not to accuse the Emperor, unmindful that as the first body in the state it has participated in every public measure. A sign was a command to the senate, which was always ready to do more than it was required to do. So long as Fortune continued faithful to their sovereign, these men also remained faithful to him. If the Emperor despised mankind as he is said to have done, the world will now admit that it was not without reason. His dignity was conferred on him by God and the people, who alone can deprive him of it: he always considered it as a burden; and when he accepted it, it was with the conviction that he was able adequately to sustain it. The happiness of France seemed to be connected with the fate of the Emperor: now that Fortune frowns on him, the will of the nation can alone induce him to retain possession of the throne. If he is to be considered as the only obstacle to peace, he voluntarily makes the last sacrifice to France. He has in consequence sent the Prince of the Mosqua and the Dukes of Vicenza and Tarentum, to Paris, to open the negociation. The army may be assured that the honour of the Emperor will never be incompatible with the happiness of France."

There are portions of this dignified address which might stand as criticisms on the imperial system. Hazlitt has quoted a remarkable note on this subject, appended to the text of Montesquieu's "*Grandeur des Princes*," by Napoleon, when time and reflection had raised him into a censor over himself. It is as follows. "The Emperor above all things complained of the servile disposition of the senate. This was a great cause of dissatisfaction to him throughout the whole of his life: but in this respect he was like most men, he wished for contradictory things. His general policy was not in unison with his particular passions. He wished to have a free senate that might secure respect to his government: but at the same time he wished for a senate that would be always ready to do whatever he wanted."

Napoleon had expected the failure of the errand of his commissioners. On their return, his first proposal to his assembled marshals was to break off the negociation, to retreat to the Loire, and unite all his forces; but he was answered only by silence. He could not have seriously made the attempt. Another and a last appeal contained a proposal more worthy of consideration. "Since I must renounce the prospect of defending France," said he, "does not Italy afford a retreat worthy of us? Will you follow me across the Alps?" Again a profound silence was his only answer. It might lead to a curious speculation to imagine what might have been the results of such an enterprise as this, in the country which had been the scene of Napoleon's earliest glory; which was now threatened with the

return of its ancient oppressors; and where Eugene was still at the head of an army of thirty thousand men. But the struggle was over. "You wish for repose," he said; "take it then. Alas! you know not how many troubles and dangers await you on your beds of down. A few years of that peace which you are about to purchase so dearly, will cut off more of you than the most sanguinary war would have done." Then, taking his pen, he drew up and signed the second formula of his abdication:—"The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the Emperor, faithful to his oath, renounces for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy, and declares that there is no sacrifice, not even that of life, which he is not ready to make for the interests of France."

The Emperor of Russia took the principal share in drawing up the articles of the treaty between the allied powers and Napoleon, on his abdication. A suspension of hostilities was immediately proclaimed. It was agreed that Napoleon, the Empress Maria Louisa, and all the members of the imperial family, should retain their titles and rank. The island of Elba was granted to Napoleon in full sovereignty, with a revenue of two millions of francs (rather more than eighty thousand pounds sterling), one half of which should revert to the Empress, who also received in full sovereignty the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, with the reversion to the young Napoleon. Scott, in his account of the treaty, trebles this sum. For the members of the imperial family, the Empress Josephine, and Prince Eugene, handsome provision was made. Certain gratuities were guaranteed to the generals of the guard, the Emperor's aides-de-camp, and the members of the household. Napoleon was permitted to take with him four hundred men of the imperial guard, and to maintain a navy of four ships of war.

This treaty has been stigmatised as over-generous, and Lord Castlereagh is said to have reprobated its impolicy. Two circumstances should be taken into consideration before even discussing this subject. First, that Napoleon was still formidable, and the allies eager to obtain his absolute surrender; consequently, although he made no personal conditions in his abdication, the Emperor Alexander and his coadjutors offered and granted such as they conceived would induce him to bring the treaty to a speedy conclusion, and even gave him his choice between the islands of Elba and Corsica,—when he decided, without hesitation, upon Elba. Secondly, that they possessed the power of breaking the treaty whenever they pleased,—of which power they speedily availed themselves. They never paid him any portion of his revenue; and many appearances and reports combined to prove that

they intended to remove him from Elba to St. Helena before the close of the year. The pensions stipulated to be paid to the various members of his family, his generals, and household, were in like manner withheld; his own private treasure, and even great part of his wardrobe seized; the Empress Maria Louisa and her son were taken possession of by the Emperor of Austria, and sent to Vienna, in violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of the fourteenth article of the treaty, which provides as follows;—"All necessary safeguards shall be furnished for the unobstructed journey of the Emperor Napoleon, of the Empress, of the princes and princesses, and of all those of their suite who may wish to accompany them or to settle out of France." Lastly, there is clear evidence produced by Savary, that emissaries (at the head of whom was the Marquis de Maubreuil), employed by the members of the provisional government, waylaid Napoleon, both during his residence at Fontainebleau, and on his journey to Elba, with a view, either to murder him, or seize upon his person and convey him into Spain; and that the populace were incited by these emissaries to rise tumultuously against him on his way.*

The treaty of Fontainebleau, as it has been called, was signed at Paris, by the ministers of the allied powers on the 11th, and by Napoleon at Fontainebleau on the 12th of April. It has been thought that Napoleon had resolved to die rather than sign the above treaty. The attempt to destroy himself is thus related. On the night of the 11th, the silence of the long corridors was suddenly broken by the sound of hurried footsteps. Servants were running to and fro in all directions. During the retreat from Moscow, the Emperor had obtained a bag of opium from his surgeon Ivan, to avoid falling alive into the hands of the Russians. After the chance of this was over, he still retained the opium. Constant, in his "Memoirs," says, that being called up on the night of the 11th, on account of Napoleon's illness, he saw the little bag which had contained the opium lying in the fire-place. The Emperor was in great pain, but eventually fell into a sound sleep. During this, he experienced a copious perspiration, in which the effects of the poison evaporated. He awoke in the morning, "surprised at finding himself alive," as Scott chooses to say. He looked very ill, it is true,—but nothing was said of the poison;

* Maubreuil was in London in 1823-4, and often called at the house of a friend of the Editor of the present history. He defended himself from the accusation of having intended the assassination of the Emperor, by declaring that whatever commission he had accepted at the time, was only with a view to save Napoleon from other hands. But he had a guilty look. In any case, this tends to confirm the statements of Savary and Bourrienne, as to the contemplated atrocity.—R. H. H.

and, resigning himself to the apparent decree of fate that he should not die yet, he signed the treaty. This story, the truth of which has been denied by some, appears to be founded in truth. Be this as it may, Napoleon would never admit it in theory. "See, what a thing is destiny!" said he, in a conversation with De Bausset, before he departed for Elba:—"At the battle of Arcis-sur-Aube, I did all I could to meet a glorious death in defending, foot by foot, the soil of the country. I exposed myself without reserve. It rained bullets around me; my clothes were pierced; and yet not one of them could reach me." He added with a sigh,—“A death which I should owe to an act of despair would be a baseness: suicide neither accords with my principles, nor with the rank which I have filled on the stage of the world. I am a man condemned to live. Besides, I do not forget my origin. I should be ashamed not to be able to bear reverses.”* He soon recovered the firmness of his mind. "I found Napoleon," says De Bausset, "calm, tranquil, and decided. His mind was strongly tempered. Never, as I think, did he appear grander to me." Alluding to the imperial guard, in general conversation, he said, "If I were Louis, I would not keep them up; it would be his policy to pension them off. They are too fond of me. He should choose another guard from the army at large." He spoke with satisfaction of the arrival of the Count d'Artois at Paris, as it put an end to the provisional government, and relieved him from further anxiety. "Napoleon," says Hazlitt, "had at no time the proper theoretical hatred of the Bourbons." This is doubtful; but, perhaps, he thought they were not worse than the generality of kings. Addressing his officers, the Emperor said, "Gentlemen, when I am gone, and you have another government, it will become you to attach yourselves to it frankly, and serve it as faithfully as you have served me. I request, and even command you to do this: therefore, all who desire leave to go to Paris, have my permission to do so, and those who remain here will do well to send in their adhesion to the government of the Bourbons."

Meantime Caulaincourt was making preparations for the departure for Elba, and Napoleon busied himself with books and maps of the island. His secretary, Maret, was as constant in his attentions, as when Napoleon was a "king of kings." He was now, as far as France was concerned, a private individual, amidst some devoted friends. Many were the proofs of ingratitude he experienced. He had expected that most of his old ministers would at least have come to bid him farewell; but not one of them appeared. When he turned to the Paris journals, he found them showering abuse on his head. As to his

* "Memoirs of the Interior of the Palace," Vol. ii. p. 274, &c.

friends, whom he had raised to power, the desertion, with few exceptions, included all ranks,—from Berthier, who shared his bosom councils, to Rustan, the Mameluke, who slept across the door of his apartment.

Savary, who was in attendance on the Empress at Blois, during the greater part of these events, has described the grief of that princess as very great. Her position was sufficiently humiliating, and her own reverses sufficiently severe, to account for this, without any strong feeling for Napoleon; but nearly all writers concur in representing her as entertaining sentiments of respect and affection for him to the last, and as having conducted herself throughout this trying period with great propriety, and as much firmness as could be expected from her youth and disposition. By the direction of Napoleon, she applied for protection to the Emperor of Austria, and went to Rambouillet to meet him. Her first action was to place her son in his arms; upon which, it is said, that a peculiar but momentary expression, approaching to compunction, was observed on his face. He then explained to her that she was to be separated from her husband "for a time." The Emperor of Russia visited her, very much to her indignation, and it required all the persuasions of her father to induce her to receive him. A few days afterwards, she departed for Vienna. About the same time, the mother of Napoleon, and Cardinal Fesch, his uncle, set out for Rome; Louis, Joseph, and Jerome, were already on the road to Switzerland.

The Emperor Alexander also visited Josephine and Hortense. Josephine keenly felt the misfortunes of her "Cid," as she was now again fond of calling him. Her distress at his abdication was excessive, and she appears never to have recovered the shock. She survived it only about six weeks. She died on the 29th of May, at Malmaison, and was buried in the church of Ruel. Her funeral was attended by several generals of the allied armies, and marshals and generals of France. A long train of the poor of all the country round, also followed her to the grave: by them she was sincerely and justly regretted. The body has since been placed in a magnificent tomb of white marble, erected by her two children, with the simple inscription:—"Eugène et Hortense à Josephine."

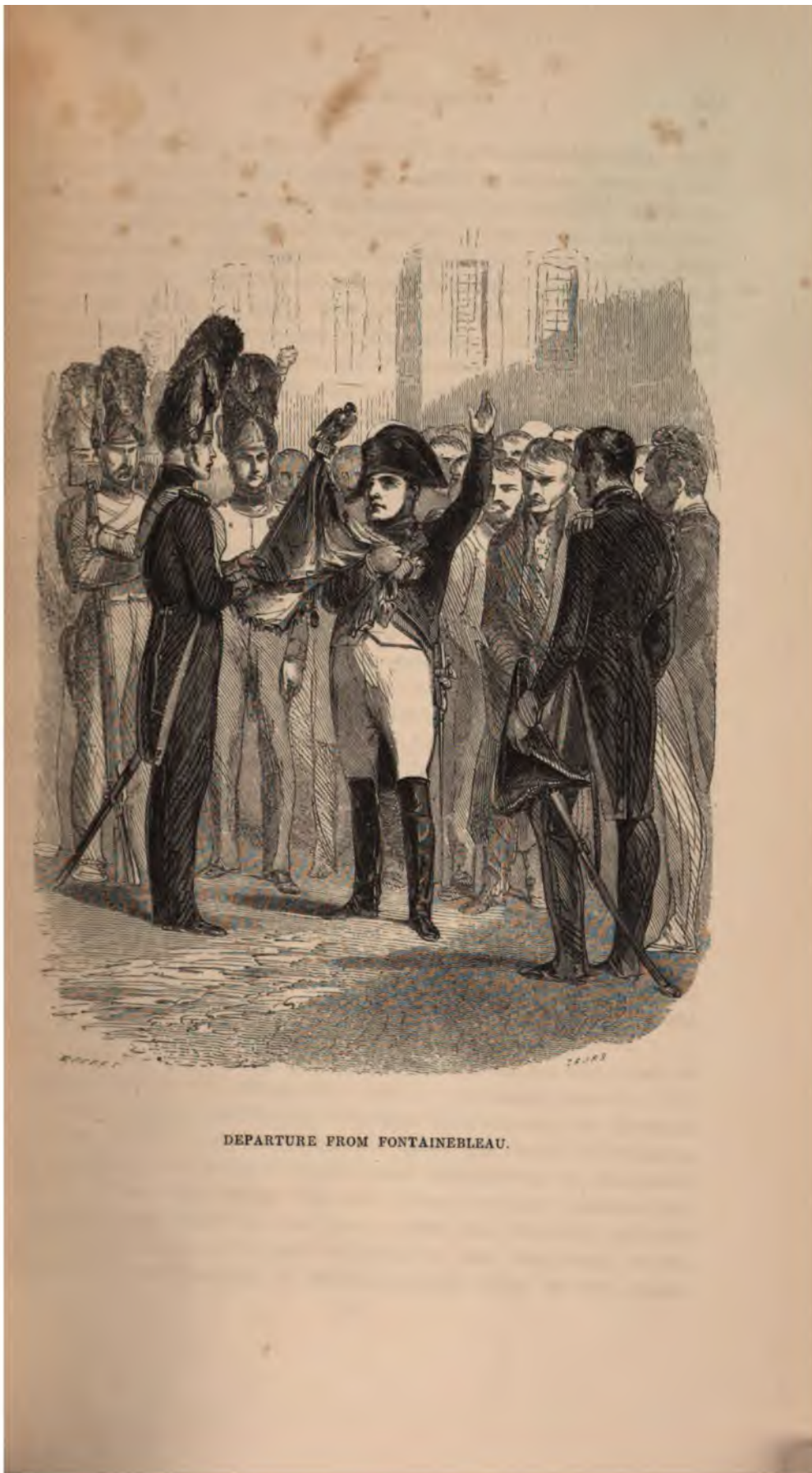
The battle of Toulouse was fought on the 10th of April, between the armies of Lord Wellington and Marshal Soult, and the victory rested with the English. But the position of Soult was so strong, that the loss of life was much heavier on the side of the victors than the vanquished. The French loss, in killed and wounded, was estimated at three thousand men. Four thousand six hundred and fifty-nine men, of whom two thousand were Spaniards, were returned as

killed and wounded in Lord Wellington's army. Thus, the blood of nearly eight thousand men was shed after the abdication of Napoleon had ended the war. It has been generally asserted that Soult was aware of the abdication before the battle, but Napier has satisfactorily established the contrary. Lord Wellington entered Toulouse in triumph on the 12th. Soult had already effected an orderly retreat. In the afternoon of the same day, the news arrived from Paris of all that had occurred; a convention was accordingly agreed upon, and hostilities ceased. All the French troops in the south were organised in one body, and gave in their adhesion to the new government; the Spaniards and Portuguese returned home; the British infantry embarked at Bordeaux, and the cavalry, marching through France, took shipping at Boulogne. "Thus," says Napier, "the war terminated, and with it all remembrance of the veteran's services." A reproach not yet wiped away from our country.

The Grand-marshal Bertrand, General Drouot, General Cambronne, the treasurer Peyrusse, the state messengers Deschamps and Bailles, obtained permission to accompany Napoleon. Only four hundred of the Guard were allowed to depart with him, but almost all his old companions petitioned to be selected, so that the choice was both gratifying and embarrassing to his feelings.

The commissioners of the allied sovereigns had arrived at Fontainebleau, and the departure of Napoleon was fixed for the 20th of April. On that day, about noon, the Imperial Guard formed itself in lines in the court-yard of the palace. The Emperor soon afterwards appeared. As he passed along, he beheld all that now remained of the most brilliant and numerous court in Europe, reduced to about sixteen individuals, who thus waited to manifest their regard and respect for the fallen Emperor. (Junot had died the year before, and Caulaincourt, and General Flahault, were absent on missions.) Napoleon shook hands with them all; then, hastily passing the range of carriages, he advanced towards the imperial guard. Perceiving that he was about to address them, they all became profoundly silent.

"Soldiers of the Old Guard!" said he, "I bid you farewell! During twenty years you have been my constant companions in the path of honour and glory. In our last disasters, as well as in the days of our prosperity, you invariably proved yourselves models of courage and fidelity. With such men as you, our cause could not have been lost; but a protracted civil war would have ensued, and the miseries of France would thereby have been augmented. I have, therefore, sacrificed all our interests to those of the country. I depart: you, my friends, will continue to serve France, whose happiness has ever been the only object of my thoughts, and still will



DEPARTURE FROM FONTAINEBLEAU.



be the sole object of my wishes. Do not deplore my fate. If I consent to live, it is that I may still contribute to your glory. I will record the great achievements we have performed together. Farewell, my comrades! I should wish to press you all to my bosom: let me, at least, embrace your standard." At these words, General Petit took the eagle, and came forward. Napoleon received the general in his arms, and kissed the flag. The silence of this affecting scene was interrupted only by the occasional sobs of the soldiers. Having kissed the flag, Napoleon said with great emotion, "Farewell once more, my old comrades!—let this kiss be impressed on all your hearts!" He hurried through the group that surrounded him—stepped into his carriage—and instantly drove off. The carriages took the road to Lyons, and were escorted by French troops.

Louis XVIII. made his public entry into Paris on the 21st of April. The Count d'Artois had preceded him by some days. The new king was escorted by the members of the provisional government, the ministers, the senate and the marshals of France, headed by Berthier. The Duchess d'Angoulême followed the king in a calash drawn by eight horses taken from the Emperor's stables, and led by men who still wore his livery. The senate had busied themselves, in the interval, in framing a constitution which they had already presented to their royal master, who had not yet, it is presumed, informed them of the kind of respect he intended to pay to it. The populace cried "Vive le Roi!" for which they have been applauded by one party as having been loyal at heart all this time; and reviled by another party as treacherous,—or affording evidence of the light and vacillating character of Frenchmen. But all this is unjust. The populace has done such things from time immemorial, and will do such again, till the spread of education has substituted in their minds the recognition of principles for the mere passing impulses of the day. Even the populace, however, were disgusted at seeing the marshals of Napoleon parading themselves before the carriage of Louis; and cries of "Go to Elba, Berthier!" were frequently raised as the procession moved forwards.

During the first part of Napoleon's journey, he was the object of universal respect and affectionate interest. Advancing towards Provence, the popular manifestations became different, and the Emperor was once or twice subject to personal insult and danger of violence. He was obliged to adopt a disguise, and rode forward on horseback. No doubt he felt keenly the evil intentions thus demonstrated against him; no doubt he was both grieved and disgusted, and was most anxious to avoid a sort of death, at once disgraceful to the perpetrators, and revolting to all his feelings. This has been desig-

nated as a want of all courage, by those who seem to have thought that he ought not to possess the common feelings of nature.

At a chateau on the road, he had an interview with his sister Pauline. Arrived at the place of embarkation, an English and a French vessel were waiting to receive him. He went on board the English vessel (the Undaunted) by preference. He was accompanied by the Austrian and the English commissioner. During the passage, he conversed cordially with Captain Usher. He laughed at the idea of the caricatures in England which his voyage would occasion. The sailors, who expected to see some hideous and deformed little figure, answering to their previous notions of "Boney," were surprised at his appearance, and soon became delighted with his ease and good humour. They arrived at Porto Ferrajo, the principal town of Elba, on the 4th of May. The Emperor first landed *incog.*; but returned on board to breakfast. He went ashore, in form, about two o'clock. On leaving the vessel, he presented the jolly tars with a purse of two hundred napoleons, and the boatswain, who undertook to return thanks in the name of the crew, concluded with "wishing him his health—and better luck the next time." As he left the Undaunted, the vessel fired a royal salute, and Napoleon was received as Emperor of the little island of Elba.





CHAPTER XVII.

NAPOLEON IN ELBA—STATE OF FRANCE UNDER THE BOURBONS—THEIR INFRACTIONS OF THE TREATY OF FONTAINEBLEAU—NAPOLEON LEAVES ELBA—LANDS IN FRANCE—ADVANCES TO GRASSE—JOINED BY A DETACHMENT FROM GRENoble—JOINED BY LABEDOYERE—ENTERS GRENoble—LYONS—ASSUMES THE REINS OF GOVERNMENT—JOINED BY NEY—ARRIVES AT FONTAINEBLEAU—JOINED AT MELUN BY THE LAST ROYALIST ARMY—FLIGHT OF LOUIS XVIII.



THE island of Elba is near the coast of Tuscany, and not more than sixty miles in circumference. The air is healthy; and its produce is chiefly salt, wine, and iron-ore. Napoleon lost no time in exploring every corner of his little state; visiting the iron-mines, harbours, salt-marshes, fortifications and woods, and projecting all manner of novelties and improvements. He devoted himself to these with the same unre-

mitting attention as that with which he had directed the affairs of France, and of half Europe besides. He established four houses of residence at four different corners of the island, and was in continual motion from one to the other of them,—so that he appeared to be living at all four of them at the same time. He seemed quite resigned to his fate; spoke of himself as politically dead; and continued to devise

more buildings, roads, and other matters, than could have been accomplished in a life, notwithstanding the very limited space he possessed for his operations. Climbing a mountain above Ferrajo, one day, and observing the ocean approach its base almost on every side, he said musingly, "It must be confessed that my island is very little."

Napoleon shortly added to his "dominions" by sending two or three dozen of his guards to take possession of a small adjacent islet called Rianosa, which was uninhabited, having been deserted on account of the incursions of corsairs. He sketched out a plan of fortifications, and humorously observed, "Europe will say that I have already made a conquest." He planned and commenced new roads; contrived means for conveying water from the mountains to Porto Ferrajo; designed two palaces—one for the country, another for the town; a separate mansion for his sister the Princess Pauline; stables for a hundred and fifty horses; a lazaretto; receptacles for the tunny-fishers; and salt-works on a new construction at Porto Gorgone. He also placed his court, as Emperor of Elba, on as regular a footing as though it were held at the Tuileries; reviewed his small body of troops, and endeavoured to obtain recruits; displayed a national flag on which were three *bees*; gave a new stimulus to trade, till the little port of Ferrajo was crowded with vessels from the opposite coasts of Italy; and such was still the influence of his name, that the new flag of Elba, with the Napoleon *bees*, was suffered to pass unmolested even in places most infested by Moorish pirates.

Baron Kohler, the Austrian, and Sir Niel Campbell, the English commissioner, had remained as residents on the island; but towards the end of May the former departed. Napoleon was visited by his mother, and his sister Pauline, during the summer of 1814. He expected to be rejoined at this time by his wife Maria Louisa, but she was not permitted to proceed to Elba. Napoleon during the voyage had conversed on easy and friendly terms with the two commissioners, and also during their residence in the island; but, finding Sir Niel Campbell remain after the Austrian commissioner had departed, he gradually became cool and distant towards Campbell, under the impression that he was there as a kind of spy, or guard, of the English government.

As the winter approached, a change was observed in the manners and habits of Napoleon. He became grave and reserved. He proceeded no further with his public works and improvements, and ceased to take any interest in what he had already effected. He became embarrassed for money, and was obliged to attempt to levy a tax upon the islanders; but they were too poor to pay it. He was compelled to lower the allowances of most of his followers; to reduce

the wages of the miners; to raise money by the sale of the provisions and stores laid up for the garrison, and to sell a train of brass artillery to the Duke of Tuscany. He also disposed of some property in a barrack, and meant to have sold the town-house at Porto Ferrajo. His embarrassments were attributable to the sums he had expended in improvements, and various works all over the island, and to the dishonourable conduct of the French government, who never paid him the stipend agreed on in the terms of the treaty of Fontainebleau.

His household condition, at this period, was very meagre indeed; and, for a sovereign, almost squalid. A Scotch gentleman of rank who visited him, has given an account of the interior of "the Imperial Palace," which is interesting.* "Bonaparte is in perfect health, but miserably lodged in a worse house than the worst description of dwellings appropriated to our clergy in Scotland, yet still keeping up the state of Emperor; that is, he has certain officers with grand official names about him. We were first shewn into a room where the only furniture was an old sofa and two rush-bottom chairs, and a lamp with two burners, only one of which was lighted. An aide-de-camp received us, who called a servant, and said that one of the lights had gone out. The servant said, it had never been lighted. The other said, 'Light it, then.' Upon which the servant begged he would excuse him, as he had not received the orders of the Emperor on the subject! We were then introduced into an inner apartment, where we were received by Bonaparte. The Emperor wore a very old French guard uniform with three orders; and had on very dirty boots, being just come in from his country-house. The interview lasted two hours and a half, during which time Bonaparte mentioned many of the principal occurrences of his life; and, with apparent candour, stated where he had been to blame. Reverting to the situation of France, he said, we should have been satisfied with forcing the French to take back the Bourbons; that we were pressing matters too hard, with respect to their boundaries on the side of Holland, and that we might depend upon it, that sooner or later (like a vessel into which people attempt to force more air than it can hold), there would be a tremendous explosion. That France was a military country. The Bourbons had better take care what they were about. That there were still in France five hundred thousand excellent soldiers; and then making a rapid turn, he said, 'But what is all that to me? I am to all intents and purposes dead.' The manner he assumed was that of a blunt, honest, good-hearted soldier; his smile,

* In a private letter, with a copy of which the Editor has been favoured.

when he chose it, very insinuating. He is not building himself any palaces, or shewing in other respects that he expects to be permitted to remain in Elba. He never has anybody to dinner. Bertrand sometimes has,—and the latter says they are in the greatest distress for money, as the French court does not pay the stipulated salary to Bonaparte. The following day the Emperor set off for his country-house. He was in an old coach with four half-starved horses. On the wheel-horse sat a coachman of the ordinary size, and the bridles had the imperial eagle on them; on the leaders, there was a mere child, and the bridles had the coronet of a British viscount on them. He had General Bertrand in the carriage, and two or three officers behind on small ponies, which could not, by all the exertions of their riders, keep up with the carriage, emaciated as those poor horses were. What a contrast with all this is the magnificence of the present court of France! We went on Sunday to see Louis XVIII. dine in public. Not to mention the magnificence of the exterior of the Tuileries—the grand flight of steps up to the Salle des Marchaux, with its full-length portraits of all Bonaparte's distinguished marshals, not one of which is moved—we went through five great apartments, all exceeding one another in splendour, and at last arrived at the apartment where his majesty was at dinner, about a hundred feet long, hung with the finest Gobelin tapestry. In the centre of this sat the king, at a table by himself; on his right, a table with Monsieur and the Duke d'Angoulême; on the left, another with the Duke and Duchess de Berri. All the court in attendance in full dress; the duchesses alone permitted to sit; everything served on gold plate; brilliantly lighted up, and a very fine concert going on all the time. Nothing can be more striking than the contrast."

Meantime, the state of France, under the restored dynasty of the Bourbons, was full of all manner of discordant elements. Louis XVIII., advanced in years, with an overweening sense of the kingly office, gross, and devoted to the luxuries of the table, was little fitted in these most difficult times to ascend the throne just vacated by a brilliant and commanding genius. The French people felt this. When Louis first came to Paris, a caricature was circulated, which represented an eagle soaring away from the top of the Tuileries, while a large hog, attended by a brood of porkers, was entering the gates below. The king did not begin his fresh reign wisely or well, but did many things that justly created great dissatisfaction and disgust, and month after month the condition of affairs grew worse and worse, which was chiefly attributable to his folly, his perversity, his goodnature as well as his intolerance, his indolent confidence, and want of all foresight.

These things were all well known to Napoleon. Independently of the consequences which were hanging over the Bourbons, there were other reasons for Napoleon's alarm at his present position in Elba. In vain had Sir Niel Campbell expressed his opinion to the British cabinet, that if the promised stipend of Napoleon were not paid, he would certainly cross over with his troops to Piombino, or some other part of Italy: in vain had Lord Castlereagh applied to the French government to keep to the terms of their treaty with Napoleon. The exhortations were neglected, and there is every reason to believe that the ministers, at the Congress of Vienna, suggested that (as the French government would not honestly pay his stipend), Napoleon should be taken to some place of greater safety, such as St. Lucie or St. Helena. In whatever quarter this scheme was originated, it is certain that some intimation of it reached Napoleon, or was anticipated by his watchful intellect, grounded as he was in a thorough knowledge of the policies of different nations. Nor was this the only cause for making him resolve to leave Elba. It is boldly declared by Savary, that there was a scheme laid to assassinate Napoleon in Elba, and that the proposal was even openly made to Louis XVIII., who rejected it. At this very time, Napoleon was maligned and caricatured as a monster and a bugbear, in various parts of Europe, particularly in England. Well aware, however, of the machinations against him, and perfectly understanding from the public papers the state of feeling in France, Napoleon determined on leaving Elba, and returning straight to France, at whatever hazard.

The Emperor came to this resolution without any overtures, arrangements, or coincidences with political bodies, or scheming friends in France. Working out the problem by his clear understanding, he arrived at the conclusion that the time was ripe to make the attempt; and that however perilous to himself, he *had* a good chance of being well received by the French people. The nonsense and romance about the secret arrival in Elba of Ettore the monk, and Theologos the Greek; of masked balls given by the Princess Pauline; of plots and conspiracies, aided by certain ladies of rank in Paris, are sheer inventions for the benefit of those who cannot conceive of a great enterprise resolved upon, and successfully carried out, by an effort of unaided intellect and commanding energy; and "who think," as Hazlitt says, "that slavery is the natural state of repose to which the human mind tends, and that all resistance to it must be brought about by dark and clandestine intrigues."

The state of affairs, and of public feeling in France, from a knowledge of which Napoleon determined to return, may thus be summed up:—Louis XVIII. ascended the throne, the senate having at the

same time declared the legislative constitution to consist in an hereditary sovereign, and two houses of assembly; confirming the rights of all who had obtained property in consequence of the events of the Revolution, and the titles and orders which had been conferred by the Emperor Napoleon;—in other words, Louis was to succeed to the throne of Napoleon. Yet Louis was so infatuated with the notion of the old doctrine of *divine right*; so resolved on treating with contempt all the acts of the People, from the deposition and execution of his brother Louis XVI., down to the abdication of Napoleon, that he insisted on dating his first act in the twentieth year of his reign—as though Napoleon had not reigned at all. Instead of accepting the constitution which the senate had drawn up, he gave a charter to the people, conferring just as much liberty as the other—but proceeding solely from his kingly will. This, as a beginning, was by no means likely to conciliate the feelings of twenty or thirty millions of people, jealous of their political rights. The nobles returned with their old prejudices and pretensions enhanced, and regarding the people as creatures of a lower species. The emigrants were placed in office over the heads of those who had been fighting against them, and repelling them from the soil of the country during twenty years. The clergy renewed their efforts to restore all the ceremonies and the discipline of the Roman church, and threatened excommunication against those who held the national domains or church-lands. The great proprietors were brought back to the kingdom, but without a restoration of their former lordships, estates, and feudal privileges: a motion, brought forward in the chamber of deputies by M. Ferrand, gave the universal impression that an attempt would shortly be made to resume them; and eight or ten millions of people who had purchased those estates, now held them in constant distrust and irritation. The imperial guard, so devoted to the Emperor, was kept up, as also was the legion of honour; but the former were indignant at the appointment of a corps of noblemen as the king's body-guard; and the orders and crosses of the latter were conferred so widely and promiscuously as to give much offence. The army was exasperated by the promotion of Chouans and royalists; some of whom were invalids, others haughty young scions of old families, who had seen no service. The prisoners of war restored by the Allies, and amounting to a hundred and fifty thousand veterans of Napoleon, having witnessed none of the last disastrous campaigns, and recollecting only their victories and glories at his side, had been poured back into their mother country, before the new king, with whom, to say the very least of it, they had no sympathy, was fairly seated on his throne. The king was unable

to satisfy his old followers and adherents, for fear of offending the marshals and new nobility, whose only claims to distinction were treason and rebellion in his eyes; yet, in equivocal attempts to gratify both parties, satisfied neither, and irritated both. The finances were exhausted; public works were discontinued; restrictions were placed on the public press; the clergy strove to introduce the old discipline; an actress was refused burial; and the observance of the Sabbath was enforced to an extent that destroyed all the relaxations and amusements to which the people were habitually accustomed at the end of every week. The court was full of intrigues; the middle class full of dissatisfaction; the mass of the people ripe for any tumult; the army gloomy, and brooding over other days. Amidst all these things sat the heavy and indolent body of the king, who never exerted himself to any action, except to display very bad judgment, or utter imprudence. His exhuming the remains of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, and causing them to be carried in funeral pomp through Paris—as though to remind the people that legitimacy had heads to lose—was a striking example of his impolitic impulses.

Napoleon, standing watchfully on his island rock, saw all these discordant elements at work in France, and resolved to return. It needed no dark plots, nor conspiracies, nor secret preparations of any extensive character. The state of mind in France was quite sufficient to justify his attempt. He merely took the ordinary precautions for leaving Elba suddenly, and without molestation. In the course of the autumn, he granted *furloughs* to some two hundred of his guard, who forthwith returned to France "to see their friends." He, of course, kept his intended departure a secret until the last moment. Even his remaining troops did not suspect his purpose till they were about to embark. With his handful of men he set sail, in a brig (the *Inconstant*), accompanied by five or six small craft, on Sunday, the 25th of February, 1815, to regain possession of an empire containing a population of thirty millions. Sir Niel Campbell was absent at this time at Leghorn; but, suddenly receiving information that Napoleon was certainly about to sail for the continent, he hurried back to give chase to the little squadron. Before leaving Elba he had an interview with Napoleon's mother and sister, and was very angry that they declined to betray the direction of his course! Sir Niel pursued, however, at a venture, in the Partridge sloop of war. Meantime, the little squadron of Napoleon was making its way direct for Provence. On the passage, they had a narrow escape from a French ship of war, which hailed the brig. The captain of the latter was for fighting, but Napoleon could not spare time for an "episode," and ordered all his soldiers to lie down flat

upon the decks, as they weared the ship, and in reply to the question of how they had left the Emperor at Elba, he himself made answer that "He was very well." During the voyage, he dictated his intended proclamations, which were copied by almost all his soldiers and attendants who could write. Sir Niel Campbell was



just in time to obtain a distant view of the flotilla after Bonaparte and his troops had landed at Cannes, a small sea-port near Fréjus. This occurred on the 1st of March.

A score of the guards advancing before the rest to summon the neighbouring garrison of Antibes, were made prisoners. This seemed an ominous beginning. It was proposed to set them free before they proceeded further, but Napoleon remarked that thirty millions of people were waiting to be set free. He, however, sent the war-commissioner to try if he could obtain their liberty, humorously calling out after him,—“Take care you do not get yourself made prisoner too!” At nightfall, Napoleon bivouacked near the beach, in a plantation of olives, with his troops about him. His force amounted to five hundred grenadiers of the guard, two hundred dragoons, and

a hundred Polish lancers: these latter were without horses, and carried their saddles on their backs. Various reports now reached him that the greatest dissatisfaction existed throughout the country, and that his name was incessantly in every mouth. It seems clear that his return had been expected by the soldiers, and perhaps by many others, not from any positive intimation, but from the general aspect of affairs; nevertheless, when, on the 11th of March, the intelligence was brought by a courier to the representatives of the European princes at Vienna, that Napoleon had reared his standard in Provence, "no surprise was ever more sudden, complete, and universal than theirs."

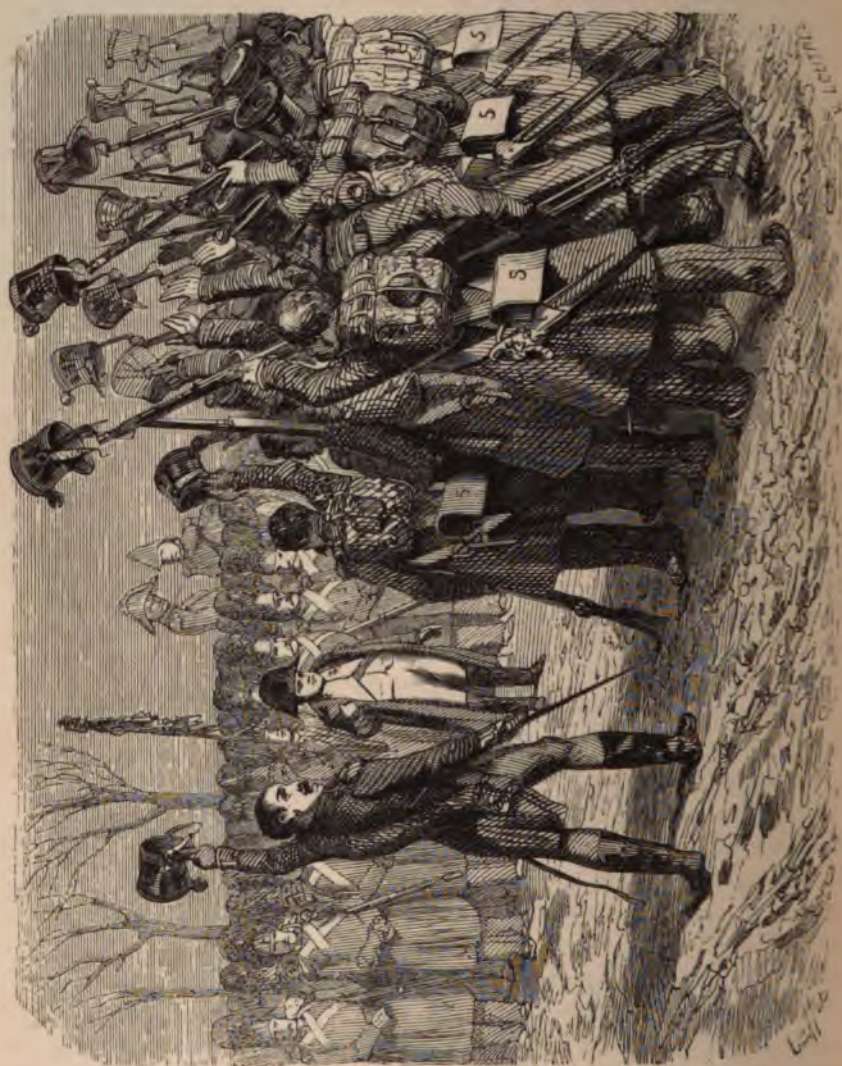
About one or two in the morning of the 2nd of March, when the moon rose, the bivouacs broke up, and Napoleon gave orders for proceeding to Grasse. A labourer, who was going thus early to his work in the fields, recognised the Emperor's person, and uttering a cry of joy, said he had served in the army of Italy, and would join his ranks. "Here is a reinforcement already," said Napoleon. Passing through the town, he halted on a little height at a short distance, where he breakfasted. The whole population of the place came and surrounded him, with welcome and acclamations. Many petitions had already been drawn up, and were presented to him, just as if he had come from Paris, and was making a tour through the departments. Some of them secretly informed him that the authorities of the town were hostile to him, but that the people were with him, and would rid him of these enemies. "Be not too hasty," replied Napoleon, "let them have the mortification of seeing our triumph, without having anything to reproach us with." At Grasse, he expected to have found a road which he had planned during the empire, but the Bourbons had not continued the work, and he was obliged to pass through narrow defiles filled with snow, leaving behind him his carriage, and two pieces of cannon. He subsequently said, that victory depended on his speed; that to him France was in Grenoble;—the place was a hundred miles distant; the weather and the roads wretchedly bad. He pressed forward as fast as possible.

As the Emperor advanced, the population continued to declare themselves in his favour; but he saw no soldiers, and felt anxious. The sympathy of the people was not sufficient; he required that of the army also. He knew his success depended solely upon the general feeling, and not upon any force he could bring with him. His first proclamations were published at Gap on the 5th. One was addressed to the people,—the other to the army. The former concluded with these words:—"Frenchmen! in my exile I heard your

complaints and your vows; you accused my long slumber; you reproached me with sacrificing the welfare of the country to my repose. I have traversed seas through perils of every kind; I return among you to reclaim my rights, which are yours."

The proclamation to the army, ran thus:—"Soldiers! we have not been conquered. Two men, sprung from our ranks, have betrayed our laurels, their country, their benefactor, and their prince. Your general, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and raised on your shields, is restored to you. Come and join him. Mount the tri-coloured cockade: you wore it in the days of your greatness. We must forget that we have been the masters of nations; but we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs. Who would pretend to be master over us? Who would have the power? Resume those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Wagram, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmühl, at Essling, at Smolensk, at Mosqua, at Lutzen, at Wurtchen, at Montmirail. The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West, of the grand army, are humiliated: their honourable scars are stained, their successes would be crimes, the brave would be rebels, if, as the enemies of the people pretend, the lawful sovereigns were in the midst of foreign armies. Soldiers! come and range yourselves under the banners of your chief; his rights are only those of the people and yours; his interest, his honour, his glory, are no other than your interest, your honour, and your glory. Victory shall march at the charging step; the eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple till it reaches the towers of Notre-Dame. You will be the liberators of the country. In your old age, surrounded and looked up to by your fellow-citizens, you will each of you be able to say with pride,—'And I also made part of that grand army which entered twice within the walls of Vienna, within those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow, and which delivered Paris from the stain which treason, and the presence of the enemy had imprinted on it.'"

Between Mure and Vizèle, the advanced guard of forty grenadiers, commanded by Cambrone, suddenly met a battalion which had been sent from Grenoble to arrest the march. The colonel refused to parley with Cambrone. Both parties halted until Napoleon came up. He did not hesitate for a moment; but dismounted, and advanced alone. A hundred grenadiers marched at some distance behind him with their arms reversed. There was a dead silence on all sides. The least misgiving or hesitation on the part of Napoleon might have sealed his fate. But he advanced steadily till within a few paces of the men; then throwing open his old grey great coat,



so as to shew the star of the legion of honour, he exclaimed, "If there be among you a soldier who desires to kill his general—his Emperor—let him do it now. Here I am!" The old cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" burst instantaneously from every lip. Napoleon ran into the ranks, and taking a veteran private, covered with chevrons and medals, by the whisker, said, "Speak honestly, old moustache, couldst thou have had the heart to kill thy Emperor?" The order to march was given by Napoleon, and both parties of soldiers marched together towards Grenoble.

In the mean time, Colonel Labedoyère, a young officer of noble family and enthusiastic character, was sallying from the gates of Grenoble at the head of his regiment, the seventh of the line. As they advanced in sight of Napoleon's little troop, Labedoyère suddenly displayed an eagle, and breaking open a drum, in which he had concealed a number of tri-coloured cockades, distributed them to the men, who accepted them with avidity. They marched onwards. When the Emperor came in sight, Labedoyère rushed into his arms. His soldiers, and those who were with Napoleon, broke simultaneously from their ranks and embraced each other, with shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" The enthusiastic impulse thus given to Napoleon's cause, seems to have decided the question. The peasantry of Dauphiny, the cradle of the revolution, had lined the roadside, uttering exclamations of the utmost joy, and vehemently exhorting such of the soldiers as manifested any sign of hesitation. Napoleon said he could have taken two millions of such peasantry with him to Paris—but that he should then have been called the King of the Mob. This was his old prejudice.

It was night-fall when the Emperor presented himself before Grenoble. He found the gates closed, and the commanding officer refused to open them. The garrison, assembled on the ramparts, shouted "Vive l'Empereur!" and others shook hands with Napoleon's followers through the wickets below; but they did not dare to disobey their commander so far as to throw open the gates. Meantime the batteries of Grenoble were all manned; the cannon loaded with grape-shot, and pointed at the little band below, in front of which stood Napoleon. The word was repeatedly given to fire, but all remained silent. In none of his battles did the Emperor ever imagine himself in so much danger as on the present occasion. During this trying moment, he remained calmly standing in front of all the batteries. By his directions, Labedoyère now ascended a mound, and exhorted the garrison to call to mind their old love for the Emperor who had led them to so many victories. The garrison responded with the cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" but still no one dared to open

the gates. At this crisis, Napoleon deliberately planted two or three small guns under the very mouths of the artillery of the fortress, and blew down the gates. The spell of discipline was instantly dissolved,—and the garrison, in a transport of joy, broke their lines,—issued forth, and surrounded Napoleon,—carried him into the city (and it appears that they actually carried his horse after him), and before he could well recover his breath in the inn where he was set down, an incredible tumult was heard outside, and he found that the inhabitants of Grenoble, being unable to bring him the keys of the city, had brought him, with acclamations, the shattered gates instead.

Next morning, the authorities of Grenoble waited on Napoleon, and tendered their homage. The commandant of the city, General Marchand, who still maintained his allegiance, was allowed to depart without the least molestation. The Emperor reviewed his troops, now about seven thousand in number; and on the 9th, renewed his march. On the 10th, he arrived within sight of Lyons. The Count d'Artois, with the assistance of Marshal Macdonald, attempted to make a stand, but in vain. At the bridge of Lyons, all opposition vanished when the person of the Emperor was recognised by the soldiers. Monsieur and Macdonald were forced to retreat, and Napoleon entered the second city of France in triumph. A guard of mounted gentlemen had been formed among the citizens to attend upon Monsieur; but as he was obliged to fly, they all (except one, who accompanied the prince), hastened to offer their services to the Emperor. He dismissed them with contempt, and sent the cross of the legion of honour to the one gentleman who had been faithful in the hour of need. During the four days the Emperor remained at Lyons, there were incessantly as many as twenty thousand people assembled beneath his windows, uttering acclamations of joy and welcome. This revolution had been proceeding during more than a week before the gazettes of Paris ventured to make any allusion to its existence. When its success was half secured, there appeared a royal ordonnance, proclaiming Napoleon Bonaparte an *outlaw*, while "The Moniteur" announced that he was already stripped of all his followers, and wandering in despair among the hills. The two chambers were convoked. The Count d'Artois departed for Lyons (with what success has just been shewn); the Duke d'Angoulême was already at Marseilles, preparing to cut off the retreat of Napoleon; and King Louis continued to receive loyal addresses from public bodies, marshals, and generals. Meantime, there was a strong under-current of movement among those in Paris who had wished for the return of Napoleon. The different intriguers and partisans seem to have circulated any reports that suited their various opinions and feelings.

But while the royalists were talking of the seizure of this "outlaw and invader," the Emperor had formally resumed the functions of civil government, and issued several decrees—one of which was for the abolishing the chambers of peers, and of deputies; another concerning the coronation of Maria Louisa and his son; another for the abolishing the order of St. Louis, and bestowing its revenues upon the legion of honour; another ordering certain individuals into banishment, &c. When these proclamations could no longer be prevented from being known in Paris, the court dropped its high tone, and began to prepare simultaneously for defence and flight.

The main hope of the Bourbons now rested upon Ney, who, like the other marshals and officers, had given his allegiance to Louis on the abdication of Napoleon. It will be remembered that this was done by the express injunctions of the latter; but, had it been otherwise, these men of the sword were for the most part no politicians and diplomatists, and their position was altogether very perplexing to their heads. Ney left the court, with a promise to bring back Napoleon "like a wild beast in a cage." When he arrived with his army at Lons-le-Saulnier, he received a letter from Napoleon, calling him to his side. Confused by old associations and present engagements; thunderstruck by the Emperor's proclamations; his soldiers leaving him in masses to join the ranks of their idolized commander of many fields, Ney yielded to the impulse around him, and issued his memorable order of the day, declaring that the cause of the Bourbons was lost for ever. But as Ney, like all the other marshals and officers (except Labedoyère and another individual), had not at once joined the standard of the Emperor, but only suffered himself to be borne along with the tide, he wrote to beg leave to retire from the service. Napoleon replied by desiring Ney to come to him, and he would receive him as on the day after the battle of Moscow. He came—was received by the Emperor with open arms—and his intended hostility was all forgiven.

Louis now convoked a general council, at the Tuileries, on the 18th of March. Nothing came of it but turbulent words. As a last hope, the King placed all the troops, that still remained faithful to him, under the command of Marshal Macdonald, and then prepared for flight. Macdonald was determined to maintain his allegiance to Louis, and proceeded to take post at Melun with the King's army, which amounted to upwards of thirty thousand men.

On the 19th, Napoleon slept once more in the chateau of Fontainebleau. On the 20th, the army of Macdonald was drawn up in three lines at Melun, to oppose the advance of the Emperor and his troops, who were said to be coming from Fontainebleau. The bands of Macdonald's

army played various loyal airs. A silence then ensued. There was a long pause of suspense, and of that kind which, as Scott remarks, seldom fails to render men accessible to strong and sudden emotion. The glades of the forest, and the acclivity which ascends to it, were full in view of the royal army, but presented the appearance of a deep solitude. At length, about noon, a galloping of horses was heard; but, instead of an advanced guard of cavalry, a single open carriage appeared, emerging from the green shadows of the forest, followed by a few Polish lancers as attendants, with their lances reversed. In the carriage sat Napoleon, in his little flat cockt-hat, and grey great coat. It came on at full speed direct towards Macdonald's army; and Napoleon, jumping from the vehicle, rushed alone into the ranks drawn up in battle array to oppose him. Instantly there rose a general shout of "Vive l'Empereur!" while the Polish lancers, leaping from their horses, mingled with their old comrades; and the last army of the Bourbons passed from their side without attempting to strike a single blow. They filled the air with shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" and trampled their white cockades in the dust.

Macdonald made his escape to Paris, but Louis XVIII. had not awaited the issue of the last stand at Melun. Escorted by his household in the middle of the preceding night, the unwieldy body of Louis was assisted to his carriage, and departing from the Tuileries amidst the tears and lamentations of several courtiers, he took the road to Lisle.





CHAPTER XVIII.

ENTRANCE OF NAPOLEON INTO PARIS—HIS FIRST REVIEW AND LEVEE—FIRST PUBLIC ACTS—DECLARATION OF THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA—NAPOLEON MAKES OVERTURES OF PEACE TO ALL THE SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE—NEW COALITION OF ENGLAND, AUSTRIA, RUSSIA, AND PRUSSIA—MURAT—NAPOLEON'S NEW CONSTITUTION—FOUCHE—THE CHAMP-DE-MAI—OPENING OF THE CHAMBERS—AMOUNT, AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE ARMIES OF FRANCE, AND OF THE ALLIES—NAPOLEON LEAVES PARIS FOR BELGIUM.



ON the evening of the 20th of March, the Emperor entered Paris. He was attended by a crowd of general officers on horseback, and by a multitude of people who went to meet him on the road from Fontainebleau. He passed along the new boulevard, according to his former custom, whenever he returned from Fontainebleau; crossed the bridge of La Concorde, and entered the Tuileries by the postern adjoining the quay. He was surrounded by horsemen of all ranks, and by masses of people, deafening the air with shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" The joy, as well as the disorder, assumed a frantic and almost fearful character. When Napoleon entered the court-yard of the palace, the

postilions found it impossible to drive the carriage up to the entrance. The crowd was so dense that the horses were unable to move a step further. A rush was made towards the carriage; the door was forced open; the Emperor taken out; in vain did he attempt to reach the ground, either in the court-yard, the staircase, or even in the suites of rooms above: he was fairly borne along upon the shoulders of the multitude, and lifted from arms to arms till carried up to his own apartment.

Napoleon instantly sent for his former ministers, and ordered each one to resume his portfolio. Everything took its former aspect. The Emperor dined as usual; his apartment was prepared as usual; "it seemed," says Savary, "as if he had merely returned from a journey." Every one was anxious to assume some duty, until every post was regularly allotted. A guard of honour had been suddenly formed, composed entirely of general officers, who relieved each other as sentries outside his door.

In the apartment which Louis had just left, Napoleon found a brilliant assemblage of marshals, and nobles, and officers, and courtiers. Nearly the whole of them had been adherents of Louis but a few days before; their adulation was, therefore, not over-rated by Napoleon. He felt that it was *his* influence which had replaced him safely on the throne, not theirs, and he had no fear of any influence they might exercise. Instead of disguising this feeling, and receiving their flatteries (on this first moment when it might have been thought he would wish to secure all the power he could collect, till again firmly fixed on the throne), "Gentlemen," said he, as he walked round the glittering circle, "it is disinterested people who have brought me back to my capital."

It was not in vain that party writers and speakers of the time exerted themselves to make Europe believe that Napoleon had only resumed the throne by the aid of brute force, and his ascendancy over the minds of the soldiery. These reports were credited, and answered the purpose of the time. History has a different story to record. He was not only the Emperor of the army, but of the citizens, the people, the peasantry, the masses of men. "If Bonaparte," says Hazlitt, "was not popular, it is strange; for the utmost conceivable popularity that a man can possess would only enable him, with a handful of men, to march from one end of a kingdom to the other—enter its capital, and take possession of its throne." This was done without the shedding of one drop of blood, without even the drawing of a sword on the side of Napoleon—and scarcely a score of swords among the Bourbon defenders.

On the following day, the 21st of March, the Emperor reviewed

all the troops in Paris, and addressed them in one of those stirring and eloquent speeches, which had never failed to excite their enthusiasm. Cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" filled the air, and were redoubled, when the battalion of the guard which had accompanied him to and from Elba marched on the ground. All the public bodies of the capital and its neighbourhood hastened to present loyal addresses to him, and his levee was crowded with men of distinction, both civil and military. The language of the Emperor reminded his hearers of the days of the consulate. It breathed a spirit of liberty which inspired hope and confidence, and his first acts corresponded with his words. A decree, of the 24th of March, removed the restrictions on the press; and among his first measures was the appointment of Carnot, as minister of the interior, and of Benjamin Constant, as a councillor of state. The very names of these men sounded to the public as guarantees that Napoleon was about to become the constitutional sovereign of France. Fouché was made minister of police; an appointment of evil omen. The Duke of Bassano returned to his old employment of secretary of state. Davoust was minister of war. Napoleon had determined that his election as Emperor should be again submitted to the popular voice. Registers, for the reception of votes, were accordingly opened in all the communes, in the same manner as on the occasions of his assuming the consulate for life, and the imperial dignity. A grand meeting of all the electors of France was also convoked, under the name of the "Champ-de-Mai," in order to determine upon the new constitution. The electoral colleges in each department were convened for the election of a new chamber of deputies.

Napoleon announced that at the "Champ-de-Mai," the coronation of the Empress and his son would take place. This was one of the means by which he sanctioned the unfounded report, that Austria was about to desert the coalition, and form an alliance with France. Hopes of peace, arising from this propitious circumstance, flattered the people into dreams of liberty, prosperity, and tranquillity. Napoleon had the nation with him at that moment, notwithstanding the proclamations of Louis XVIII., which had found their way into the capital, announced the speedy arrival of a million of foreign soldiers under the walls of Paris, to replace him on his throne, and to drive away the usurper. Louis had already retired to Ghent. The Duke of Bourbon had endeavoured to raise an insurrection in La Vendée, but that province was so strongly occupied by troops of the regular army, as to defeat all his attempts, and he escaped by sea from Nantes. The Duke d'Angoulême had placed himself at the head of a body of men, raised by the royalists of Provence, but was sur-

rounded and obliged to capitulate, under condition of being allowed a free passage from France for himself, and pardon for his followers. General Grouchy refused to ratify this treaty, but on the question being referred to Napoleon, he decided it on the generous side, and confirming the capitulation in all its parts, suffered the Duke to depart. The Duchess d'Angoulême was the last of the royal family who remained in France. She had thrown herself into Bordeaux, trusting to the friendly feeling of the mayor and citizens. She made strong efforts to maintain the Bourbon cause, and behaved with so much spirit, as to make Napoleon pass an eulogium on her as "the only man of her family." But all her efforts failed. The garrison, however, permitted her to embark on board an English frigate, and then immediately opened the gates to General Clausel, who had advanced with a division of the army; and Bordeaux declared for the Emperor. The imperial government was speedily re-established in every part of France, and the tri-coloured flag once more waved from every tower and steeple. But the fortitude of the people was about to be severely tried. France, exhausted by the unceasing effort to sustain the great principle of the revolution against the unceasing effort of each of the powerful legitimate monarchs of Europe to destroy it, had purchased one year of peace at the price of the restoration of the house of Bourbon. If another long and sanguinary war, again commenced by those legitimate monarchs, was to be the consequence of the return of the sovereign who rose out of the revolution, would France maintain its principles against the renewal of the heavy trial? Events soon shewed that the trial was at hand.

The congress at Vienna, though on the point of dissolution, was still sitting, when the astounding intelligence was received of Napoleon's landing in France. That it had not dissolved, was a most serious evil to the cause of Napoleon. If he had not had good reason to apprehend being immediately and forcibly taken away from Elba to St. Helena, or some distant settlement, he would have delayed his landing in France till the congress was dissolved. As it was, his bitterest enemies, with Talleyrand at their head, were all ready to act against him in a moment. The assembled diplomatists immediately put forth a declaration, in which they declared him an outlaw, and in terms that directly sanctioned his assassination. "By breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba," says this manifesto, "Bonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended; and, by appearing again in France, with projects of confusion and disorder, *he has deprived himself of the protection of the laws*, and has manifested to the universe that

there can be neither peace nor truce with him. The powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself *without the pale of civil and social relations*, and that as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, *he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance.*"

Napoleon had passed in safety through France to the throne, notwithstanding this denunciation. Measures of a different kind then became necessary, and the allied powers prepared for war. Napoleon instantly made pacific overtures. He despatched to every sovereign of Europe a letter, in which he declared his resolution of maintaining the conditions of the treaty of Paris, signed and ratified between Louis XVIII. and the allies; and invited the continuance of their friendly relations with France. The council of state, at the same time, put forth a report on the declaration of the congress, in which they reprobated its spirit in a strain of just indignation, and exposed its sophistry with calm and incontrovertible argument. "The French nation," says this admirable report, as given at length by Savary, "revolts at that which bears the character of baseness and oppression. The assassination to which the declaration of the 13th of March incites, will find no arm to perpetrate it among the twenty-five millions of French, the majority of whom followed, guarded and protected Napoleon from the Mediterranean to the capital,—nor among the eighteen millions of Italians, the six millions of Belgians, or the inhabitants of the banks of the Rhine, and the numerous people of Germany, who, in this solemn conjuncture, never pronounce his name but with respectful recollection,—nor in the bosom of the indignant English nation." After briefly stating the various infractions of the treaty of Fontainebleau on the part of the allies, and the grievances of France under the Bourbons, they justified the return of Napoleon as a measure rendered imperative upon him by his own personal danger, and the evils under which he knew France was groaning. They stated, besides, the rights of Napoleon as a sovereign prince. "The people of Europe," they said, "will judge of the rights of Napoleon, the rights of the allied princes, and those of the Bourbons. They know that the convention of Fontainebleau is a treaty between sovereigns. Its violation, the entrance of Napoleon on the French territory, like every infraction of a diplomatic act, like every hostile invasion, can only give occasion to a war of the ordinary kind; the result of which, as to personal consequences merely, is to conquer, or be conquered,—to be free, or a prisoner: as to possessions, to preserve them, or to lose them; to increase them, or to diminish them; and any design, any menace, any attempt against the life of a prince at war with another, is a thing unheard of in the history

of the nations and cabinets of Europe." The vulgar accusation that Napoleon had entered France with "projects of confusion and disorder, breathing war and spoliation," is thus eloquently repelled. "He has not brought war into the bosom of France: he has, on the contrary, extinguished the war which the proprietors of the national domains, forming four-fifths of the French land-owners, would have been compelled to wage against their spoliators; the war which the citizens, oppressed, debased, and humiliated by the nobles, would have been forced to declare against their oppressors; the war which the Protestants, the Jews, and men of different religious persuasions, would have been driven to maintain against their persecutors. He came to deliver France, and as a deliverer he has been received. He arrived almost alone: he traversed two hundred and twenty leagues of the country without meeting an obstacle, without a combat; and he repossessed himself, without resistance, in the midst of the capital, and of the acclamations of the immense majority of the citizens, of the throne deserted by the Bourbons, who, in the army, in their household, amongst the national guards, or amongst the people, could not find one arm willing to attempt to maintain them upon that throne.

"And now, replaced at the head of the nation which had already chosen him three times, and has just nominated him a fourth time by the reception given him during his march, and his rapid and triumphant arrival—of this nation, by which, and for the interest of which he alone would reign, what does Napoleon desire? That which the French people desire,—the independence of France—internal peace—peace with all nations—the execution of the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814.

"What then is changed as to the future in the state of Europe, and in the hope of the repose which was promised it? Nothing is changed, unless (when the French nation asks only to remain at peace with the whole of Europe), an unjust coalition compel her to defend, as in 1792, her will, her rights, her independence, and the sovereign of her choice."

The proceedings of the congress of Vienna were in no degree altered by this powerful exposition of the state of public feeling in France; and the allied monarchs returned no answer to the overtures of Napoleon, except by a treaty between England, Austria, Russia and Prussia, renewing and confirming their league against him. Each contracting power became bound to keep constantly in the field an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, until the purpose of the war had been attained; a separate article was added, authorising England to provide money instead of men; and another, disclaiming, on the

part of the Prince Regent of England, the intention of forcing any especial government on the people of France. The decree of outlawry against the Emperor was confirmed, and all the sovereigns of Europe were invited to co-operate in the objects of the alliance. The ex-king of France was particularly urged to lend his assistance. Under these threatening auspices, Napoleon commenced that period of his government which has been designated the "hundred days."

Italy was, meanwhile, the scene of a rash enterprise, begun by Murat. Jealousies had occurred between him and the allied powers very soon after his unnatural treaty with them was completed, and he had good reason for suspecting that his crown was in danger. Under these circumstances, he no sooner heard of Napoleon having landed in France, than he was excited to an uncontrollable pitch of impatience, and resolved, as Scott describes it, "To throw himself into the fray, and carve for himself." Without any declaration of war, he placed himself at the head of fifty thousand men, occupied Rome, made the Pope and cardinals fly before him, and then marching northwards conquered the Austrian general Bianchi, and took possession of Modena and Florence, having already, on the 31st of March, addressed a proclamation to all Italians, summoning them to rise for the liberation of their country. Austria, alarmed at his prowess at the very moment of Napoleon's restoration to his crown, offered him peace, but he refused. "It was too late," he said; "Italy deserves freedom, and she shall be free!" Austria in consequence sent large reinforcements against him, and England prepared a descent upon Naples. Murat was defeated near Occhiobello; and, relinquishing all his conquests as quickly as he had made them, he retreated upon his whole line. After several combats in which he fought with desperate courage, rushing into every danger and courting death, he fled to Naples, closely pursued, and attended only by four lancers. His whole army had been dispersed or taken. He himself, who had left his capital in his usual splendour of accoutrements, now presented himself before his queen, pale, dishevelled and haggard. His address to her was made in these few and affecting words:—"All is lost, Caroline, except my own life—I have been unable to find death." He was obliged to fly, without delay, and in disguise. He cut off his hair, put on a grey frock, and thus meanly habited, reached first the island of Ischia, and afterwards landed in France. His queen (Caroline, the sister of Napoleon,) surrendered herself to Commodore Campbell (of the *Tremendous*), under a promise of a free passage to France; but she was carried to Austria, where she received permission from the government to reside, under the title of Countess of Lipano. Murat caused Napo-

leon to be informed of his arrival in France, but only received in return a recommendation from Fouché, "To remain where he was until the Emperor's pleasure with regard to him should be known." It is said that Napoleon, when informed of Murat's message to him, inquired, with bitterness, "Whether Naples and France had made peace since the war of 1814?" At St. Helena, he always disclaimed having had any part in Murat's enterprise, observing, "It was his fate to ruin us every way; once by declaring against us, and again by unadvisedly taking our part."

Napoleon conceived that the last hope of an accommodation between himself and the Emperor of Austria was destroyed by this rash aggression on the part of Murat; but there never had been any real likelihood of such an accommodation. The return of the royal family of Sicily to Naples, and the increase of Austrian influence in Italy, were circumstances of evil import to Napoleon; and in these consisted the actual importance of the affair as far as concerned him. Murat lived in obscurity near Toulon, till after the battle of Waterloo. Napoleon subsequently declared his opinion that the presence of Murat in that battle might have altered the fortune of the day, when his impetuous charges might have succeeded in breaking some of the English squares; adding, that he had frequently thought of recalling the ex-king of Naples to the army, but feared the soldiers would not endure the presence of one whom they regarded as the betrayer of his country.

As the spring advanced, all Europe resounded with preparations of war against Napoleon, and the zeal of the allied powers made them greatly exceed, in the amount of troops which each provided, the stipulated number agreed by the treaty. According to every computation, upwards of a million of men were preparing to march against France. Nothing could have preserved the empire at this crisis but an entire unanimity between the executive and legislative bodies; and the entire confidence of the latter in the Emperor. The army and the mass of the people were indeed devoted to Napoleon, but the leading minds of Paris (and France is led by Paris) were not devoted to any king or dynasty; their object was to attain political liberty. They disliked and feared the return of Louis, whose short reign had disgusted every party; but almost equally did they dread the establishment of Napoleon's power, before he had been so fettered by the checks of a free constitution as to give them a guarantee for their liberties. They therefore wasted the short interval allowed to France for preparations of defence against a million of foes, in taking advantage of the difficulties and dangers of Napoleon, for the purpose of tying him down to the conditions they judged it necessary to impose upon him. They thought on'y of protecting themselves against him, when

every moment was needed to co-operate with him for the common defence. He, on his part, gave them little reason for greater confidence. In proposing to govern as a constitutional sovereign, it appeared that he yielded to necessity and the temper of the times, and resolved to conform to them with his usual firmness, but not that he had undergone any change in his own abstract opinions. This was the impression which M. Benjamin Constant received concerning him, in the frequent interviews which took place between them at this period. That celebrated statesman has recorded the substance of the Emperor's conversation on one of these occasions. "I listened to him with great interest," says Constant; "there was a breadth and grandeur of manner as he spoke, and a calm serenity on his brow." The following is an abstract of this conversation.—"The nation," said Napoleon, "has had a respite of twelve years from every kind of political agitation, and for one year has enjoyed a respite from war. This double repose has created a craving after activity. It requires, or fancies it requires, a *tribune*, and popular assemblies. It did not always require them. The people threw themselves at my feet, when I took the reins of government. You, who made a trial of opposition, ought to recollect this. Where was your support—your strength? Nowhere! I assumed less authority than I was invited to assume. At present, all is changed. A feeble government, opposed to the national interests, has given to these interests the habit of standing on the defensive, and evading authority. The taste for constitutions, for debates, for harangues, appears to have revived. Nevertheless, it is but the minority that wishes all this, be assured. The people, —or if you like the phrase better, the multitude, wish only for me. You would say so, if you had seen this multitude pressing eagerly on my steps,—precipitating themselves from the tops of the mountains,—calling on me, seeking me out, saluting me. On my way from Cannes hither, I have not conquered,—I have administered. I am not only (as has been pretended) the Emperor of the soldiers,—I am that of the peasants,—of the plebeians of France. Accordingly, in spite of all that has happened, you see the people come back to me. There is sympathy between us. It is not as with the privileged classes. The *noblesse* have been in my service; they thronged in crowds into my ante-chambers. There is no place that they have not accepted, asked for, solicited. I have had the Montmorencys, the Noailles', the Rohans, the Beauvans, the Mortemarts, in my train. But there never was any analogy. The steed made his curvets,—he was well broke in,—but I felt him shiver under me. With the people, it is another thing. The popular fibre responds to mine. I have risen from the ranks of the people: my voice acts mecha-

nically upon them. Look at those conscripts—the sons of peasants: I never flattered them; I treated them roughly. They did not crowd round me the less; they did not for that cease to cry, ‘Vive l’Empereur!’ It is that between them and me, there is one and the same nature. They look to me as their support—their safeguard—against the nobles. I have but to make a sign, or rather to look another way, and the nobles would be massacred in all the provinces,—so well have they managed matters in the last ten months! But I do not desire to be the king of a mob. If there are the means to govern by a constitution, well and good. I wished for the empire of the world;* and to ensure it, a power without bounds was necessary to me. To govern merely France, it is possible that a constitution may be better. I wished for the empire of the world; and who would not have done so in my place? The world invited me to rule over it. Sovereigns and subjects alike emulously bowed the neck under my sceptre. I have seldom met with opposition in France; but still I have encountered more of it from some obscure and unarmed Frenchmen, than from all those kings so resolute just now not to have a man of the people for their equal!—See then what appears to you possible: let me know your ideas. Public discussion, free elections, responsible ministers, the liberty of the press,—I have no objection to all that:—the liberty of the press especially: to stifle it is absurd. I am convinced on this point. I am the man of the people: if the people really wish for liberty, let them have it. I have acknowledged their sovereignty; it is just that I should lend an ear to their will, nay, even to their caprices. I have never been disposed to oppress them for my pleasure. I entertained great designs: fate has disposed of them. I am no longer a conqueror, nor can I be one. I know what is possible, and what is not. I have no further object than to raise up France, and to give her a government suitable to her. I have no hatred to liberty. I have

* “*L’empire du monde*,” was evidently used as an hyperbolic expression, induced by excitement, and also by the idiom of the language, much in the same way as the French use the words *tout le monde*. An extensive empire, comprising Italy and Belgium; sovereigns subservient to his will in Spain, the German States, Prussia, and Poland; a peace on equal terms with England, Austria, and Russia, and an influence in the councils of those states, so great as to make them co-operate with him in what he called his European system,—i. e., a system based, not on the old feudal forms, but on the new principle of democracy; such was the order of things which seems to have been the ultimatum of Napoleon’s practical ambition. High enough, it certainly was. The expression, however, of “*l’empire du monde*,” as reported by Benjamin Constant, might not have been literally Napoleon’s words, nor might Constant have anticipated that those he supplied would be misunderstood by foreigners. It is plain that he did not mean “the world” literally, because he presently says, “The *world* invited me to rule over it.” He certainly could not mean England, nor some others.

set it aside when it obstructed my path: but I understand what it means: I was brought up in its school: besides, the work of fifteen years is overturned, and it is not possible to recommence it. Twenty years, and the lives of two million of men, would require to be sacrificed to it. As for the rest, I desire peace: but I can *only obtain it by means of victory*. I would not inspire you with false expectations. I let it be said that there are negotiations going on;—there are none. I foresee a hard struggle—a long war. To support it, I must be seconded by the nation; but, in return, I believe they will expect liberty. They shall have it:—the circumstances are new. All I desire is to be informed of the truth. I am growing old; a man is no longer at forty-five what he was at thirty. The repose enjoyed by a constitutional king may suit me. It will still more certainly suit my son."

There is no profession, nor pretence, nor attempt at disguise in these sentiments of the Emperor; and, therefore, there is good reason to suppose that he would have yielded to circumstances, and governed according to the laws, had not the allied monarchs forced him again into the career of arms. "The old war-horse," as Hazlitt says, "submitted to the bit, and moved on in his constitutional trammels pretty well." Only one occasion is recorded on which he grew restive. This was on the question of confiscating the property of the emigrants, which was discussed in the council of state, when objections to the summary measures proposed by the Emperor, drove him beyond the bounds of patience. "You urge me," he cried, "into a path which is not mine. You enfeeble, you chain me. France seeks me, and no longer finds me. The public opinion was excellent; it is now execrable. France inquires what is become of the old arm of the Emperor,—that arm of which she stands in need to repulse Europe. What is it they tell me of abstract justice—of natural law? The first law is necessity: the first justice is towards the country. You wish that men whom I have loaded with wealth, should make use of it to conspire against me in foreign countries. That cannot be,—that shall not be: every Frenchman, every soldier, every patriot, would have a right to require an account from me of the riches left in the power of the enemy. When peace is made, we may see what can be done. Every day has its task, every circumstance its law, every individual his nature. Mine is not to be an angel. Gentlemen, I repeat, it is right that men should find, it is right that they should see the old arm of the Emperor."

It is quite unfair to judge Napoleon by the faulty political measures which he pursued under his present situation, in all the din and hurry of preparation for a decisive struggle. He wanted the full

coincidence of the legislature to prepare for the war, and could not wait for their discussions on the constitution. He, therefore, took the matter into his own hands, instead of leaving it to the great meeting of the Champ-de-Mai, to which he now only assigned the office of sanctioning his work. On the 22nd of April, he published his plan of reform, under the title of "An additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire." Its chief provisions were as follows:—"The legislative power resides in the Emperor, and two chambers. The chamber of peers is hereditary, and the Emperor names them. Their number is unlimited. The second chamber is elected by the people, and is to consist of six hundred and twenty-nine members,—none are to be under twenty-five. The president is appointed by the members, but approved of by the Emperor. Members are to be paid at the rate settled by the constituent assembly. It is to be renewed every five years. The Emperor may prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve the house of representatives. Sittings are to be public. The electoral colleges are maintained. Taxes are to be proposed by the chamber of representatives. No levy of men for the army, nor any exchange of territory, but by a law. Ministers to be responsible. Judges to be irremovable. Juries to be established. Freedom of worship to every sect, &c." A separate article proscribed the accession of any member of the house of Bourbon to the throne of France.

This act satisfied no party, and bitterly disappointed the most liberal. That it proceeded from the Emperor was of itself an objection; and it might well be disliked in some of its provisions. But that which shocked, and justly contributed to alienate the republicans, was the creation of an hereditary peerage. The feelings which this extraordinary proposal produced in that influential party are well expressed by Laurent:—"To crown the sublime effort of democracy which had restored him to the throne in so wonderful a manner, Napoleon would have imposed on France the most formidable of aristocracies, in creating hereditary legislators. The imperial statutes of 1806, which so much wounded the spirit of equality, of which the Emperor knew that France was jealous in an extreme degree, at least only left at the blind disposal of the chance of birth, titles and dignities without political attributes: the additional act goes much further; it abandons to chance the first of public functions; the right of participating in the construction of the laws." Carnot is said to have opposed the publication of this act with all his power; and there is no doubt that it exercised on public opinion a strong influence adverse to Napoleon. It appears to have been drawn up in imitation of the English constitution, to which it bore a close resemblance.

Notwithstanding this apparent disregard of public opinion, Napoleon was well aware of the importance of courting popularity. It was with this view that he caused the imperial guard to give a grand banquet to fifteen hundred of the national guards in the Champ-de-Mars.



On the return of Napoleon from Elba, he had found the effective force of the French army to consist of only about ninety-three thousand men; the rest had been disbanded. He laboured unremittingly to raise the military strength of France to a height sufficient once more to repel the attack of all Europe. He was employed fifteen or sixteen hours a day during the whole of this period. Men, clothing, arms, horses, and discipline—all were wanting. All the veterans were recalled to the ranks. They came in crowds, leaving the employments to which they had applied themselves, to the number of upwards of a hundred thousand men. All the officers on

half-pay were summoned to action. Eighty thousand national guards were incorporated with the regular army. Even retired and pensioned officers and soldiers answered to the call of the war-minister; and those unfit for active service did garrison-duty, or brought their experience to train the new levies. The seamen and marines were trained as engineers and artillery-men. France had no navy capable of action at that period. The imperial factories, which had been able to furnish twenty thousand stand of arms monthly, were made to produce double that quantity. Cavalry and artillery horses were purchased in numbers sufficient. The clothing, and all other wants, were supplied with the same energy, and at the same time the public works were resumed all over France. This extraordinary activity naturally suggests inquiry as to the means by which it was supported. Louis, in his precipitate flight, had indeed left behind him the crown-plate, and the treasury-chests of the departments: voluntary donations also were numerous, frequently amounting to large sums, and it was no uncommon occurrence for Napoleon to have bundles of bank-bills placed in his hands at the military parades; but the good-will of the nation was the great resource. Still, the extraordinary expenditure argues a state of the finances, and a command of resources, for which it is not possible to account, without supposing a high degree of confidence in Napoleon's government, as well as spirit among the large capitalists.

There remained at the disposal of Napoleon a vast mass of power over and above that which has been stated, and which, had he chosen to call it into action, would have swelled his army to a force such as might have set the foreign hosts at defiance, and made France one great camp; this power consisted of the operatives,—the working classes. They would have fought devotedly. They called for arms wherever they could make themselves heard. In Paris, they paraded the streets during the "hundred days," and frequently crowded in large numbers, under the windows of the Tuileries, to shout "Vive l'Empereur!" They understood no political theories. With them, the Emperor was popular as the "great contractor," whose magnificent public works had provided them with employment, and under whom the nation had grown rich and prosperous. Napoleon used this power sparingly and timidly. As he had felt during his whole career, so he felt now. He "would not be the king of the mob." He feared to touch the spring which might have brought into action powers yet undeveloped, and, as it might prove, uncontrollable, and inconsistent with imperial pomp, court luxury, and absolute power. Corps of operatives and artisans, under the name of *Federates*, were, however, organised in Paris, and in all the departments; but they were

sparingly armed, and no regular part was allotted to them to perform in the national defence. Napoleon appointed the 14th of May for a day of procession and solemn festival of the *Federates* of Paris, when he rode along their ranks, received their acclamations, and harangued them in his usual strain of eloquence.



Amidst all the discordant elements of the time, Fouché was busily engaged in intrigues, for which his influential position of minister of police gave him full opportunity. Savary describes his proceedings in a few simple words:—"Fouché's only care," says he, "was to place himself in an attitude which would render him necessary to the government which might succeed the Emperor, whatever that government might be." He had already begun to hold traitorous communications with the Austrian government; and, in one instance, Napoleon had discovered this fact, and had nearly had him arrested; but he abstained, apparently from apprehension of the republican party, amongst whom Fouché was a busy pretender.

It is asserted, and apparently on good authority, that Napoleon made an attempt to have his wife and child carried off from Vienna and brought to France, after it had become apparent that the Em-

peror of Austria was resolute to detain them. The intention failed in its execution, and immediately afterwards Maria Louisa was obliged, by command of her father, to lay aside the arms and liveries of her husband, and to assume those of Austria; at the same time taking the title of Duchess of Parma. This very natural attempt of Napoleon is recorded by Scott, and writers of his party, in a tone similar to that in which they would record an act of plunder and rapine,—and as totally distinct from that authority which both in kind and degree is continually exercised by husbands and fathers who think themselves injured, all over the world.

The ceremony of the “Champ-de-Mai” took place on the 1st of June, in the open space facing the military school. It had been postponed beyond the time which had been previously intended, by the delay in collecting the votes on the constitutional act. It was a grand and imposing solemnity. The electors of the departments, the representatives of the people, and the deputations from the army, were assembled round the magnificent throne, on which, in the midst of them, the Emperor was seated, attended by his brothers Joseph, Lucien, and Jerome, his court, and the members of the government. The imperial and national guards, and the troops of the line, were drawn up in squares in the Champ-de-Mars; and an immense concourse of spectators thronged every vacant space from which a view of the scene could be gained. After a religious solemnity, a patriotic address was presented to the Emperor by the electors; the result of the votes was then declared,—being upwards of a million and a half for the new constitution, and something more than four thousand against it. The Emperor, then, turning to the side on which the electors were placed, delivered, in a clear voice, a discourse remarkable for its grand and simple eloquence, commencing with these words:—“Emperor, consul, soldier,—I hold all from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the sole object of all my thoughts and actions.” The Emperor then proceeded to the altar, and took an oath to observe the new constitution, in which he was followed by the ministers and the electoral deputations. The ceremony concluded with the distribution of the eagles to the troops, and with loud and repeated acclamations, and cries of “Vive l’Empereur!” from the soldiers and the multitude assembled. On the following day, the Emperor gave a grand fête, in the gallery of the Louvre, to the deputies of the army and the electors, on which occasion he was again greeted with every manifestation of devotion and fidelity.

On the 4th of June, Napoleon attended in person at the opening of the chambers. The house of peers was his own creation, and



NAPOLÉON AT THE CHAMP DE MARS.

consequently he encountered no opposition there. It was composed of his most distinguished marshals, generals, and councillors. Labeledoyère and Ney were among the military peers. There were also some men of literary eminence, and a few of the republican party, such as Sièyes and Carnot, who accepted titles of nobility in order to support, at this crisis, the only man whom they esteemed able to save the cause of liberty from utter destruction. The brothers of Napoleon also had seats in the chamber of peers: Lucien had joined Napoleon on his return from Elba, after a long alienation, which commenced in the time of Napoleon's prosperity and glory, and to the honour of Lucien, was all forgotten in these latter days of struggle and difficulty, throughout which, he laboured assiduously in the imperial cause.

The chamber of representatives was composed of more unruly elements. The lovers of constitutional liberty at length found here an opportunity to strive after the realization of a pure system of government, and they used their opportunity with zealous earnestness. La Fayette was one of their number, and once more took an important part in the political world. Lanjuinais, a republican, and well known to be opposed to the Emperor, was chosen as president.

The address of the Emperor to both the chambers was firm, open, and sensible. He disclaimed all pretensions to absolute power; professed himself a friend to liberty; demanded their assistance in matters of finance, and required from them an example of confidence, energy, and patriotism, to meet the dangers to which the country was exposed. The peers replied in corresponding terms: the members of the second chamber promised their unanimous support in repelling the foreign enemy; but they also announced their intention to take the constitution under their consideration—to point out its defects, and their remedies—and they concluded with a hint directed against the ambition of Napoleon, in which they deprecated all plans of aggrandisement. Even while granting a full measure of sympathy to these men, (amongst whom, the fear was quite natural, that if Napoleon were once firmly seated on his throne, their opportunity might be lost for ever;) it is impossible not to perceive that by the course they took, and the language they used, they crippled his power at the moment when it needed their utmost support; frittered away the time, already too short; and held out encouragement to the enemies of France, by publicly announcing their intention of curbing Napoleon's power, or inclination, to retaliate upon them the aggressions which they now perpetrated against France. That all such retaliation was then, always had been, and always will be, contrary to wisdom and pure morality, and therefore contrary to the

interests of nations, as well as of individuals, may be true; but it was not the time to make these monarchs so very easy about the consequences of their actions, and to assure them that whatever they did to France, they might feel quite assured France would never hurt them. "Those," says Hazlitt, "who wish to learn the history of revolutions and reform, have only to read the account of the battle of Bothwell Bridge in 'Old Mortality;' where, while the tory cavalry were charging their ranks, the covenanters were debating about right and left hand defections. Three hundred men, willing to be slaves, put implicit faith in, and follow their leader, and carry all before them. Three hundred men, determined to think and act for themselves, to give way in nothing, and to sacrifice no jot of their opinion as to what is right, while they are disputing and refining, are split into as many factions as there are persons, and are set upon and bound hand-and-foot by their adversaries, who will allow them no freedom of opinion at all. * * * Reformers, lovers of improvement and innovation, are those in whom the ideal faculty prevails over sense and habit; and this being the case, they will be apt to be satisfied too easily with their own imaginations and opinions; and provided they can indulge in these, care little about having them realised, of which there is in general small chance. If a certain degree of good is within their possession, or reach, they grow indifferent to it; raise their standard of perfection still higher; become extravagant and fastidious in their ends, to the neglect of all practical means to enforce them; and, like the dog in the fable (the type of this class of philosophers and politicians), constantly lose the substance for the shadow."

Meanwhile, in the midst of all these harassing difficulties, Napoleon had made the most extraordinary progress in his preparations for war. By the 1st of June, the effective strength of the French regular army had been raised to three hundred and sixty-three thousand men; of whom two hundred and seventeen thousand were under arms, clothed, disciplined, and ready to take the field. They were formed into seven grand corps, besides several corps of observation stationed along the whole line of the frontiers, which, it must be remembered, were threatened on every side. The greater portion, however, of these forces were cantoned round Paris, and on the frontier of Flanders, in which quarter the first attack of the allies was to be expected. The army extraordinary, consisting of picked battalions of the national guard, amounted to one hundred and ninety-six thousand men, the greater part of whom garrisoned the ninety frontier fortresses belonging to France, which had been armed, palisaded, and provisioned, and were officered by experienced men. Five hundred

pieces of field-artillery were added to the force of the army. The imperial guard was increased to four regiments of the young guard, four of the middle guard, four of the old guard, four of cavalry; in all, forty thousand men, with ninety-six pieces of cannon. The contractors had provided twenty thousand cavalry horses, and twelve thousand for the artillery; ten thousand trained horses had been furnished by the dismounted gendarmerie. The fortification of Paris was begun under the direction of the Engineer-general Haxo. The heights, redoubts, and line of defences extending round the capital, were mounted with six hundred pieces of cannon, and manned by five or six thousand gunners taken from the arsenals, and by volunteers from the Polytechnic and Charenton schools. Works of the same description were commenced around Lyons, under the Engineer-general L  ry. When completed, and the national guard duly organised, the defence of Paris might have been maintained by one hundred thousand men, independently of the troops of the line.

Such were the means of defence collected and created by Napoleon during this short period of three months. The resources of France were, however, much greater than these, and only wanted time for their developement. The conscription of 1815 would have been demanded of the legislature, and a levy of two hundred and fifty thousand men made during the months of July and August. The effective force of the national guard would also have been greatly increased. Arms, ammunition, clothing, and all the *mat  riel* of the army, would have been completed. "By the 1st of October," says Napoleon in his Memoirs dictated to Montholon, "France would have possessed an army of eight or nine hundred thousand men, thoroughly organised, armed, and equipped. The problem of her independence consisted in the power of retarding the commencement of hostilities till the 1st of October. The months of June, July, August, and September, were necessary, but they would have been sufficient. By that time, the frontiers of the empire would have been walls of brass, which no human power could have violated with impunity. * * * But, time was a necessary element: when Archimedes proposed to himself to lift the world with a lever and a fulcrum, he required time. It took a week to create the universe."

No further time, however, was allowed to Napoleon by his enemies. Their immense armaments were already pressing on towards the frontiers of France, in different lines, and at considerable intervals, for the convenience of subsistence. The Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, had once more placed themselves at the head of their respective armies. The Austrians, amounting to three hundred thousand men, commanded in chief by Schwartzburg,

were divided into two bodies, one of which was to enter France by Switzerland, the other by the Upper Rhine. Two hundred thousand Russians were marching towards Alsace, under the Archduke Constantine. The Prussian army amounted to two hundred and thirty-six thousand; of whom, one half were already in the field. The minor states of Germany had furnished one hundred and fifty thousand; the Netherlands, fifty thousand; England, eighty thousand, including the king's German legion, and other troops in British pay, under the command of the Duke of Wellington;—in all one million, sixteen thousand soldiers. To organise, bring into the field, and maintain this enormous mass of men, the tory government of England, with their customary munificence in the support of their principles, demanded from the English nation the requisite supply of money; and the nation, with its customary complaisance, munificently responded to the overture;—"The Chancellor of the Exchequer," says Scott, "had achieved a loan of thirty-six millions, upon terms surprisingly moderate, and the command of this treasure had put the whole troops of the coalition into the most active advance."

Among these hosts, it was the army commanded by the Duke of Wellington, and the Prussians, under Blucher, which were first in the field. They occupied Belgium, and amounted to upwards of two hundred thousand men, of whom rather less than one-half were ranged under the English commander-in-chief. The Russians and Austrians, it was computed, could not be on the Rhine before July.

Two plans of the campaign presented themselves to the mind of Napoleon. One was, to remain entirely on the defensive, leaving to the allies the odium of striking the first blow against the liberties of nations. He reckoned, that as they could not begin the invasion until the middle of July, it would be the middle of August before they could make their way through the fortresses, and appear in force before Lyons and Paris. Large armies could, before that time, be concentrated by him under the walls of these two cities, and there the battles must be fought and decided.

The second plan was, to assume the offensive before the allies had completed their operations, by marching into Belgium and attacking the armies of Blucher and Wellington. Napoleon calculated that by the 15th of June, he could assemble an army of one hundred and forty thousand men in Belgium. The triple row of strong fortresses possessed by France on that frontier, afforded an admirable curtain behind which he could unite and manœuvre his forces. His numbers would be very inferior, but his tactics would aim at preventing the junction of the two armies opposed to him, and beating them separately. Should he succeed, Belgium would, to a certainty, rise

and join his cause: the spirit of that country was well known both to him and to the allies. Another effect of his success would be, as he argued, the fall of the tory ministry in England; a result which he conceived might, of itself, terminate the war. If, however, the other allied powers continued to advance, ample time would remain for him to march his victorious army on the Rhine to oppose their approach. Lastly, the terrible evil of abandoning the provinces of France to the devastating invasion of a million of enemies would be avoided.

Napoleon finally resolved on the latter plan of the campaign. His calculations were, in part, disturbed by a serious insurrection in La Vendée, which obliged him to send twenty thousand men into that province in order to quell it, and reduced his disposable force to a hundred and twenty thousand men; but this did not alter his determination. The army was put in motion, and every preparation made for the approaching struggle.

When all was ready the Emperor took leave of the chambers of legislature, on which occasion he replied to the address of the deputies in the following terms:—"The struggle in which we are engaged, is serious. The seductions of prosperity are not the dangers which menace us at present. It is under the *Caudine Forks* that foreigners wish to make us pass. The justice of our cause, the public spirit of the nation, and the courage of the army, are strong grounds of hope for success; but should we encounter reverses, it is then that I should trust to see displayed all the energy of a great people. It is in times of difficulty that great nations, like great men, unfold all the energy of their character, and become objects of admiration to posterity. The constitution is our rallying point; it should be our pole-star in these stormy times. Every public discussion, tending directly, or indirectly, to diminish the confidence which should be placed in its arrangements, would be a misfortune to the state: we should then find ourselves in the midst of rocks, without compass or pilot. The crisis in which we are involved, is arduous. Let us not imitate the example of the lower empire, which, pressed on all sides by the barbarians, rendered itself the scoff of posterity by entering into abstract discussions when the battering-ram was at the gates of the city. In all circumstances, my conduct will be direct and firm. Aid me to save the country. First representative of the people, I have contracted the obligation, which I now renew, to employ in more tranquil times all the prerogatives of the crown, and the experience, such as it may be, which I have acquired, to ameliorate our institutions."

Of this parting address, which is remarkable for a noble simplicity of thought and language, the last words should be especially remembered, and taken as a pledge, that in happier times, Napoleon would have entered on the task of revising and reforming the faulty enactments which he had hastily made in the midst of the overwhelming labours attendant on his preparation for the war.

The Emperor left Paris, for the army, on the night between the 11th and 12th of June. The words, put into his mouth by some writers, to the effect that he was going to "measure himself" with Wellington, are excessively foolish, and only invented to enhance the result, after it had occurred. When the Emperor was "measuring himself" with the armies of Prussia, England, Belgium, &c.; while the armies of Russia and Austria were rapidly advancing, it is ridiculous to suppose that he should single out the chief commander of any one of them, as the sole object of his efforts! The imperial guard had commenced its march on the 8th. All the different corps of the army were in movement towards Maubeuge and Philippeville.





CHAPTER XIX.

NUMBER AND POSITION OF THE ALLIED ARMIES—WELLINGTON—FLUCHER—NAPOLEON ARRIVES TO TAKE COMMAND OF HIS FORCES—ADDRESS TO THE SOLDIERS—BALL-ROOM AT BRUSSELS—ATTACK ON CHARLEROI AND FLEURUS—BATTLES OF LIGNY AND QUATRE-BRAS—BATTLE OF WATERLOO.



THE forces under the command of the Duke of Wellington were of various nations. He had about thirty-five thousand English; the remainder was composed of the German Legion—Hanoverians, Brunswickers (commanded by the Duke of Brunswick), and Nassau, Dutch, and Belgian troops (under the Prince of Orange),—amounting in

all to about seventy-five thousand men. This force has usually been designated as the Anglo-Belgian army. The Duke of Wellington's head-quarters were at Brussels. His first division occupied Enghien, Brain-le-Comte, and Nivelles; and communicated with the Prussian right at Charleroi. The second division (commanded by Lord Hill) was cantoned in Halle, Oudenard, and Grammont, together with the greater part of the cavalry. The reserve (under Sir Thomas

Picton) was quartered at Brussels and Ghent. The army of Blücher amounted at this time to about a hundred and twenty thousand. They extended along the line of the Sambre and the Meuse; occupied Charleroi, Namur, Givet, and Liège; and communicated on their right with the left of the Anglo-Belgian army. The various divisions of the allied armies were thus cantoned over an extent of fifty miles. This circumstance, so dangerous in case of a sudden need for concentration, was partly attributable to the facilities thus gained for obtaining food and shelter, and partly to the secrecy with which Napoleon had conducted his movements; so that the allied armies knew not on what point to expect him. An extensive line of defence, however hazardous, was therefore deemed expedient.

Napoleon left Paris in the morning of the 12th of June, 1815. He arrived at Avesne on the 13th. On the night of the 14th, his army encamped in three directions;—his left (amounting to upwards of forty thousand) at Ham-sur-Heure, and Solre-sur-Sambre; his right (amounting to about sixteen thousand) at Philippeville; his centre (amounting to sixty or seventy thousand of the imperial guard and the reserves of cavalry) at Beaumont, which was his head-quarters. The camps were pitched in the rear of small hills, a few miles from the frontier, in such a manner that the allies could not see the fires during the night, nor had they any knowledge of the encampment. The returns now laid before the Emperor shewed that his army amounted to one hundred and twenty-two thousand, four hundred men, with three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. Napoleon had just issued the following address:—"Soldiers! this is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland. Then, as after Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous. We gave credit to the protestations and oaths of the princes whom we suffered to remain on their thrones. Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they aim at the independence, and at the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Are we no longer the same men? Fools that they are! A moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and the humiliation of the French people are out of their power. If they enter France, there will they find their tomb. Soldiers! we have forced marches to make; battles to wage; perils to encounter;—but with constancy the victory will be ours. The rights—the honour of the country will be recovered. For every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment has now arrived either to conquer, or perish!"

In the night between the 14th and 15th, scouts returned to the head-quarters of the French, at Beaumont, reporting that there was no movement among the invaders at Charleroi, Namur, and Brussels. It thus appears, that Napoleon's plans for concealing the movements of

his army during the last two days were perfectly successful. This fact has of late years been contested by some writers, who would not have it thought the Duke of Wellington had been surprised,—as though a surprise was not a common occurrence in war, especially in the wars with Napoleon. But the circumstance, stated in order to shew that the duke was aware of Napoleon's position and design during these last two days, proves the contrary. It is said that the duke was not taken by any surprise, because "at half-past one o'clock, p.m. of the same day (Thursday, the 15th), a Prussian officer, of high rank, arrived at Wellington's head-quarters in Brussels, with the intelligence of Napoleon's decisive operations." This, being the only ground of argument, merely shews that the duke possessed no knowledge of the position and intentions of Napoleon anterior to the afternoon of the 15th, which is all that need be granted to prove the degree of the surprise. All this is acknowledged by the Duke of Wellington himself,—first, in his letter to Lord Bathurst on the 13th, in which he declares his disbelief in the report that Napoleon had joined the army; and secondly, in his official dispatch of the battle of Waterloo.*

The characters of the two generals-in-chief opposed to him were taken into consideration by the Emperor. Knowing the enthusiastic temperament and hussar-habits of Blucher, he felt assured that he would draw his sword the moment he found the French were advancing, even if he had but two battalions with him, and endeavour to retard the masses, with a view to give the English time to collect their forces. He believed that Wellington, on the contrary, being more methodical and circumspect, would not hazard a battle until the whole of his forces were concentrated. If the English army were attacked first, Blucher would more rapidly arrive to the support of the English, than the English were likely to arrive if the Prussians were first attacked: Napoleon therefore determined on first attacking the Prussians.

The Emperor's force, for the field, amounted to between one hundred and ten, and one hundred and thirteen thousand men. These, with the exception of a few distributed on out-posts, he formed into two masses. The principal mass (amounting to about sixty thousand men) he directed on Fleurus, at which place he knew the Prussian army was assembled. The other mass (amounting to forty-three thousand men) he placed under the command of Ney, who had just arrived, with orders to advance on the road to Brussels, and make himself master of the position of Quatre-bras, at all points, so as to prevent Wellington from supporting the Prussians. He was to march at daybreak (on the 16th), occupy this position, and intrench himself.

* See "Dispatches of the Duke of Wellington," compiled by Lieut.-Col. Gurwood.

The action now commenced, June the 15th. Vandamme marched against St. Amand; Gérard advanced upon Ligny; Grouchy upon Sombref. The resistance by the Prussians, under Count Zieten, was as obstinate as the attack was vigorous. The advanced guard of the left met and routed the advanced guard of the Prussian corps, which was driven back on Charleroi. The Emperor now led on his guard, preceded by a body of light cavalry, and speedily entered Charleroi. The Prussians evacuated Charleroi by two roads, pursued on each by the French. Vandamme and Grouchy were stopped at Gilly by a report that there were two hundred thousand Prussians behind the woods in front of Fleurus. The Emperor went to reconnoitre, and being persuaded, from various indications, that there were less than fifty thousand, ordered the advance. General Letort, a cavalry officer, who possessed the rare combination of equal enthusiasm and judgment, led a charge that pierced through two squares of the enemy, destroying the whole twenty-eighth Prussian regiment; but Letort himself fell mortally wounded. At night, Vandamme and Grouchy occupied the woods near Fleurus.

The Duke of Wellington received intelligence at six o'clock in the evening of the 15th (or, at one o'clock, p.m., according to Mr. Lockhart), that the attack had commenced, and the out-posts of the allies had been driven back. There was to be a ball at the Duchess of Richmond's, in Brussels, on the same night, to which the duke, and most of the principal officers, had been invited. Notwithstanding the intelligence, they all went; but a second dispatch arrived at eleven o'clock at night, announcing that "the French had entered Charleroi that morning, and continued to march in order of battle on Brussels; that they were one hundred and fifty thousand strong; and that the Emperor was at their head." It was now but too clear that no more time should be lost, and the duke and all his officers hurried out of the ball-room. It has been explained that the presence of the duke and his officers in the dancing-room, at such a time, was on purpose to keep the affair secret from the inhabitants of Brussels: this may have been the case, and yet it is difficult to believe that any consequences of their alarm could be equal to the dangers of delay, when such an enemy as Napoleon was close at hand, and a battle impending, in the result of which the destinies of Europe were so extensively involved. The duke, however, was now fully aware of his situation, and issued orders for the breaking up of his cantonments, and the concentration of the forces, which were spread, as previously explained, over a very great extent. He rode off, at an early hour on the 16th, to Quatre-bras, to visit the position, and thence to Brie, where he had an interview with Blücher.



MARSHAL NEY.

The Emperor's manœuvres had thus far succeeded to his wish. He might reasonably expect (if Ney acted successfully according to his orders) to be able to attack the enemy in detail, unless the Prussians chose to retreat upon Brussels, and unite there with the army of the Duke of Wellington.

The advanced guards met at the village of Fleurus, and those belonging to the Prussians having retreated, their army now appeared drawn up in battle-array;—their left on Sombref; their centre on Ligny; their right on St. Amand. The reserves were on the heights of Brie. The Prussian forces occupied a line of nearly four miles in extent. The French army halted and formed. This army, not including Ney's division, amounted to sixty thousand men. The Emperor rode to some windmills on the chain of out-posts on the heights, and reconnoitred the enemy. The Prussians displayed a force of about eighty thousand men. The division under Bulow was unable to join them in time. Their front was protected by a deep ravine; but their right was exposed, and had Ney's division at Quatre-bras, as the Emperor supposed, in their rear.

A staff-officer now arrived from Ney, to inform Napoleon that he had not yet occupied Quatre-bras, in consequence of reports which made him apprehensive of being turned by the enemy; but that he would advance, if the Emperor still required it. Napoleon blamed him for having lost eight hours—repeated the order—and added that, as soon as Ney had made good that position, he (Ney) was to send a detachment by the causeway of Namur and the village of Marchais, whence it should attack the heights of Brie in the Prussian rear. Ney received this order at twelve o'clock at noon; his detachment might reach Marchais by about two o'clock.

At two o'clock, therefore, the Emperor ordered a charge of the whole front on Fleurus. The attack extended all along the line of the enemy, which would be enclosed between two fires on the arrival of the detachment from Ney's division in the rear of the Prussians. "The fate of the war," said Napoleon, in answer to a question from Count Gérard, "may be decided in three hours. If Ney executes his orders well, not a gun of the Prussian army will escape: it is taken *in flagranti delicto*." The same remarks are stated by some writers to have been also made by Napoleon in a third dispatch to Ney.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, Grouchy drove back the Prussian left; the third corps attacked the village of St. Amand; the fourth advanced on Ligny. The village of Ligny was taken and retaken four times. General Gérard displayed equal skill and valour; but he fell mortally wounded in the desperate struggle which occurred at St. Amand.

It was now half-past five, and Napoleon was directing the imperial guard upon Ligny, in support of the advantages already gained by Count Gérard, when he was informed that an army of thirty thousand Prussians was advancing upon Fleurus. Napoleon suspended the movement of the guard in order to meet this new force; but the alarm was unfounded. It was the first corps (Count d'Erlon's), which formed



part of Ney's division, and had come up on hearing the firing. Their unexpected appearance occasioned the loss of two hours. The guard resumed its movements upon Ligny. The ravine was passed by General Pecheux, at the head of his division, supported by the infantry, cavalry, artillery, and Milhaud's cuirassiers. The reserves of the Prussians were driven back with the bayonet, and the centre of the line broken and routed. The French were victorious. The slaughter among the Prussians was dreadful. They, however, effected a retreat, favoured by

the night, and by the failure of that attack in their rear which Ney had been so expressly ordered to make by a detachment from his force. Their loss, nevertheless, amounted to the prodigious number of upwards of twenty thousand men, killed, wounded, or prisoners; forty pieces of cannon, and eight stand of colours. Many of the Prussian generals were killed or wounded; and Marshal Blucher himself was overthrown, man and horse, by a charge of cuirassiers, and galloped over by friends and foes. Night was coming on; and the gallant old soldier, who was not killed, though of course much battered and bruised, effected his escape. He rejoined a body of his troops, and directed the retreat upon Wavres. The total loss of the French amounted to no more than nine thousand, killed or wounded,—the extraordinary disproportion being occasioned by the more skilful disposition of the French troops, whereby all their shots took effect, while more than half of those of the enemy were wasted.

On the same day as the battle of Ligny (June the 16th), was also fought the battle of Quatre-bras. If the waste of two hours in the preliminary movements of the battle of Ligny (occasioned by the unexpected appearance, on the left of the French, of the first corps of Ney's division) had been injurious to the operations of Napoleon, the failure of Ney on Quatre-bras was yet more vexatious to him. Ney's hesitation to advance, as previously described, lost several hours, so that the Prince of Orange occupied Quatre-bras, and had time to call up reinforcements. When Ney did advance, he left more than half his force behind him at Frasne, as a reserve to retreat upon; in consequence of which, he found himself not strong enough to take Quatre-bras. He, however, made a courageous attack, and defeated the Prince of Orange; but the Duke of Brunswick with his division, and the 5th English division, arrived in great haste, and the contest was renewed. The 49th and 42nd Highlanders had been taken by surprise, and the latter were almost cut to pieces, not without selling their lives dearly. Ney then attempted a general charge of cavalry, and was repulsed by a shower of bullets from the British infantry, added to a battery of two guns, which strewed the causeway with men and horses; and the French were obliged to retreat. The loss, however, on the whole, was much the heaviest on the side of the Anglo-Belgians, in consequence of their having scarcely any artillery. In this action, the Duke of Brunswick was killed. The French were next driven out from the Bois de Bossu, by the Belgians. The English divisions of Alten, Halket, Maitland, Cooke, and Byng, successively arrived. Ney sent for the first corps which he had left in reserve at Frasne. But this corps was then in the act of executing that unlucky movement which suspended the Emperor's operations

on Ligny. The first corps rejoined Ney towards night, but not till after his loss of Quatre-bras; and thus the first corps had rendered no assistance at either of the battles of the day. By neglecting to march the whole of his division upon Quatre-bras early in the morning, Ney failed to cut off the means of junction between the Prussian and English armies; and by not sending the detachment to attack the Prussians in the rear at Ligny, it seems probable that the whole Prussian army was saved from being destroyed or made prisoners, before it could receive the full support which had been promised by the Duke of Wellington. The latter intended to advance with his army on Quatre-bras at two o'clock, and debouch on St. Amand at four.

It appears, however, that Ney did an important service on the 16th, at Quatre-bras, in reparation of his various faults: for the five or six divisions of the British which were sent forward to the support of the Prince of Orange at Quatre-bras must, in fact, be regarded as the leading columns of the Duke of Wellington's advancing army; and as Ney gave these a desperate shock, it had the effect of checking the advance of the main army during the rest of the day, or till the battle of Ligny was decided. This important service is either not mentioned, or hurried over by nearly all the Napoleonist historians. Had Ney executed all his orders with his usual unhesitating rapidity and valour, it is probable, as previously observed, that the whole Prussian army would have been destroyed or made prisoners; but it is equally probable that the Duke of Wellington might have arrived on the scene of action, with seventy-five thousand fresh men, about the same time; and as there is a disorder in victory as well as in defeat, the division of Napoleon (now reduced to fifty thousand) might have been spared the delay of six-and-thirty hours, by meeting, at Ligny, the fate which awaited them at Waterloo. Against this chance we have, however, to place the almost certain arrival of Ney's division of forty-three thousand fresh men.

The French bivouacked, on the night of the 16th, on the field of battle at Ligny, with the exception of Grouchy's division, which encamped at Sombref. The Duke of Wellington passed the night at Quatre-bras,—his army gradually joining him till the morning of the 17th,—when they amounted to fifty thousand men. Ney was ordered to advance on Quatre-bras, at daybreak, and attack the British rear-guard, while Count Lobau was to proceed along the causeway of Namur, and take the British in flank. General Pajol, at daybreak, also, went in pursuit of the Prussians under Blücher: he was supported by Grouchy, with Exelmans' cavalry, and the third and fourth corps of infantry, amounting in all to about thirty-two thousand men.

Grouchy was ordered to follow Blücher, but to keep in constant communication with the main army, so as to rejoin it whenever required.

The Emperor rode over the field of battle, and directed every assistance to be given to the wounded. He then hurried to the support of Ney's attack on Quatre-bras. He now learned that it was still held by the British, and that Ney had not made any attack. He reproached Ney, on meeting him, who excused his delay by declaring that he believed the whole British army was there. This, however, was not the case. The Duke of Wellington, who intended a junction with the Prussians at Quatre-bras, but had been frustrated by their disastrous defeat at Ligny, now ordered a retreat on Brussels, leaving the Earl of Uxbridge, with his cavalry, as a rear-guard. Napoleon directed Count Lobau's division to advance, and the British cavalry then began to retire in battle-array. The French army moved forward in pursuit, the Emperor leading the way. The weather was dreadful,—the rain falling in torrents, so that the roads were scarcely passable. An attack of cavalry on the British rear-guard was, therefore, impracticable; but they were much galled by the French artillery. About six o'clock, the air became extremely foggy, and all further attack was relinquished for the night; but not till the Emperor had ascertained that the whole English army was encamped on the field of Waterloo, in front of the forest of Soignies.

The French army encamped across the high road to Brussels, in front of the invading forces. The bivouac of the French troops was in a deep mud, and some fears were entertained whether, in the event of a great battle on the next morning, the artillery would be able to manœuvre. But everything was to be risked rather than delay. The Emperor in the last three days had surprised the armies of the enemy,—succeeded in dividing them,—and gained one great battle. He feared the Duke of Wellington would perhaps retreat through the forest of Soignies in the night, and that Blücher, eluding Grouchy, might do the same, and unite with the duke before Brussels. He would then be liable to their united attack, reinforced by troops just landed at Ostend. He believed, and rightly, that Blücher was at present at Wavres; and that Grouchy was close to the same place,—as he ought to have been, but was not. At ten o'clock on the night of the 17th, Napoleon despatched an officer to Wavres, to inform Marshal Grouchy that there would be a great battle next day; that the English and Belgian armies were posted on the fields of Waterloo, its left supported by the village of La Haye; and that he ordered him to detach seven thousand men, of all arms, and six pieces of cannon, before daybreak, to St. Lambert, to be near the right of the French army,

and co-operate with it; that, as soon as Blucher evacuated Wavres, either towards Brussels, or in any other direction, he should instantly march with the rest of his force, and support the detachment sent to St. Lambert. About an hour after this dispatch was sent off, the Emperor received a report from Grouchy, dated from Gembloux at five o'clock, stating that "he was still at this village, and had not learned what direction Blucher had taken." At four o'clock in the morning, a second officer was sent to Grouchy to repeat the communication and the orders which had been sent to Wavres at ten o'clock. Another dispatch soon after arrived from Grouchy (who had not at that time been found by either of the officers sent by the Emperor), to state that "he had learned that Blucher was in Wavres, and would follow him—in the morning."

This extraordinary procrastination,—the chance of the Duke's retreat with Blucher through the forest,—their subsequent junction,—while the great armies of Russia and Austria were already about to cross the Rhine, and advance on Paris,—all these considerations shewed the Emperor that he had not an hour to spare; and, regretting that he had been unable to attack the main English army before the night had intervened, he determined to follow and attack it now, if it commenced a retreat.

Meantime, the Duke of Wellington despatched an officer to Wavres, informing Blucher of his position, and that he would hazard a battle in the morning, "provided the Prince would afford him," says Scott, "the support of two divisions of the Prussian army." The answer was worthy of the indefatigable and indomitable old man, who was never so much disconcerted by defeat as to prevent his being willing and ready for combat on the succeeding day. He sent for reply, that "he would move to the Duke of Wellington's support, not with two divisions only, but with his whole army; and that he asked no time to prepare for the movement longer than was necessary to supply food, and serve out cartridges to his soldiers." In a note to Mr. Lockhart's admirable, though party-spirited, compendium, it is distinctly declared, that the duke rode across to Wavres himself on this eventful night, so that the excellent answer sent by Blucher,—which is as characteristic as if it were true,—thus appears to owe its existence, among other fictions, to the genius of the author. Had Grouchy been on his proper track, it is not improbable but he might have fallen in with the duke during his ride on this terrible night. The rain fell in torrents, and the roads were scarcely passable, even by daylight.

The Emperor went on foot, at one o'clock in the morning, accompanied by the grand-marshal, to visit the whole line of main-guards. The forest of Soignies gleamed all over, as did the sky above, between

the tremendous showers of rain, with the reflection of the English fires from their numerous bivouacs. Exhausted with the fatigues of the last two or three days, the soldiers of both armies slept profoundly. Amidst the fall of the rain, Napoleon thought he heard the sound of a column in march. He thought it was a retreat; and was about to order his rear-guard to pursue. The rain paused,—and all again was silent. It was now two o'clock in the morning, and he received reports from various officers who had been to reconnoitre, and all agreed that the Anglo-Belgian army was making no movement. At four o'clock, he received information from the scouts, and from some deserters, of a kind which shewed that the invading forces intended to give him battle. The storm of wind and rain was slowly abating, and at five o'clock, some faint rays of the rising sun gradually displayed the army of the Duke of Wellington drawn up in battle array.

Of the numerical force of these two armies, it is not to be doubted but that a sufficiently accurate estimate might have been obtained at the period of the contest, had there been no misrepresentations on either side. But so much national feeling of the strongest kind, and of party-spirit, was involved in the result, that the utmost pains were taken, by each and all, to magnify the numbers of the enemy, and to diminish those of the side they espoused. Scarcely any two historians agree upon the point; for the French differ from the English, and from each other; and it is the same with our own writers. This circumstance seems to have been felt of late years in England; and, as if to settle the dispute, it has been tacitly decided to agree that the numbers were equal on both sides,—namely, seventy thousand. (It may be proper to say, that none of the French historians agree to this estimate.) This number, be it observed, does not include the division under Grouchy, nor the Prussian army, both of which were some leagues distant.

The position of the Anglo-Belgian army was in front of the farm-house, and village, of Mont St. Jean, on a large flat, from which the ground gradually sloped forwards. The line of battle extended from the ravine and village of Merke Braine, on the right,—to the hamlet of Ter-la-Haye, on the left. Nearly at the foot of the slope, stood the farm-house of La Haye Sainte. Beyond the slope, there was a plain, or undulating valley, of about a mile in breadth. In the middle of this plain stood the old Flemish chateau, called Hougomont; having offices, walled gardens, stabling, a farm-yard, and being environed by a small wood of tall beech-trees.

The Anglo-Belgian army was formed in three lines. The first line was composed of nearly all the British infantry, with the troops of Brunswick and Nassau, and several corps of Hanoverians, and

Belgians. The second line, stationed in a declivity behind, consisted of troops on whom the duke could not place so much reliance, or who had suffered most in the action at Quatre-bras. In the rear of this was placed all the cavalry. The farm-house of La Haye Sainte (which was in front of the centre) was strongly garrisoned. The chateau, gardens, and farm-yard of Hougomont (situated near the centre of the right) were also strongly occupied by a detachment of the English guards. Both these places formed strong and important outworks of defence. The reserve was at Mont St. Jean. The whole line was formed convex, retiring towards the forest at each extremity,—reaching Merke Braine on the right, and Ter-la-Haye on the left, as previously stated. The position extended across two high-roads (from Nivelles and Charleroi to Brussels), which gave every facility for movements from front to rear, during the action. There were also two country roads, which ran behind the first and second lines in a parallel direction, thus affording easy means for movements from wing to wing. What with the strong outposts of Hougomont, and La Haye Sainte, in front; and, in the rear, the village of Mont St. Jean,—further back, the town of Waterloo,—and the forest of Soignies, as positions to retire upon, to make a stand, or cover a retreat,—a more advantageous ground for receiving an attack could not easily be obtained in any open country, not previously fortified; and it was sufficiently evident that the Duke of Wellington had availed himself of all these means of defence, by a circumspect and masterly disposition of his forces.

When the Emperor, at sunrise, found that the duke's army was still in the same place, and in battle array, he seemed to have no objection to make him a present of all the advantages of position, his only fear having been that he would retreat in the night. As he contemplated this warlike host before him, he said,—“I have them, then—these English.” He had certainly no great cause to love the nation, or rather its rulers. The Emperor's breakfast was served up at eight o'clock, and many officers of distinction were present. “The enemy's army,” said Napoleon, “is superior to ours by nearly a fourth; there are, nevertheless, ninety chances in our favour, to ten against us.” The grounds of this calculation are not very evident, and would require a more elaborate analysis of military details than can be here ventured; but the remark as to relative numerical forces is striking, as it seems unlikely that he should have over-rated the enemy's force as an “encouragement,” and to prove his ninety chances to ten. This question, however, has been previously discussed.

The Emperor now mounted his horse, and rode forward to reconnoitre the English lines; after which he remained thoughtful for a

few minutes, and then dictated the order of battle. It was written down by two generals seated on the ground, and promptly distributed among the different corps. The army moved forward in eleven columns, and as they descended from the heights of La Belle Alliance, the trumpets played "*To the field!*" and the bands alternately struck up airs which recalled the memories of many victories. The French line of battle was formed in front of Planchenois,—having the heights of La Belle Alliance in the rear of its centre; being opposite to the nearly parallel chain of heights on which the enemy was posted,—having Mont St. Jean in the rear of its centre. The forces were drawn up, in six lines, on each side of the causeway of Charleroi. The first and second lines were of infantry, having the light cavalry at each of its wings; the third and fourth lines were all cuirassiers; the fifth and sixth lines consisted of the cavalry of the guard. The infantry of the guard was drawn up across the road, a little in the rear of these six lines; while a body of infantry, and cavalry, were placed in column at each of its wings, so as to unite them with the six lines of the main force. The artillery was placed in the intervals between the brigades. All the troops were in their stations by about half-past ten o'clock. Amidst all this mass of men there was a dead silence. The Emperor rode through the ranks, where he was received with the utmost enthusiasm; then, giving his last orders, galloped to the heights of Rossome, which commanded a complete view of both armies below, with a considerable range on each side beyond.

As the details of the various movements of the Anglo-Belgian army will be found in the different accounts of this campaign of the Duke of Wellington, more particularly in the "Dispatches" edited by Colonel Gurwood, it will be more consistent with the plan of the present history to dwell chiefly upon the movements adopted by the Emperor's plan of attack, from the individual results of which the plan of defence will be sufficiently apparent. The main object of the two commanders on this eventful day may be simply stated:—It was the design of the Emperor to beat the Anglo-Belgian army, or at least to divide it in itself, as well as cut off its communications, before Blucher arrived on the field: "it was Wellington's business to hold the enemy at bay, until the Prussian advance should enable him to charge them with superior numbers." It was the Emperor's design, in order to effect the aforesaid result, to turn the left wing of the duke's army,—because it was the weakest,—because he should then divide it from the right wing,—because he should thus intercept its junction with the Prussians by the road from Wavres,—and because he was in constant expectation of being joined himself by Grouchy

from that side. Having effected this separation of the wings, and made a vigorous attack on both wings to distract the attention, it was his design to fall suddenly on the centre,—break it,—and rout all its component parts in detail. The duke considered it his business to defeat, if possible, all these attempts; not to venture a general attack in return, but to hold his defensive position in the most cautious and determined manner until the arrival of Blücher.

While the design of the Emperor for making his grand attack, from the centre, on La Haye Sainte (which was directly in front of the enemy's centre) was preparing, he gave orders for the commencement of the battle. It was about half-past eleven o'clock. Prince Jerome's division opened a fire of musquetry on the advanced post of Hougoumont. Rushing forwards, the French drove the troops of Nassau before them through the little wood. A body of English guards instantly unmasked forty pieces of cannon. Count Reille advanced the battery of his second division, and General Kellermann sent forward his light artillery. Amidst a fierce cannonade on both sides, the French made a gallant charge at the chateau, and were as gallantly received by the English guards. The contest was desperate, and the loss great, on both sides. The English defended the chateau, the farm-offices, and the garden, with the most determined resolution. The French renewed their efforts, precipitating themselves with reckless valour upon the hedges, and throwing themselves over on the other side. But here they found a garden-wall, from behind which the English poured a steady and destructive fire upon the assailants,—then charged, and drove them out of the wood. The latter, however, persisted in the attack. They were now reinforced by General Foy's division, and foot by foot, the English guards were beaten from their posts, and the wood was again carried. A few hundreds of the English guards rallied within the chateau and farm-offices. The French, being masters of the wood, masked Hougoumont, and dashed forward, with their cavalry and artillery, against the British right. The British right formed in squares to receive them. There was great loss on the side of the British, owing to the suddenness of the attack, and the fixed position and dense array of the squares. The loss of the French was also considerable; and, as the squares remained unbroken, no apparent advantage was gained by the assault. The French being again repelled, a communication was reopened with Hougoumont, and the small body of English guards, defending the chateau, received a reinforcement under Colonel Hepburn. The garrison of Hougoumont now made a combined charge; and, after a furious struggle, in which the utmost valour, both individual and collective, was displayed on either side, drove back the French once

more out of the wood, and recovered the position. The French in their turn rallied,—returned with renewed fury,—and the English were again dislodged, and driven out with great slaughter. They rallied and immediately returned, and again they recovered the position.



The French charged with unexhausted impetuosity, but the martial spirit of the English guards was now wrought up to the highest pitch of what may be termed calm ferocity, and all the attempts of the assailants to dislodge them proved unavailing. This contest lasted through the greater part of the day. The killed and wounded, on both sides, during the contest for this single out-post, has been estimated at upwards of four thousand. The Emperor, calmly observing the whole from the heights, praised the English guards. He now ordered Hougoumont to be attacked by a battery of howitzers, and shells. The roofs and barns took fire, and the remnant of the English guards were obliged to retreat before the flames, over the mingled heaps of dead and dying bodies of their comrades and assailants.

The grand attack on the centre of the Anglo-Belgian army, was to be conducted by Marshal Ney. He had sent word to the Emperor

that everything was ready, and he only waited the order to begin. Before giving it, Napoleon gave one more look over the field of battle, and the surrounding country. He perceived a dark mass at a distance, in the direction of St. Lambert, where he had ordered Grouchy to send a detachment. The glasses of all the officers were turned towards the object. Some thought it was only a mass of dark trees. To remove all doubts, Napoleon despatched General Daumont, with a body of three thousand light cavalry, to form a junction with them if they were the troops of Grouchy, or to keep them in check if they were hostile. A Prussian hussar was soon brought in prisoner, from whom, and from a letter found upon him, it was discovered that the dark mass, seen near St. Lambert, was the advanced guard of Bulow, who was coming up with thirty thousand fresh men;—that Blucher was at Wavres with his army, and that Grouchy had not appeared there. A messenger was instantly despatched to Marshal Grouchy to march on St. Lambert without a moment's delay, and take Bulow's division in the rear. It was conjectured that Grouchy must be near at hand, whether he had received the various orders previously sent to him or not, as he himself had sent word that he should leave Gembloux in the morning, and from Gembloux to Wavres was only three leagues' distance. Marshal Grouchy was an officer of great experience, and the Emperor had a high opinion of his punctuality. But where was he? In this state of suspense, Napoleon ordered Count Lobau to follow and support the cavalry of Daumont, and to take up a strong position, where, with ten thousand men, he might keep thirty thousand in check, and to redouble the attack directly he found that Grouchy had arrived on the rear of the Prussians. Napoleon thus found himself deprived of the services of ten thousand men on his grand field of battle.

The Emperor now turned his attention to the main attack. The fire of artillery, with a hot skirmishing, had become general along the line; but there had not been any regular action, except on the left at Hougomont, which, as previously described, continued through the greater part of the day. Napoleon sent the order to Ney to commence his attack; and instantly eighty pieces of artillery were unmasked,—opened fire upon the Anglo-Belgian army, and soon made a series of dreadful gaps along the whole of their left. One of its divisions was completely swept away. These ghastly intervals were, however, very speedily filled up by fresh men. A column of French infantry now advanced. Before it could be supported, a grand charge of English cavalry was made, which broke the column of infantry,—routed it,—and took two eagles and several pieces of cannon. But while the English cavalry were wheeling off triumphantly, they were

met by a brigade of Milhaud's cuirassiers. A desperate conflict ensued at sword's length, in which the very horses seemed to be animated with the same fury as their riders. The combat lasted much beyond the usual time; the result of a meeting of two bodies of cavalry being generally determined in a few minutes. In the present instance, the French cavalry was beaten back, and fled towards their artillery for a cover, according to the account of Scott, and other writers of his party (in opposition to Captain Pringle's statement, which Sir Walter prints, as the best authority, in his appendix); and, according to the writers of the other party, the British cavalry was broken,—a great portion of it cut to pieces,—the eagles retaken,—while the infantry they had previously routed, rallied, and formed as before.

It is tolerably clear, that *both* the above accounts cannot be true. They are, no doubt, reconciled in the minds of the respective writers by a change in the periods and sequences of the movements of the battle, so that if that particular event did not occur exactly when stated, it did occur a little before or soon after. It will be readily apprehended, that this method of dealing with the details renders a correct view of the progress of the battle quite out of the question, and ultimately confuses the reader's judgment. At this period of the action, the innumerable discrepancies in the different accounts may be said to commence seriously. When the truth of an event, or a series of events, cannot be obtained, the next good to be accomplished is that of making the world aware of the condition of knowledge in that respect, and thus preventing dogmatism in opinions, the grounds of which may be quite fallacious. The correctness of a general impression of the sequence of the principal events of the battle is all that should be attempted, as it is all that can be relied upon as really true.*

* The details given of this battle, in nearly every one of the various works published in England and France at the time, and during some years after, are, for the most part, deliberate, and often preposterous, falsifications, suited to the feelings of the writers, and the feelings and prejudices of the nations to which they were expressly addressed. The degrees of this falsification gradually lessened with the progress of years. The French historians altered their numerical estimates to something more credible, though still not the fact. It is doubtful if the facts, as to number, be really attainable; and as to the details of the action, its different movements, and particular results, on which the whole so much depended, there are few accounts which agree in any three successive events. If this be the case in the three accounts emanating from the authorities who were most competent to give a regular view of the whole,—namely, General Gourgaud (and other French officers), under the dictation or revision of the Emperor Napoleon, on the one side, and the "Dispatches of the Duke of Wellington," and of Prince Blücher, on the other,—there can be no wonder at the difficulties and discrepancies discovered in all other writers who have attempted to give detailed accounts. In most of the lives of the Duke of Wellington, such

It appears that, after the desperate contest between the English heavy cavalry and the French cuirassiers, the former—(if they did succeed in driving back the cuirassiers), or (if they did not) another body of English cavalry—advanced in a charge upon some French infantry, and, before they could extricate themselves, were charged by another (or by the same) body of French cavalry,—broken, routed, and nearly cut to pieces,—their commander, General Ponsonby, being among the slain. Desperate charges of infantry and cavalry now followed in rapid succession,—the immediate object of the French being the occupation of the central out-post of the Anglo-Belgian army at the farm of La Haye Sainte; and thence to push on to the farm of Mont St. Jean. Some of the Scotch regiments made a gallant defence, but were overpowered: the fifth and sixth English divisions were nearly destroyed, and General Picton was left dead on the field.

It was about this period of the battle that the superiority of strength in the horses of the British cavalry was made apparent, to the disastrous overthrow of a body of cuirassiers. The 10th hussars were ordered to charge the latter, when it was found that their sabres flew to pieces, like glass, against the steel breastplates of their antagonists; and the hussars were rapidly being hewed down, when the word, "Open line!" was given, and through the interval thundered forward a body of the Life Guards, who overthrew the cuirassiers by main strength,—literally riding them down by hundreds,—and finally driving them backwards pell-mell over the edge of a sudden declivity. The cuirassiers rolled to the bottom in broken masses, and the struggling chaos of men and horses were soon quieted in one heap of death by volleys from the carbines of the guards above.

details are given, as shew the victorious arms of the British in a proper light; and the defeated condition of the French as a natural consequence. In Sir Walter Scott's history, as also in the admirable compendium of Mr. Lockhart, this is better managed, and justice is often done to the French valour. The details of the battle are, as usual with these writers, clearly and succinctly told, and have the very rare merit of being intelligible; but they are selected *ad libitum*; and all the manœuvres are tinged with the spirit of party. Savary was not present, and speaks only in general terms, chiefly concerning the conduct of Grouchy. Hazlitt's account of this battle is collected from various sources with elaborate care, and told with energy and eloquence; but the movements are frequently unintelligible, and the whole is given with the confusion of one who seems to be in the thick of the contest, on every point alternately,—and not traced with the steady hand of the general who stands apart. Other English works describe the battle solely with a view to please the English; Prussian writers take the same care to please the Prussians (and they may well claim a large share of the victory); while the two more recent French works of Norvins, and of Laurent, are mere bald accounts of a few details, taken at random, and described in a way to please the French. Thus, all parties are pleased,—but nobody obtains the truth.

The French eventually carried La Haye Sainte, and a body of their infantry pushed forwards beyond the farm, and overwhelmed and scattered several regiments; but were charged in their turn by two brigades of English foot and heavy cavalry, and routed. In consequence of this, the farm of La Haye Sainte was vigorously assaulted by the English; and, with the assistance of cannon and shells, was recovered. This important post was taken and retaken several times, with an energy that never relaxed on either side, and seems to have finally been held by the French until the grand battle was lost: but, amidst the mistakes and misrepresentations, voluntary and involuntary, of adverse writers; the confusion of survivors who were present; the limited views of the thoroughly-deaf and half-blind eye-witnesses, in the intervals of the clouds of smoke; it is impossible to obtain any fixed knowledge from their conflicting statements. Subsequent writers have all felt this throughout the battle, and have usually settled the question at issue by a dash of the pen, according to the dictates of their private feelings.

During these assaults on the centre of the British line, the French cuirassiers advanced to the charge in the face of a terrific fire from



the artillery in front of the British infantry, which was formed in squares to receive them. The squares were placed chequer-wise, so that two sides of each square could fire a volley on the advancing cavalry. The cuirassiers rode up to the very mouths of the cannon; cut down those artillerymen who were not quick enough in retreating behind the infantry; and dashed forward at the squares. The latter withheld their fire till the cuirassiers were within a few yards of their bayonets. These squares were formed four deep; the first and second rank fired a volley, and received the charge. It was made with fury. The squares remained unbroken. The cuirassiers urged their horses on the bayonets, and thrust over them with the points of their long swords. The volley of the second and third ranks was steadily fired, with dreadful effect, and the cuirassiers were obliged to retire. The instant they turned, the artillerymen rushed from behind the squares, manned their guns, and fired grape-shot with terrible effect on the retreating body of this gallant but unavailing cavalry. The cuirassiers turned,—re-formed,—renewed their charge,—but with no better result. And this was repeated several times.

It was now four o'clock; and about this time the Emperor received intelligence from Gembloux, that, notwithstanding all his repeated orders, Marshal Grouchy had not left his encampment at that place till after ten o'clock in the morning, in consequence, it was said, of the state of the weather.

The body of ten thousand men under Count Lobau and General Daumont were now in action with the Prussians under Bulow, near St. Lambert. The cannonade continued for a considerable time; the Prussian centre was then attacked and beaten back, but its wings advancing, Count Lobau was obliged to retire. At this crisis, the Emperor despatched General Dufresne with two brigades of infantry of the young guard, and twenty-four pieces of cannon, and the Prussian advance was checked. They still endeavoured to out-flank the French right, when several battalions of the old guard, with sixteen pieces of cannon, were sent forward; the Prussian line was out-flanked, and Bulow driven back.

Meantime, a terrific cannonade had been opened some hours before by the French, all along the line of the Anglo-Belgian army, particularly on its centre. It was vigorously returned, but the effect was far more devastating amidst the British ranks than in those of their assailants; and the Duke of Wellington at length ordered the whole front of the centre to retire about two hundred yards, so as to take up a new position on the reverse slope of the hill on which they had been previously formed. Behind this slope, the soldiers were ordered to lie down flat. Their artillery still remained in advance. It was

now that the French cuirassiers, probably supposing that the Anglo-Belgian army was retreating, made their first charge on the lines of infantry with what effect has just been described. The retiring movement of the British centre, however, is apparent.

At about five o'clock, Count D'Erlon had taken possession of the village of Ter-la-Haye; out-flanking the English left, and Bulow's right. It appears that Count Milhaud's cuirassiers, and the chasseurs of the guard, supported by an incessant fire from the infantry of General Lefebvre Desnouettes, dashed across the plain beyond the farm of La Haye Sainte, and, after a fierce struggle, drove back the English cavalry which had advanced to meet them.

About six o'clock, there was disorder in a great part of the Duke of Wellington's army. The ranks were thinned by the number killed,—by those carried off wounded,—and by desertions. Soldiers of various nations, Belgian, Hanoverian, and English, "crowded to the rear," and fled in a panic from this dreadful action. "A number of our own dismounted dragoons," continues Captain Pringle, "together with a proportion of our infantry, were glad to escape from the field. These thronged the road leading to Brussels, in a manner that none but an eye-witness could have believed." The same authority adds in a note, that "a regiment of our allied cavalry, whose uniform resembled the French, having fled to Brussels, an alarm spread that the enemy was at the gates. Numbers of those who had quitted the field of battle, and—let the truth be spoken—Englishmen too, fled from the town, and never halted until they reached Antwerp. This fact is too well attested to be doubted."*

Cries of "Victory!" resounded from the French over different parts of the field. Napoleon, hearing this, observed—"It is an hour too soon: but we must follow up what is done." He accordingly prepared a grand charge of three thousand cuirassiers. A distant cannonade was now heard in the direction of Wavres. It announced the approach of Grouchy,—or of Blücher.

It is necessary to pause in the account of this battle, in order to describe the movements of Marshal Grouchy, and of Prince Blücher, on both of whom, as it has been seen from the first, so much depended.

At half-past twelve o'clock, Grouchy was midway between Gembloux and Wavres. The tremendous cannonade at Waterloo resounded from the distance. General Excelmans rode up to the marshal, and told him that "he was convinced the Emperor must be in action with the Anglo-Belgian army; that so terrible a fire could not be

* Sir Walter Scott, vol. ix., Appendix, No. viii.

an affair of outposts or skirmishing; and that they ought to march to the scene of action, which, by turning to the left, they might reach within two hours." Grouchy paused awhile, and then reverted to his orders to follow Blücher. He ought to have done this much quicker the day before, and he did not at present know where Blücher really was. Count Gérard came up, and joined in the advice of General Excelmans. Still, Grouchy remained doubtful, and as if stupified. There is no need to suppose him treacherous. "The very fear of what might happen," to use Hazlitt's fine remarks on this occasion,— "the magnitude of the evil, took away the power to avert it. He saw the sun shining above his head, that was no more to behold his country's independence, or the face of freedom; he saw the triumphs, the struggles, the sacrifices of the last five-and-twenty years, about to be annulled and made of no account, which it required but one more effort to sanction and confirm for ever; the blood that had flowed turned into laughter and scorn; an imbecile monarch forced back on an hereditary throne, borne in defiance over the bleeding bodies and the prostrate necks of an abused people; he saw, or should have seen, all this, and could not be prevailed upon to stir a single step to prevent it. The very weight and damning sense of consequences, which should cut short all hesitation and compunction, seems, in minds not strong enough to cope with it, to seek relief in idle forms, or in some hollow subterfuge. At one moment, Marshal Grouchy appeared convinced; but just then, a report came that the Prussians were at Wavres, and he set out once more after them," instead of instantly hurrying off to join the Emperor in his great battle. "It was a rear-guard which Blücher had left there: he himself had gone (where he was much wanted) to Waterloo. Marshal Grouchy found at Wavres the officer who had been despatched from the field of battle at ten o'clock in the morning, and sent General Pajol, with twelve thousand men, to Limée, a bridge over the Dyle, about a league behind St. Lambert, where they arrived at seven in the evening."

Blücher was at Wavres during the night of the 17th, with all his forces; and, being well advised, as previously stated, that the Duke of Wellington would hazard a battle next morning if he could depend on the co-operation of the Prussians, the veteran marshal, at an early hour, detached the corps of Bülow, with orders to march on St. Lambert. Leaving Mielman, with his corps at Wavres, he himself, at the head of thirty thousand men, marched towards Waterloo. The duke had expected to be joined by Blücher as early as eleven o'clock; but the roads were in such a condition that the Prussians could not accomplish the march in any such time as had been calculated. Their advance was very slow,—but it was in the right direction.

Meantime, the Emperor, on the battle-field of Waterloo, had ordered the charge of three thousand cuirassiers under Kellermann, to sustain and follow up the advantages of the cuirassiers of Milhaud, and the chasseurs on the plain below. They sprang forward, and advanced under the cannonade of the Prussians,—shouting “Vive l'Empereur!”—for Bulow was still pressing upon the flank and rear. Other bodies of cavalry also advanced upon the centre of the Anglo-Belgian army. While the Emperor was watching their several charges, General Guyot's division of heavy cavalry were seen following the cuirassiers of Kellermann. This latter movement was without Napoleon's orders, and seems to have been the result of ungovernable excitement on the part of the officers and men, who thought they could finish the battle by a *coup-de-main*. The Emperor instantly sent the grand marshal to recall them. It was too late. They were in action before the order could reach them; and to recall them now, would have been dangerous, even if possible. This division was the reserve, and ought by all means to have been held back. The effect, however, of their advance was now to be seen.

It is said, by Captain Pringle, that “the Duke of Wellington never felt any anxiety as to the result of the battle.” It is, perhaps, the worst compliment ever paid to that excellent and circumspect commander. Considering not only the immediate results in the event of the loss of his army, and the military repute of his country, but the extensive consequences likely to reach all over Europe, it was not handsome towards the duke, as a man, to make such an assertion. Nor is it much better, in a military point of view; for, inasmuch as the duke had only agreed to accept a battle, on the condition of being joined by Blucher; had expected Blucher to be on the field at eleven o'clock, a. m.; and now it was past six o'clock, with no certainty of his approach,—but a charge of twelve thousand of the finest cavalry in the world advancing against him instead,—certainly no additional honour can accrue to him by so ill-advised an assertion. It would be far more feasible to believe, that in the utter failure of his calculation as to the time of Blucher's arrival, he had, during the later hours of the afternoon, stood occasionally, as some aver, “in a sort of stupor,” with intervals of very great and manifest anxiety. It is said, that during the preparation of this grand charge of the French cavalry, the duke ran forward with his glass in front of his lines, amidst the hot fire which preceded the charge. He was reminded that he was exposing himself too much. “Yes,” said the duke, “yes,—I know I am,—but I *must* see what they are doing.” This seems far more natural under such extraordinary circumstances, notwithstanding his reliance on the firmness of the British soldiers, for

they had already been tried hard enough,—“nearly eight hours,” says Captain Pringle, “longer than he had calculated upon.”

This matchless body of twelve thousand select cavalry dashed forward, in successive masses, towards the hostile lines, with all the triumphant fury of a charge upon a retreating foe. Breaking and overthrowing the opposing cavalry, and overwhelming the artillery in front of the lines, they were received by the squares of British infantry, first with a volley of musket-balls, and then upon the immoveable array of bristling bayonets. Men and horses, struggling in the agonies of violent death, bestrewed the ground. The squares



remained unbroken. The cuirassiers wheeled about,—re-formed,—and again charged with tremendous energy, and a valour that set at contemptuous defiance the tempest of grape-shot and balls of the artillery and musquetry, which opposed their advance. Men rolled off, and horses fell plunging, but the squares were unbroken. The French cavalry fared no better than the valorous Mamelukes against the French squares, at the battle of the Pyramids. But the Mamelukes

charged and fought individually, and not with the terrible collective force of the cuirassiers. Still the squares of British infantry withstood the shocks; and pistols were discharged in their faces, and swords thrust over their bayonets in vain. Napoleon had never before commanded in person against the English soldiery. He knew them now; but it was too late. He observed their grand self-command, and unflinching courage, and praised it,—but it was his ruin. Yet again, and again, did the brilliant cavalry of the French rush forward to the charge with unmitigated fury. They even passed between the squares of the first line, amidst their united cross-fire from front and rear, and charged the squares of the second line, whose fire they also received. It is more than probable,—whatever may have been said to the contrary,—that some squares *were* occasionally broken, in both lines, particularly in the second line. But no general effect was produced, no real advantage gained; and the baffled cuirassiers were always obliged to retire, receiving the terrific cross-fire of the squares as they passed between them, and followed by a volley of musquetry, and often by the grape-shot of the artillery. One body of cuirassiers, as if in cool despair of all further effect by the charge, advanced against the squares at a deliberate trot. They received the usual steady fire,—rode close up to the bayonets,—made a sort of half-ferocious, half-humorous, attempt to sweep away one of the rounded corners of a square,—then wheeled amidst all the firing, and retired. Wonderful as it may appear,—for such are, luckily, the chances of war,—this feat of contemptuous daring was attended with scarcely any injury to the cuirassiers. The small number that were killed in this eccentric movement, is scarcely credible. An English officer who was present avers, that only one cuirassier officer, and two men, fell. Of course, however, many were wounded, and, refusing to fall, carried away the balls in their bodies, to die out of sight of their enemies, perhaps at no distant part of this most dreadful field.

Many were the deeds of individual gallantry performed by officers and men on both sides, among cavalry and infantry all over the field. On one occasion, a regiment of French and English cavalry met at full charge. The French colonel was riding straight at the English colonel, who, holding his reins and his hat in the same hand, was waving his men onwards; when, just as they approached, the French colonel perceived that the English officer had only one arm, and instantly dropped the point of his sword with a respectful inclination of the body, and dashed past him to the next man. At the same instant, the general shock took place. The combat was soon over,—the English were victorious. "Spare the colonel!" exclaimed the English officer. "Where is he?" Little time was to be lost,—other

bodies of cuirassiers were advancing. "There he lies!" cried a soldier. The French colonel, covered with wounds, lay with a heap of dead around him. However strong a thing war may be, there are men in whom humanity and nobleness are stronger.

It has been declared by the French authorities, and others, that in the last grand charge of the twelve thousand French cavalry, many squares were broken, and six standards, and sixty pieces of cannon, taken. If so, most of the squares re-formed, and the cannon were probably retaken directly the cuirassiers retired. Be this as it may, the state of the battle, and the relative condition of both armies, at the present hour—nearly seven o'clock—appears to have been as follows:—

The line of battle of the Anglo-Belgian army, at the beginning of the engagement, presented a convex outline; or a crescent, the horns of which sloped backward. It has been said that by this time, the Duke of Wellington, having gradually advanced both wings, presented the form of a concave line; or a crescent, the horns of which were advanced. This is probably correct, as to the changed shape presented by the Anglo-Belgian lines; but in the cause of this change of appearance there seems this discrepancy,—that instead of the convex line of battle being gradually made a concave line, by advancing the wings, we should most probably understand the appearance of the wings in advance as having been occasioned by the beating back of the centre; both from repeated charges, and from the havoc made by the artillery, as previously described, which induced the order to retreat behind the slope of the elevation on which the Anglo-Belgian army had first been formed. Besides this, there were, according to Captain Pringle, multitudes of fugitives.

The desperate assaults of the French cavalry ought to have been supported by strong bodies of infantry; they could not, however, be spared, being needed for the contest with Bulow, and to prevent his advance. By seven o'clock, Bulow was successfully repulsed, and Count Lobau occupied the positions from which the Prussian general had been driven. Still, the French cavalry, as we have seen, could do no more than maintain itself on the plains, from whence the duke's army had certainly made a retrograde movement. It appears that a fresh cannonade was opened by the French along the British lines, after the assaults of the cuirassiers, but no further advance was attempted by the former. It is idle to declare, as many do, that the French had nearly won the battle when the first retrograde movement was made by the duke's army; nor is it much more reasonable to assert, that at seven o'clock, the French had really won the battle. They could not be said to have really won the battle till

the British were all killed, or prisoners, or had entirely left the field,—not any of which circumstances occurred. The British were beaten to a “stand still,”—but there they stood. There was not the least demonstration on the part of the Duke of Wellington to make any general advance (nor had there been, all day), and as little sign of his moving a jot further back. About twenty thousand men had been killed, or otherwise lost, on each side. It is difficult to come to any other conclusion, at this period of the contest, but that after a perilous chance on the side of the duke of losing the day, and no such danger on the side of the French,—it was a drawn battle.

It was seven o'clock. The distant cannonade, which had been faintly heard in the direction of Wavres, now opened near at hand. The roar of this fresh artillery did not announce the attack of Grouchy in the rear of Bulow's division, but the arrival of the two columns of Blucher, amounting to about thirty thousand men. The cannonade had not been that of his engagement with Grouchy, as had been generally supposed, but only of the attack made by Grouchy upon the Prussian rear-guard left at Wavres. A communication was speedily opened between the Anglo-Belgian army and the division of Bulow, which at that time was retreating. The relative strength of the two armies, allowing twenty thousand as lost on both sides, was now that of two to one against the French,—the majority on the other side being chiefly composed of fresh men.

It is said that when the duke found that it was Blucher who had arrived, he leaped up in the air with uncontrollable excitement, and that the Emperor, who had maintained throughout the whole day the most unruffled serenity, turned white as death. This might well be true on both sides. Howbeit, the presence of mind of the Emperor, so far from deserting him, was never so wonderfully manifested as upon this occasion, when the fate of the battle on which depended the most important and extensive results of any he had ever fought, hung by a hair before it was decided against him.

The fresh army, advancing to the assistance of the Anglo-Belgian forces, was now discovered with dismay by the French who were in action on the field. The French cavalry on the plain, who had found it impossible to break the squares of the British infantry, were waiting in constant expectation of the Emperor's orders for the advance of his reserves of the infantry of the guard. Thus supported, they still doubted not to obtain a signal victory. They were not alarmed when they saw the communication effected between Bulow and the English left, because of the threatening array of the imperial guard; but when they perceived the approach of the dense columns of Blucher, they were confounded, and several regiments began to fall back. The

Emperor instantly, at the head of four battalions of the infantry of the guard, advanced on the left, in front of La Haye Sainte. He sent aides-de-camp along the whole line, to announce the arrival of succours, and that Blucher's advance was only a retreat before Grouchy, who was pressing on his rear. He ordered General Reille to concentrate the whole of his corps near Hougomont, and make an attack. He sent General Friant to support the cavalry on the plain with four battalions of the middle guard. If, by a sudden charge, they could break and disorder the centre of the English line before the columns of Blucher were able to force their way into the plain, a last chance of success still remained. Blucher was hurrying on to La Haye. There was not an instant to lose.

The attack was made; the infantry drove back all that opposed them, and repeated charges of the French cavalry disordered the hostile ranks. Presently, other battalions of the guard came up. The Emperor ranged them by brigades; two battalions being in line, and two in column. General Friant was now carried by, wounded. He said that all was going on well, but that the attack could not be successful till all the rest of the guard were employed. This movement could not be effected on the instant, and in a few minutes it was too late. The British still stood on the defensive, with the same unconquerable fortitude that they had displayed throughout the whole day; and Blucher reached the village of La Haye. A violent struggle ensued, to check his advance. It was of brief duration. The overwhelming mass of fresh men bore down all opposition; their numerous columns came rolling on through the village; the Duke of Wellington prepared, for the first time during the day, to advance his lines; a panic seized some of the French soldiers, exhausted and maddened by the prolonged conflict, and the sudden appearance of the dark masses of fresh assailants; the cry of "*Sauve qui peut!*" was raised; the panic became general; all the barriers of opposition gave way like banks and dams before a torrent, and the columns of the Prussians instantly poured into the plain.

The pressure of the dense crowd of friends and foes became terrible. Napoleon instantly changed the front of the guard, so as to throw its left on La Haye Sainte, and its right on La Belle Alliance. They then faced the Prussians, whom they immediately charged. The fresh brigade of English cavalry from Ohain arrived at this crisis. They forced their way between General Reille's corps and the guard, to their utter separation. The rush of the Prussians through La Haye had already cut off Count Lobau's corps. The Emperor ordered his four reserve squadrons to charge the fresh brigade of English cavalry; but the French were hewed down by the former, who

defeated all attempts at rallying. Utter dismay, disorder, and frantic flight, was seen in the ranks of the French, and general confusion all over the field. The Emperor had barely time to gallop into one of the squares of the guard, which still maintained its position. Ney, Jerome, and other marshals, followed close at his heels. It was at this moment that Napoleon felt the loss of his reserve under General Guyot. Bulow forced his way on the left of the disordered French, and out-flanked the field. The cavalry and the four battalions of the guard which had so long held the plains below, and maintained themselves on the level heights, in opposition to the whole Anglo-Belgian army, were now driven back in disorder. The Duke of Wellington had at length ordered the advance, and his whole line ascended the elevation in front. The French artillery on this part of the field had expended all their ammunition, and the troops, having nothing to cover their retreat, were driven back pell-mell. So dreadful was the disorder in which they retreated, that the French infantry and cavalry became mingled, and fought with each other by mistake, as they fled.

One last effort to stem the torrent still remained. If the British centre could be broken, and their advance checked, some favourable chance was just possible. The Emperor ordered the advance of the reserved infantry of the imperial guard. He exhorted them by a hasty personal appeal, and confided the direction of their efforts to "the bravest of the brave." They moved forward in two columns, headed by Ney. Their advance was supported by a heavy fire of artillery; and four battalions of the old guard took post in their rear, as a reserve. The Duke of Wellington ordered the advance of his whole line upon the elevation to receive them. He gave this order in the familiar and brusque terms of "Up, guards, and at them!" His meaning was well understood. The infantry were ranged four deep, General Maitland's brigade of guards, and General Adair's brigade, formed the main force to repel this last daring attack of the French. The British were flanked by two brigades of artillery, which maintained a destructive fire on the advancing columns. The British columns however, still continued to advance. When they were within a short distance, the whole English line opened a fire of musquetry upon them. The soldiers all fired independently,—loading and firing as fast as possible,—so that the hail of bullets never ceased for a single instant. Ney's cocked hat and clothes were literally riddled with bullets, though he himself remained untouched, and still led on the columns, while his men were falling in heaps on each side of him. They continued to advance till within forty or fifty yards, and then attempted to open out their ranks to return the fire, and charge. But they were unable to deploy under so terrific and unremitting a fire; the movement



failed,—the ranks became a confused mass,—fell back in shoals amidst the hail of balls,—and, notwithstanding all the efforts of Ney, retreated in horrible disorder. “All is lost for the present,” said the Emperor.

Accompanied by only three or four officers, Napoleon hurried to the left of Planchenoit, on a second position, where he had placed a regiment of the guard, with two batteries in reserve. The routed columns were pursued by General Adair’s brigade of light horse. All the grand attacks had been made throughout the day by the French. This was their last. The battle of Waterloo was lost.

The four battalions of the old guard, under General Cambrone, still remained to protect the retreat of the French army. If the old guard could succeed in holding the British in check, and preventing their advance during half an hour longer, the coming shades of night would enable the army to retreat in safety, and partially recover its disorder by next morning. The old guard formed in square. It was flanked by a few pieces of artillery, and by a brigade of red lancers. “The Duke of Wellington,” says Captain Pringle, “now ordered his whole line to advance, and attack their position.” The infantry, which had remained in a defensive position the whole day; which had resisted the most daring and impetuous attacks; which had lost many advan-

tages of position, and never gained one; frequently driven back, and never making an advance; which had suffered slaughter, and been more than once in danger of defeat; which had held their ground seven or eight hours beyond the time their general had calculated as necessary, and held it just as sturdily even after they were beaten to a "stand still,"—so far from being exhausted in their energies, were but too glad to find a vent for their long-suppressed fury. It burst forth in dreadful strength as they advanced to the charge in embattled array, condensed and tremendous, against the remnant of noble veterans of that old imperial guard, which, during twenty years of slaughterous wars, had never once been vanquished. They, gathering round the standards of their former glory, received the dreadful onset with souls prepared for death. Nothing could withstand the maddened energies with which the British soldiers sought to relieve their breasts of the heavy burden they had borne throughout this bloody day. The old guard were beaten down, and havoc soon began to thin their ranks. Their general, Cambrone, was called upon to surrender by some British officers who, perhaps, even amidst the fury of the fight, were averse to see the slaughter of such devoted valour. The only reply made by Cambrone was,—“The old guard dies, but does not surrender!” And, on the space which these scarred and laurelled veterans defended foot by foot, their dead bodies were flung in ghastly heaps, over which the victors passed, triumphant, but not with equal glory. The old guard were the forlorn hope of their country and its liberties, and they died rather than witness her slavery and despair.

The irresistible advance of the British troops having accomplished the destruction of this last body, and the soldiers having repaid themselves for their long endurance, now felt the extent of their exhaustion. They were quite unable to pursue the routed and retreating army of the French. The Emperor attempted to protect the retreat; and the last discharge of artillery was from the guns, one of which wounded the Earl of Uxbridge, who was advancing at the head of the cavalry. The Emperor renewed his endeavours to rally the fugitives; but it was now nearly dark,—they could not see him, and nothing could be heard amidst the uproar and hideous confusion that everywhere prevailed. The Prussian cavalry, supported by some battalions of infantry, and the whole of Bulow's corps, now advanced by the right of Planchenoit. In a few minutes, the Emperor was almost surrounded by the hostile forces. He formed the regiment into a square, and was still lingering when Soult seized the bridle of his horse, and, pulling him away, the Emperor yielded to his destiny. He was obliged to gallop across the fields in the dark, amidst the whistling of the Prussian bullets, and detachments of their cavalry which were scouring in all directions.



The Duke of Wellington and Prince Blücher met about ten o'clock, and it was agreed that the pursuit should entirely devolve upon the Prussians, together with the Brunswick troops. The numerous squadrons dashed forward after the French army, which was retreating in the wildest disorder. It was a misty night; but the moon was just rising. Infantry, cavalry, artillery, were all mixed and jammed together in one dreadful struggle to escape; while ammunition and baggage-wagons, and stores, and hospital carts full of wounded men, and plunging horses, and private carriages—the Emperor's carriage among the rest—blocked up the roads and bridges, and filled up, with a sort of heaving wall, every available outlet and passage; while the remainder were floundering in the dusky drizzling mist, amidst corn-fields and ploughed lands, or wallowing in dark hollows. Everything was presently abandoned,—all union at an end,—each man sought only his individual safety, by endeavouring to escape from the dark uproar,—the crushing and trampling of friends, and the sabres of countless foes, distinguishable only by the death they dealt around. The havoc made among the French during the night was dreadful, the Prussians pursuing in every direction, and cutting down all they overtook without resistance, and with merciless ferocity.

Thus terminated the battle of Waterloo,—or of Mont St. Jean, as it is sometimes called by the French. It was a drawn battle

between the English and the French, even with the timely assistance of Bulow's division. The victory is attributable to the Prussians,—that is, to the arrival of their thirty thousand fresh men at the close of the day. In Prussia, the chief fame of the victory is awarded, not to Blücher, but to Bulow. In England it is, of course, awarded to the Duke of Wellington, though not, at this day, to a very popular extent. The Belgians, Brunswickers, Dutch, and others, all claim a large share of the victory, to very little of which, be it observed, did they really contribute, as the brunt of the battle all day was borne by the unconquerable English, and the king's German legion. In France, they claim for the Emperor, the winning of the battle twice over,—with the unlucky necessity of admitting that the English, however beaten, could not be made to leave the field.

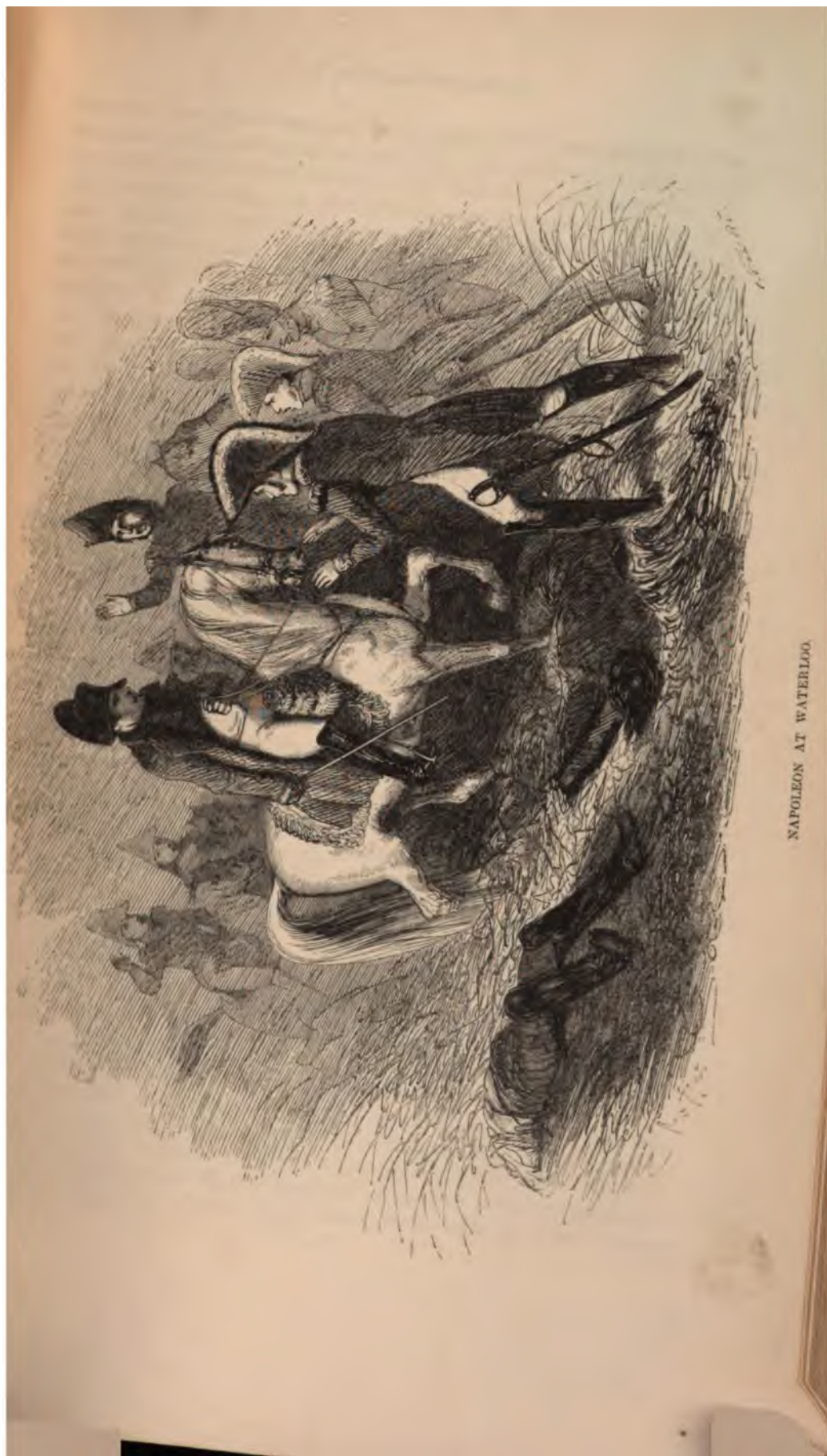
It is certain that the French displayed the utmost valour and enthusiasm in this last grand struggle for national independence. During the four days of this terrible campaign, at Fleurus, the great battle of Ligny, at Quatre-bras, and at Waterloo, including those slaughtered in the rout, the French lost forty thousand men. The Prussians, alone, lost thirty-eight thousand; the English between eleven and twelve thousand; the Belgians, Hanoverians, Dutch, and others of the allies, about eleven thousand. This campaign, therefore, for the overthrow of Napoleon, and the restoration of the Bourbons, cost the lives of upwards of a hundred thousand men.

Escaped from the field of battle, the Emperor made a brief halt at Genappe, at about eleven o'clock at night. All attempts to rally the frantic masses were in vain. Count Lobau, however, contrived to collect a few hundred horse as a rear-guard, but was presently overwhelmed, and made prisoner. The Emperor continued his course towards Quatre-bras, where he dismounted at a bivouac, at about one o'clock in the morning. He despatched several officers to Marshal Grouchy to acquaint him with the loss of the battle of Mont St. Jean (Waterloo), and to direct him to pass the Sambre at Namur, and thence proceed by Charlemont to Laon, which was to be the rendezvous of the army. The Emperor then proceeded to Charleroi; thence to Philippeville; and reached Laon on the 20th, at four o'clock in the afternoon.

The loss of the battle of Waterloo, is attributable, as has been evident, to the indecisions and faults committed by Ney and Grouchy; and to certain misunderstandings, non-reception of orders, and unauthorised movements,—all of which happened to be attended with the worst consequences; in short, the Emperor's good fortune had deserted him at a moment when any unlucky accident was fatal, because the obstinate courage of the British rendered anything short

of their destruction of no avail. The Emperor never attributed the least treachery to Ney, or even to Grouchy. He merely said that the events of 1814, had injured the old single-minded martial character of the generals, so that their heads were confused with politics, in which "they shewed themselves mere children." The French soldiers were all true as ever, but they had a want of faith in their generals. The worst suspicions were unjustly entertained of several, even during the action. The first shots had scarcely been fired, when an old corporal approached the Emperor, and said, "Sire, do not trust Marshal Soult,—he means to betray us." "Be tranquil," replied Napoleon; "I will answer for him, as for myself." In the middle of the engagement, an officer came to Marshal Soult, with a report that General Vandamme had gone over to the enemy; and, towards the close of the day, a dragoon galloped up to the Emperor, exclaiming, "Sire, hasten to our division,—General D'Henin harangues the men to go over to the enemy." "Did you hear him?" "No, sire; but an officer, who is now seeking your majesty, has seen him, and charged me with the news." At this very time, General D'Henin was in action with his division, and fell from a cannon-shot, which carried away one of his thighs. But, previous to the action, Lieutenant-Colonel Bourmont, Colonel Clouet, and the Staff-officer Villoutry, went over to the enemy (this was on the 14th or 15th, in the night), as did several officers who bore dispatches. By these means, the Duke of Wellington obtained several pieces of important information; and to these desertions is chiefly attributable the suspicions which existed throughout the army.

But whatever degree of political vacillation might have existed, or been imagined to exist, among a part of the officers (though their conduct on the field is unquestionable), the fidelity and devotedness of the French soldiery are almost without parallel in the pages of history. Their gallantry and enthusiasm never flagged for a moment through the whole of this most trying campaign, and were carried to the noblest height in this last fatal battle, even after all hopes of victory were at an end. The last advance upon the centre of the British, and the attempt to protect the retreat, are ever-memorable events of the day. Some of the veterans of the imperial guard, who lay wounded upon the field, killed themselves when they heard the Emperor had lost the battle. A day or two after the engagement, many who had lain as dead, when roused from their insensibility, lifted up their heads from the ghastly heap around, and said, "Vive l'Empereur!" In the hospitals, the dying men feebly shouted the same words. One of them, during an amputation, gazing steadfastly on his own blood, remarked, that he would gladly give it all to the



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service of the great Napoleon: and another, who was undergoing the extraction of a ball from his left side, near the heart, exclaimed, as the probe went into the wound, "An inch deeper, and you will find the Emperor." No man who was not humane and noble, was ever loved to this degree by large masses of his fellow-beings. In all such instances,—they are very few,—the instincts of human nature are infallible. Brilliant talents, alone, never secure a deep and general love.

The remains of the French army were retreating on several different points. Entrusting the assemblage of the fugitives, at Avesnes, to Prince Jerome, assisted by General Flahault,—and at Philippeville, to Marshal Soult,—the Emperor sent an aide-de-camp to Guise, for the same purpose, and stationed another aide-de-camp at Laon, to make preparations for the fresh army which he intended to assemble beneath the walls, in that advantageous position. He then proceeded at full speed to Paris, accompanied by the Duke of Bassano, the Grand Marshal Bertrand, and his aides-de-camp Labedoyère, Bernard, Drouot, and Gourgaud. It was his intention to anticipate any political disturbances to which the sudden news of the recent defeat might give rise; to settle all the arrangements for the complete defence of the capital; to prepare the public mind for the grand crisis in which the country was about to be placed by the junction of the great armies of Prussia, England, Austria, and Russia; to direct on Laon all the troops that could be safely withdrawn from the dépôts and fortified places, and to prepare for the grand final struggle of France as an independent nation. All these arrangements he intended to put in process of execution, within the space of eight-and-forty hours after his arrival in Paris, and then return direct to Laon.

The battle of Waterloo, disastrous as it had been, had not exhausted the resources of the Empire. Every preparatory measure had been taken, on the supposition of the failure of the attack on Belgium. From twenty-five to thirty thousand men, including the reserves of the guard, were in readiness to march from Paris and the dépôts. General Rapp, with twenty-five thousand men, chosen troops, was expected on the Marne in the beginning of July. Paris alone had contained five hundred pieces of field artillery, of which only one hundred and seventy had been lost. The fate of Grouchy's division, amounting to nearly thirty thousand men, was uncertain at that moment; but by that marshal's well-ordered retreat, it was brought back intact; and Soult rallied from five-and-thirty to forty thousand men of the fugitives from Waterloo, between Laon and Paris, on the 27th. Thus, an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, with three hundred and seventy pieces of cannon, might cover Paris early in July. That

capital possessed, independently of these means of defence, thirty-six thousand men of the national guard, thirty thousand sharp-shooters, six hundred battering cannon, and formidable entrenchments on the right bank of the Seine; while in a few days, those of the left bank would have been entirely completed. The armies of Wellington and Blucher, diminished as they were by the battles they had fought, must have waited on the Somme for the co-operation of the Austrian and Russian armies, no part of which could be on the Marne before the 15th of July, and the mass of them still later. Paris had twenty-five days to prepare for defence, to complete the arming of its inhabitants, its fortifications, and supplies, and to draw troops from every part of France. Arms, ammunition, and officers, were abundant; and the field-artillery could have been augmented to six hundred. Marshal Suchet and General Lécourbe would have had at the same time upwards of thirty thousand men before Lyons, independently of the garrison of that city, which was well armed, supplied with provisions, and protected by strong entrenchments. The defence of all the fortresses was secured; they were commanded by chosen officers, and garrisoned by faithful troops. A new levy of men must be called out; all preparations must be continued; everything might be repaired. But decision, energy, and firmness, on the part of the officers of the government, of the Chambers, and of the whole nation, were necessary.

Such were the thoughts which filled the mind of Napoleon in his rapid course towards the capital; while the ghastly witnesses of the late deadly struggle still strewed the bloody and trodden field of Waterloo.





CHAPTER XX.

NAPOLEON RETURNS TO PARIS—HOLDS A COUNCIL—LA FAYETTE—THE CHAMBERS DECLARE THEIR SITTINGS PERMANENT—ABDICATION OF NAPOLEON—HE RECEIVES THE THANKS OF THE CHAMBERS—DEMANDS TWO FRIGATES TO CONVEY HIM TO AMERICA—RETIRES TO MALMAISON—ADVANCE OF THE ALLIES, AND PROCLAMATION OF LOUIS XVIII.—NAPOLEON DEPARTS FOR ROCHEFORT—THE PORT BLOCKADED BY BRITISH SHIPS—LETTER TO THE PRINCE REGENT FROM NAPOLEON—HE EMBARKS IN THE BELLEROPHON, WHICH SAILS FOR ENGLAND—HE IS NOT PERMITTED TO LAND—IS TRANSFERRED TO THE NORTHUMBERLAND—DEPARTURE FOR ST. HELENA.



RUMOURS of the disastrous defeat which the French army had sustained, reached Paris as early as the 19th of June, when the public rejoicings for the victory of Ligny were scarcely concluded; but few had credited the evil tidings, when the sudden return of Napoleon at once confirmed them. He reached Paris during the night of the 20th, and alighted at the palace of the Elysée, where he was immediately joined by Joseph and Lucien. A letter from himself had informed his brother Joseph, who presided at

the council of ministers, of the whole truth, disguising nothing, but recommending that no means should be neglected for preparing the public mind for a vigorous defence, and for sacrifices commensurate

with the extent of the danger. It was in this spirit that Napoleon met his ministers, whom he summoned on the instant of arrival. He was covered with dust, as he had left the field of Waterloo; yet, unexhausted by the fatigues of three battles, the dreadful events of the flight, and the hurry of his journey, he gave a rapid but distinct view of the resources of the country, the strength already organised for resistance, and the far greater power still capable of development.

Napoleon decided that the extent of the disaster at Waterloo, and the means of its reparation should be immediately laid before the houses of legislature, and their co-operation demanded for defence. The opinion of his councillors, in general, coincided with his own. Fouché, and those among them who were treacherous, dissembled their ideas; Lucien and the Duke of Bassano recommended the immediate dissolution of the Chambers, and the assumption of a military dictatorship by Napoleon. He, however, refused this course. He knew the spirit of the Chamber of Representatives, but he believed that the pressure of the danger would induce the members to support him, from the necessity of employing his military talents. Had he possessed the same powers as a public speaker which he possessed as a military commander and civil administrator, he ought to have gone down to the Chambers on the morning of the 21st, and there proclaimed his resources, and insisted on a fair hearing; but, as it was, he appointed a deputation for this important purpose, and then yielding at length to the excess of his physical fatigue, took his usual refreshment of the bath.

The Chambers met at eight o'clock in the morning. The report of the Emperor's arrival was quickly spread throughout the assembly. Strange surmises and exaggerated rumours of calamities, even more extensive than had occurred, flew from mouth to mouth, and the idea that a dissolution was to be instantly expected, became current. Fouché was the originator of this idea, and at the same time Fouché was the disseminator of the reports of the spirit of the Chambers, and the instigator of the advice to dissolve them. His intrigues were apparently about to be crowned with success. While the excitement was reaching its height, La Fayette rose, and after a speech, in which he invited the representatives of the people to rally round the ancient standard of liberty, equality, and public order, he proposed the following resolutions:—"First:—The Chamber of Representatives declares that the independence of the country is menaced. Secondly:—The Chamber declares itself permanent. Every attempt to dissolve it is a crime of high treason. Whoever is guilty of such an attempt is a traitor to his country, and shall be instantly condemned as such." These leading clauses were followed by others, to the effect that

“the army had deserved well of the country,—that the national guard should be called out, and that the ministers should be invited to place themselves in the bosom of the assembly.” La Fayette was seconded, and his resolutions carried, with the sole exception of that which proposed the calling out of the national guard,—a measure which was declared premature. Thus the Chamber of Representatives overturned the new constitution, and put aside the authority of the Emperor.

It was not till after these decisions that the deputation of ministers, accompanied by Lucien, was introduced. This was a great error: they should have forestalled the discussion. They proceeded to lay before the assembly the events of the battle of Waterloo without any disguise; they then attempted to detail the resources of the country, and to demand the co-operation of the Chambers with the head of the state, for the national defence. They could scarcely obtain a hearing. A stormy discussion followed. It became evident that a separation from the cause of the Emperor was regarded as the only means to obtain peace and liberty. Lucien argued in vain that it was, on the contrary, the means of delivering France to the enemies of her liberty; and that by the course which the representatives were pursuing, they were going beyond the most sanguine hopes of the allies. He could not make himself heard. At the same time, to complete the evidence of their delusion, the members brought forward anew, and confirmed, that article of the constitution which proscribed the restoration of the house of Bourbon; while by their acts they had smoothed away the only difficulty which lay in the way of the return of the Bourbons. The resolutions of the lower house were immediately communicated by a message to the Chamber of Peers. No one opposed them, and they were adopted.

The Emperor held a council in the afternoon, at which there were few who did not recommend his abdication. The Duke of Bassano again vehemently opposed it; and Carnot, whose knowledge of the real state of affairs was too clear to permit him to be deceived, argued strenuously against it. So earnest was this veteran republican, that when he heard the contrary opinion prevail, and the abdication insisted on, he leaned on a table, and hid his face with his hands, which were observed to be wetted by his tears. Napoleon said little, and dissolved the council without announcing his decision. Amidst the various conjectures, affirmations, denials, and animadversions, concerning the course which he pursued, his own exposition of his feelings and motives given to Las Casas at St. Helena, is a guide to the simple truth: it bears internal evidence of sincerity, and every authentic account corroborates its correctness. “I have often asked myself,” said Napoleon, “whether I have done for the French people

all that they could expect of me,—for that people did much for me. Will they ever know all that I suffered during the night that preceded my final decision? In that night of anguish and uncertainty I had to choose between two great courses; the one was to endeavour to save France by violence, and the other was to yield to the general impulse. Friends and enemies, the good and evil disposed, all were against me, and I stood alone. For a moment I entertained the idea of resistance. I was on the point of declaring myself permanently at the Tuileries, with my ministers and councillors of state. I had thoughts of rallying round me the six thousand guards who were in Paris, augmenting them with the best-disposed portions of the national guard, who were very numerous, and the federate troops of the Faubourgs,—of adjourning the chambers of legislature to Tours or Blois,—re-organising before the walls of Paris the wrecks of the army, and thus exerting my efforts singly, as a dictator, for the welfare of the country. But would the chambers have obeyed? I might have enforced obedience, it is true; but this would have been a new cause of scandal, and a fresh source of difficulties. It would have been necessary to arraign great criminals, and to decree great punishments. Blood must have been shed; and then who can tell where we should have stopped! What scenes of horror might not have been renewed! By pursuing this line of conduct, should I not have drowned my memory in the deluge of blood, crimes, and abominations of every kind, with which libellers have already overwhelmed me? Should I not thereby have seemed to justify all that they have been pleased to invent? I hesitated long,—I weighed every argument on both sides; and I at length concluded that I could not make head against the coalition without, and the royalists within,—that I should be unable to oppose the numerous sects which would have been created by the violence committed on the Chambers,—to control that portion of the multitude which must be driven by force, or to resist that moral condemnation which imputes to him who is unfortunate every evil that ensues. Abdication was, therefore, the only step that I could adopt. All was lost without me. I foresaw and foretold this; but still I had no alternative.”

The Emperor held a levee at nine o'clock on the morning of the 22nd. His expressions to those whom he trusted, accorded exactly with the foregoing statement:—“He dismissed every one,” says Savary, “but M. De Caulaincourt, Lavalette, and myself. He again spoke to us on public affairs, and said it was the prevailing idea that everything would be saved by his downfall; but it would be seen how such an idea was founded in error. ‘If I am allowed to fall,’ said he, ‘the consequences are inevitable; but I can do nothing single-handed. For my part, my determination is taken; I have caused

communications to be made to the Chamber: I am awaiting its reply." The communications he had made were further particulars of the state of the army, and were of a very gloomy cast, as no news had yet been heard of Grouchy.

The Chamber replied by a deputation, commissioned to submit to his consideration, that "the state of war in which France was again involved, concerned much less the nation than himself; and that the assembly had the means at command of putting an end to it, if he would act so disinterested a part as to restore to it the faculty of action, according as circumstances might dictate its adoption."

The Emperor received this deputation graciously: he said, that "when he returned to France his main object had been to restore the nation to its freedom. If the assembly had the means of securing that object, it was far from his intention to obstruct the execution of it; but he wished to know in what consisted those means. In any case, he should reply to the message which they had been commissioned to convey to him."

The Emperor then summoned the Council of State, which he addressed in the following words:—"I can do nothing unassisted. The public mind is led astray by the efforts made to detach it from me. I had called the Chambers together in order that they might impart strength to my measures; whereas their disunion deprives me of the resources I might otherwise still have at command. The nation has been made to believe that I am the only obstacle to the conclusion of the arrangement, which it is fruitlessly led to expect. The time is too short to enable me to enlighten its judgment; its looks are now directed to another quarter. It requires of me that I should sacrifice myself. I am willing to do so; for I have not come to France for the purpose of kindling domestic feuds. Time, which analyses everything, will prove what are the intentions of those who accomplish the destruction of our remaining resources." He then dictated the following reply to the message of the Chambers:—

"When I began the war for the upholding of the national independence, I relied upon the union of all efforts and of all wills, and upon the concurrence of all the national authorities. I was justified in anticipating success, and I braved all the declarations of the powers against my person. Circumstances seem to be changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred against France. May they prove sincere, and may it appear that they only wage war against me! My political life is terminated. I proclaim my son under the title of Napoleon II., Emperor of the French. The present ministers will provisionally form the council of the government. The interest which I take in my son induces me to recommend that the Chambers should imme-

diately enact a law for the organisation of a regency. Unite together for the general safety, and to the end of securing your national independence.

"At the palace of the Elysée, the 22nd of June, 1815.

"NAPOLEON."

The Chamber had waited this reply in a state of the greatest impatience, augmented doubtless by the appearance of a legion of the national guard, which had been sent, through the machinations of Fouché, to "protect the deputies from the impending danger of dissolution." This perfectly answered the purpose intended, by alarming and exciting them. La Fayette had even proposed the deportation of the Emperor, if he delayed his decision longer; when Fouché appeared amongst them, to present the act of abdication. It was received with joy and admiration, and communicated to the Chamber of Peers. No explicit declaration was, however, made on the subject of Napoleon II., whose succession was warmly advocated by Béranger, Manuel, and others. A deputation was then ordered to convey to the Emperor the thanks of the Chambers. Napoleon received them, attired, for the last time, in his imperial robes, and surrounded by his state officers and guards. He looked pale, but perfectly calm; and having heard them without the smallest apparent emotion of any kind, he replied,—"I thank you for the sentiments which you express; I desire that my abdication may produce the happiness of France; but I cannot hope it: the state is left by it without a chief,—without a political existence. The time lost in overturning the empire might have been employed in placing France in a position to crush the enemy. I recommend to the Chamber promptly to reinforce the armies: whoever wishes for peace, must be ready for war. Do not place this great nation at the mercy of strangers. Beware of being deceived in your hopes. This is the real danger. In whatever position I may be placed, I shall always be satisfied, if France is happy."

The reign of the Emperor Napoleon was over. The council of ministers broke up, and the palace of the Elysée soon presented the appearance of a solitude. Napoleon, surrounded only by a few friends, had now become a private individual.

It was at this period that Las Casas, who had for some time belonged to the council, and the household of the Emperor, begged his permission to devote himself to his fortunes, and follow him to whatever place he might choose as his future abode. Savary, also, now threw up his post of inspector-general of gendarmerie, and attached himself entirely to the person of the Emperor. Generals Bertrand, Gourgaud, Montholon, and Lallemand remained in his suite; and among his confidential friends and advisers, we still find the names of the Duke of

Bassano, Lavallette, and Labedoyère. The latter had passionately maintained, in the Chamber of Peers, the right of Napoleon II. to the succession. Napoleon watched the progress of events with anxious and painful feelings; but every witness of his demeanour concurs in describing it as perfectly calm and serene. He appears scarcely to have alluded to the late events; and neither to have entertained any doubts of the wisdom of the course he had taken, nor uttered regrets nor reproaches. He was desirous only to remove from the troubled scene, of which he had become no more than a spectator. On the night of the 22nd, he accordingly sent a message to the minister of marine, requesting that two frigates, lying off Rochefort, might be placed at his disposal. It was his intention, to proceed direct to America.

In the sitting of the afternoon of the 22nd, the Chambers had decreed the appointment of a provisional government, consisting of five members. Fouché, Carnot, Caulaincourt, and Generals Grenier and Quinette, were chosen for this new office, and immediately installed in the Tuileries. The succession of Napoleon II. was acknowledged and proclaimed by the deputies, and afterwards by the peers. The first public act of the provisional government, was to despatch a deputation to treat of peace with the allies. Intelligence of the safe retreat of Marshal Grouchy had reached Paris in the course of the day. It was quickly followed by the news that the armies of the Duke of Wellington and Blücher had entered France on the 21st. Carnot laid the information before the house of peers, and seized the opportunity to urge them to defensive measures, by stating the resources of the country. His speech gave rise to a strange scene. Ney, who had been galled to the quick by Napoleon's expressions concerning him in the bulletins, started up and contradicted Carnot with a reckless desperation of manner, declaring that the guard was annihilated, that everything was lost, and that there was no safety for the country but in instant propositions of peace. On being contradicted by General Flahault, Ney resumed his speech with greater violence than before, and even went so far as to say "You must recall the Bourbons!" This topic, not yet touched upon by any one, brought down a storm of reproaches on him, to which he only replied with sullen indifference, "What should I gain by the restoration of Louis, except being shot for desertion?"

The members of the provisional government waited on Napoleon on the 23rd. The quiet of the Elysée was broken also by crowds who surrounded the palace with cries of "Vive l'Empereur," and who repeatedly insisted on his presenting himself to them. The rumour had spread among them that he was going to be delivered up to the enemy. Regiments of the line also, who had marched past, had

stopped to greet him with acclamations; and it was well known that discontent was spreading in the army, and that murmurs of "No Emperor—no soldiers!" had been heard. Alarmed by these symptoms, the provisional government deputed Carnot to request the Emperor to remove from Paris. Napoleon complied immediately, and went to Malmaison on the 25th. It was here that, in compliance with the suggestions of some members of the government, he addressed his last proclamation to the army:—"Soldiers! when I yield to the necessity which forces me to separate myself from the brave French army, I take away with me the happy conviction that it will justify, by the eminent services which the country expects from it, the high character which our enemies themselves are not able to refuse to it. Soldiers, I shall follow your steps, though absent. I know all the corps, and not one among them will obtain a signal advantage over the enemy that I shall not render homage to the courage which it will have shewn. You and I, we have been calumniated. Men, incapable of appreciating your actions, have seen, in the marks of attachment which you have given me, a zeal of which I was the sole object; let your future success teach them that it was the country above all that you served in obeying me, and that if I have any part in your affection, I owe it to my ardent love for France, our common mother. Soldiers, some efforts more, and the coalition will be destroyed. Napoleon will know you by the blows that you will give to it. Save the honour, the independence of the French; be what I have known you for twenty years, and you will be invincible."

Nothing is more remarkable throughout this eventful period than the carelessness displayed by Napoleon concerning his own future fate. He gave up his power without making a single condition for himself. Yet the excessive anxiety to receive his abdication which was shewn by the leading members of the party opposed to him, is sufficient proof that they would willingly have granted anything in their power to ensure it. If he had insisted, as a preliminary, that they should give him a proper escort to the coast, and a naval armament of respectable strength, rapidly equipped and put under weigh, so as to forestal the vigilance of the British government, there can be little doubt that he would have reached America in safety. The British force on the coast at that moment could not have prevented him. But, like a man who had seen the passion of his life overthrown, he seemed to have sunk into indifference. So little did he exert his usual vigilant foresight, that he even suffered himself to believe that he should be permitted to remain in France, and amused himself with plans of collecting a circle of private friends about him at Malmaison. He never even thought of his funds till reminded by Savary, who, after

instructions, went to the treasury of the crown on the morning of the 26th, to receive the sum (not a large one) which the Emperor had at his disposal. He was only just in time; having scarcely left the treasury, it was closed, and all payments forbidden by order of the provisional government.

On the 26th, General Becker made his appearance at Malmaison, and declared that he had received orders to take the command of the army entrusted to protect the Emperor, and to answer for his conduct to the provisional government. Napoleon was perfectly aware of this; notwithstanding he received General Becker's declaration with satisfaction. He now saw that his motions were watched, and that the provisional government probably intended to procrastinate matters and deliver him up to the enemy. Sièyes, among others, had visited him for the purpose of convincing him of such a design; and neither the passports required for his departure, nor the frigates, were yet made over to him. Napoleon continued to play the same quiet indifference about his fate, which had been observable since his abdication. "His composure," says Savary, "amazed me." Incited by this faithful councillor, he, however, made a pressing demand, through General Becker, on the 27th, that the provisional government would complete the necessary measures for his departure; adding that if he did not receive their answer without delay, he would address himself to the Chambers, and proceed to the Chamber of their sittings, there to wait the issue of events, and to assign to them the task of delivering him up to the enemy. The answer was, that for greater security, the provisional government had demanded from the Duke of Wellington, a safe conduct for Napoleon to proceed to the United States; and that as soon as received, it should be forwarded." No one could be deceived as to the intention of this proceeding: it clearly denoted that the men, who, for the moment, possessed the government of France, had determined that the late Emperor should not leave the country freely. The fear that he should at any time return, had made them take a step which was certain to place him in the power of the English government. The Duke of Wellington had no authority to grant so important a passport, but informed his government of the request,—and the coast of France was immediately guarded by English cruizers, with strict injunctions to prevent the departure of Napoleon Bonaparte. The official order reached the British squadron, lying off Rochelle and Rochefort, on the 5th or 6th of July; but as early as the 30th of June an anonymous French correspondent had warned Captain Maitland, commanding the *Bellefleur*, off the latter port, of the probable embarkation of Napoleon, and that part of the coast. The letter was written on very thin

paper, and enclosed in a quill. Probably the informant was an agent of Fouché.

Meanwhile, the allied armies were fast approaching Paris. The deputation from the provisional government, with proposals for an armistice, had produced no other effect than to accelerate their march. They had hitherto proceeded with caution, but no sooner did they receive intelligence of the abdication of Napoleon, than they advanced rapidly. The Prussians had appeared on the Lower Seine, on the 27th. Napoleon, who watched every movement, perceived that they had thereby exposed themselves to be cut to pieces, and sent an offer to the provisional government, to place himself at the head of the army, and punish their rashness. "You will explain to them," said he to General Becker, who was the bearer of his message, "that it is not my intention to resume the possession of power. My only wish is to defeat and crush the enemy, and compel him, by means of our victory, to give a favourable turn to the negotiations. As soon as this result shall have been obtained, I shall depart, and quietly proceed on my journey." Such an offer was, of course, rejected. Whatever were its latent, perhaps, even unconscious, motives, it was unquestionably prompted by the irresistible impulse of the military commander, to rush upon an enemy who had thrown himself into a false position. It had the effect, however, of alarming Fouché, who could not receive even a remote suggestion of Napoleon at the "head of the army," without trembling, and heartily wishing him out of the way. On the following day, all the obstacles were removed which had hitherto impeded his departure, and on the 29th, he finally left Malmaison. A small band of friends had collected round him to bid him farewell, besides those who had asked and received permission to follow him in his exile. Labedoyère suffered himself to be persuaded to remain in France, contrary to the warnings and remonstrances of the Emperor. The officers of the guard were admitted to take their leave. Hortense was with him to the last moment, and was overcome with grief. It was, however, with a firm step, and a countenance perfectly calm, that Napoleon came out of his private apartments and announced that he was ready to depart. He took the road to Rochefort, by Tours, travelling in a plain summer calash, accompanied by Savary, and Generals Becker and Bertrand: General Gourgaud followed in a carriage containing the Emperor's effects. Madame Bertrand and her children, M. de las Casas and his son, M. and Madame Montholon, Colonel de Planat, and several orderly officers who had requested leave to accompany the Emperor, travelled by the road of Orleans. If Davoust had not taken the precaution to have the bridges in front of Malmaison burnt, Napoleon would have run a great risk of falling into the hands of the allies. A Prussian detachment appeared

there in quest of him very soon after he started. They had arrived by a circuitous route, and must have been led by a guide well acquainted with the localities. Napoleon, however, had escaped this danger. He slept at Rambouillet the first night, at Tours on the 30th, and at Niort on the 1st of July. He was well received wherever he was recognised; but at the last named place, the enthusiasm of the people and troops was extreme. A great crowd surrounded the hotel where he slept, and the troops so earnestly requested to be allowed to supply him with an escort, that he could not resist their entreaties, and pursued the journey to Rochefort attended by a picquet of light cavalry. He reached this place on the 3rd of July. The carriages containing the remainder of his suite had successively arrived. Joseph Bonaparte also joined him at Rochefort; and in this place the two brothers saw each other for the last time. The roadstead and harbour were found to be watched by the English man-of-war, the *Bellerophon*, which had taken up its station two days before; ever since, in fact, the receipt by Captain Maitland of the anonymous letter before-mentioned.

The presence of Napoleon caused much excitement in Rochefort. He was very popular there, in consequence of the great benefit he had conferred on the city, by draining the marshes, and by the erection of various public works. Crowds were constantly collected under his windows, who made no secret of their attachment and regret. The army of General Lamarque, in La Vendée, and of General Clausel, in Bordeaux, as well as all the corps garrisoned in the neighbourhood, sent deputations to express their devoted attachment to him, and it is well known that pressing entreaties were made to him to place himself at their head, but that he steadily refused to take a step which must commence a civil war, for merely personal motives. Still more important offers were made to him, while he was at Rochefort, from the army, which had retired from the capital behind the Loire, according to the convention of the 3rd of July; but he declined them all. "I saw," said he afterwards to Captain Maitland, "that there was no prospect of ultimate success, though I might have occasioned a great deal of trouble and bloodshed, which I did not choose should take place on my account, individually;—while the empire was at stake, it was another matter." Napoleon remained at Rochefort till the 8th, when he embarked on board the *Saale* frigate; without, however, any immediate prospect of getting to sea.

The fate of France had been rapidly decided in this short interval. The provisional government failed alike in awakening the national spirit, in conciliating the army, or in bringing the English and Prussian generals to terms. The leading members of the Chambers continued to proclaim resistance to the Bourbons; but no practical measures

supported their denunciations. The royalists were active; Fouché intrigued for them; Grouchy and Soult retreated under the walls of Paris, followed close by Wellington and Blucher. A short yet brave resistance was made; but on the night of the 2nd of July an armistice was concluded, by which the capital was surrendered to the allies, and the French army was drawn off behind the Loire. Against this arrangement, the troops struggled with fruitless violence. The foreign armies remained in their encampments without the walls, till by degrees the humbled soldiers of Napoleon had learned to submit to inevitable fate. By the 7th, the last French corps evacuated Paris, and the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher made their triumphant entrance at the head of their armies, and occupied the city. The provisional government and the Chambers had continued their sittings up to this period: they now received the final resolution of the allied sovereigns, to the effect that "all authority emanating from the usurped power of Napoleon Bonaparte, was null and void;" and that Louis XVIII., who was at St. Denis, would on the next day, or day after at farthest, enter his capital, and resume his regal authority. The leading members of the Chamber of Representatives, endeavouring to plead the cause of liberty, received from the mouth of Lord Castlereagh, as their sole response, "Your king is at hand!" Louis XVIII. made his public entry into Paris, on the 8th of July.

Whilst these events transpired in the capital of France, its late Emperor remained at Rochefort, or on board one of the French frigates, occasionally landing at the Isle of Aix; the *Bellerophon*, now joined by the *Slaney*, closely blockading the port. On the 10th of July, Savary and Las Casas were despatched to Captain Maitland, under a flag of truce, to enquire whether he had any knowledge of the passports which the Emperor expected to receive from the British government, or if it were the intention of that government to throw any impediment in the way of his voyage to the United States. The two envoys were received on board the *Bellerophon*, where they remained about two hours. To their enquiries, Captain Maitland replied that he had no knowledge concerning the passports; that he could not say what were the intentions of his government; but that he could not permit any ship of war to leave the port of Rochefort; nor could he suffer any neutral vessel whatever, to pass with a personage of so much consequence. In the course of the conversation, Captain Maitland, according to his own statement, threw out the suggestion, "Why not seek an asylum in England?"—to which various objections were urged by Savary; and thus the interview terminated. Captain Maitland had already received official orders to watch for, and intercept Napoleon if possible, and in case of success to take him to England, on board his ship, with all possible expedition.

The succeeding days were passed by Napoleon in the consideration of various plans of escape. When we recollect his return from Egypt and from Elba, it is impossible to doubt that Napoleon could have got away from France at the period in question, if he had then possessed or exerted the energy of his nature. Captain Maitland's narrative proves that the force under his command was quite inadequate to guard all the ports and passages of the neighbouring coasts, from which small vessels might put to sea. The French naval strength lying off Rochefort was also capable of attempting a passage, even at the risk of an action; consisting, as it did, of two frigates, a large corvette, and a brig. The *Bellerophon* was a seventy-four gun-ship, of the smaller class, old, and a slow sailer; and was at various intervals the only British ship off the port. But one of the French captains refused to make the attempt, which was therefore immediately renounced as hopeless, even though the officers were indignant at his pusillanimity; and with their good-will, and the devotion of all the seamen and troops at Rochefort, Rochelle, and the neighbouring ports, which Napoleon unquestionably possessed, he would have been very likely to find means of escape, but for the fact that the kind of prostration of energy, which is so apt to follow on strong excitement, had taken possession of him. It is not in human nature to work during three months fifteen hours out of the twenty-four for the establishment of great designs,—to command in three hard-fought, sanguinary battles at the conclusion of that term,—and, by the result of the last of those battles, to lose all for which that time and labour had been devotedly bestowed;—it is not in human nature to do and suffer all this, and retain its high-wrought energy. Every description of Napoleon at this period is confirmatory of the impression that he had the feelings of one who had done with action, and whose part it was to endure.

After the discussion of various plans of getting to sea, one offered by a Danish captain, another by the midshipmen of the French frigates, but all finally rejected, Napoleon once more despatched Las Casas, accompanied by General Lallemand, to Captain Maitland on the 14th of July, with instructions to enquire again whether the intentions of the British government were yet declared as to a passport to America, or if permission for Napoleon to pass in a neutral vessel could yet be granted. The answer was in the negative; but Captain Maitland again suggested his embarkation on board the *Bellerophon*, in which case he should be conveyed to England. The words of Captain Maitland, as quoted by himself to Lord Keith in his letter of the 8th of August, 1815, were as follows:—"If he chooses to come on board the ship I command, *I think*, under the orders *I am acting with*, I may venture to receive him, and carry him to

England." Upon this, a negociation took place, which terminated in Las Casas saying, "Under all circumstances, I have little doubt that you will see the Emperor on board the Bellerophon." There has been much discussion concerning the conversation which took place on this occasion. Las Casas says, in his journal, that Captain Maitland "declared it as his private opinion, and several captains who were present expressed themselves to the same effect, that there was not the least doubt of Napoleon's meeting with all possible respect and good treatment; that there (in England), neither the king nor his ministers exercised the same arbitrary authority as those of the continent,—that the English people possessed a generosity of sentiment and liberality of opinion superior to sovereignty itself." Captain Maitland does not either admit or deny that he made such a statement concerning his private opinion, nor whether Captain Sartorius (the only other captain present—possibly Las Casas alludes to some officers of the ship) did so; but it is extremely probable that they did, not perhaps in the exact terms detailed by Las Casas, but something like them. Captain Maitland's manly, clear, and interesting narrative bespeaks him to have possessed a warm and generous heart; and it was very natural that he and other British naval officers should believe that the late Emperor of France, driven by adversity to seek a refuge in England, would there meet with "all possible respect and good treatment." The actual treatment which, on the contrary, he did receive, no doubt made it very awkward for a British officer to avow that such had been his private opinion. Las Casas affirmed afterwards that he had acted on the understanding that Captain Maitland was authorised to convey Napoleon and his suite to England (this was a fair inference from Captain Maitland's words, and was actually the fact), and on the assurance that the Emperor would be well received there; while Captain Maitland explicitly declares in all his dispatches written whilst the negociation was pending, as well as in his narrative, that he repeatedly warned Las Casas that "he was not authorised to stipulate as to the reception which Napoleon might meet with in England." If strictly examined, the assertion of Las Casas does not amount to saying that Captain Maitland averred he had authority for stipulating as to Napoleon's reception,—it may only allude to a private opinion expressed; and it should be remembered that Las Casas was enthusiastically attached to Napoleon, to follow whom he voluntarily left his country, his wife, and children; and that he was thrown into an agony of distress at the unhappy termination of a negociation he had commenced. This was the explanation of the misunderstandings which occurred, given by Napoleon himself, who did not support him in his assertions; but, on the contrary, ex-

pressed his satisfaction with Captain Maitland's conduct, both in public and private, and wished to have made him a present of his portrait set in diamonds; this, however, Captain Maitland took means of informing him that he could not accept, and Napoleon appreciated the propriety of the refusal.

Las Casas returned to the Isle of Aix after his interview with Captain Maitland on the 14th of July. The result of his mission appeared to be "that Captain Maitland had authorised him to tell the Emperor that, if he decided upon going to England, he was authorised to receive him on board; and he accordingly placed his ship at his disposal." Napoleon then finally made up his mind to place himself on board the British ship. He gave directions to Las Casas to announce his determination to Captain Maitland, and prepare him for the reception of himself and his suite on the following morning. At the same time, he entrusted to Gourgaud a letter to the Prince Regent, with instructions to seek the means of conveying it to England, and putting it into the hands of his royal highness. Much has been said about the date of this letter, which was unquestionably the 13th, although all the followers of Napoleon assert that it was written in consequence of the interview between Las Casas and Captain Maitland, which did not take place till the 14th; while the latter, pointing to that date, uses it as an argument that Napoleon had made up his mind before the interview took place. This matter is of the less importance, as the whole negociation is perfectly intelligible without supposing any dishonourable dealing. Those who carried it on for Napoleon regarded him as a great sovereign who had abdicated his throne, and sought an asylum in a country which had been his implacable enemy throughout his life, and which they conceived he honoured by his confidence. Captain Maitland, on the other hand, regarded him, as every British officer probably did, as an usurper, whose passion for war and insatiable ambition had made him throughout his life the implacable enemy of Great Britain; and who, now dethroned by the lawful monarch whose place he had usurped, was rightfully expelled from his country. It is not wonderful that people looking at the same object from these opposite points should see it in different lights. The followers of Napoleon readily believed that which to them seemed the only natural result of his determination, and believed that he would be honourably received in England. Captain Maitland conceived he did a great service to his country by securing on any terms the person of its most dangerous enemy; he had the instructions of his government so to do; it was his duty as a British officer, and he was able to do it without making any conditions, by a certain degree of skilful management. A conversation which

passed between him and the captain of the *Swiftsure*, whom he spoke on the 20th of July, will illustrate this view. "The astonishment of Captain Webley can scarcely be conceived," says he, "when, on his entering the ship, I said, 'Well, I have got him.' 'Got him! got whom?' 'Why, Bonaparte; the man that has been keeping all Europe in a ferment these last twenty years.' 'Is it possible?' said he; 'well you are a lucky fellow!'" Every one will understand this tone. Captain Maitland was what is called "doing his duty" when he succeeded in carrying through the negociation, which brought Napoleon on board his ship; of the after consequences he was doubtless ignorant, as he said he was. Whether the letter to the Prince Regent was written on the 13th or 14th, it is certain that Napoleon had not decided on sending it, nor on going on board the *Bellerophon*, till the latter of these days; because two coasting vessels were kept out by him, ready manned and equipped, to attempt an escape during the night of the 13th, and up to the time when he announced his intention; and intelligence of these vessels threw Captain Maitland into great anxiety.

Napoleon's letter to the Prince Regent was as follows:—

"Your Royal Highness,—A victim to the factions which distract my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality of the British people. I put myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your royal highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

"NAPOLEON."

"Rochefort, 13th July, 1815.

The Emperor embarked on the 15th of July at daybreak, on board the French brig *Epervier*, accompanied by the whole of his suite. That very morning an emissary from the provisional government had arrived to arrest him. He was anxiously expected in the *Bellerophon*. When Captain Maitland perceived the approach of the brig, he sent his barge to meet it, and bring the Emperor on board. The barge quickly returned. "General Bertrand first came up the ship's side," said Captain Maitland, "and said to me, 'The Emperor is in the boat.' Napoleon then ascended, and, when he came on the quarter-deck, pulled off his hat, and, addressing me in a firm tone of voice, said, 'I am come to throw myself on the protection of your prince and laws.'" The captain then led him into the cabin, which was given up to his use; and afterwards, by his own request, presented all the officers to him, and he went round every part of the ship during the morning. He conversed on indifferent subjects, both with the captain and the officers, asking many questions, and making many

remarks, "generally," says Captain Maitland, "much to the purpose, and shewing that he had given naval affairs a good deal of consideration." The admiral's ship, the *Superb*, which had appeared in the offing early in the morning, anchored close by at half-past ten. In the afternoon, Sir Henry Hotham waited on the Emperor, and remained to dinner by his request. The dinner was served on Napoleon's gold plate, and regulated by his *maitre d'hotel*; and as while on board the *Bellerophon*, he was uniformly treated as a royal personage, he led the way to the dining-room, and seated himself in the centre of one side of the table, placing Sir Henry Hotham on his right hand. His conversation continued to be easy and agreeable.

On the following morning, Napoleon visited the *Superb*. In leaving the *Bellerophon*, he stopped in front of the guard of marines drawn up on the quarter-deck to salute him. He made some observations on the fine appearance of the men,—asked which had been longest in the corps, and went up and spoke to him. He then put the guard through part of their exercise. He made some remarks on the difference of their charge with the bayonet to that manœuvre as performed by the French; and then advancing into the midst of the men, he took a musket from one of them, and went through the exercise himself according to the French method. There was a sudden movement and change of countenance among the officers present at seeing him thus carelessly place himself among English bayonets. Some of them afterwards expressed surprise at the circumstance, and asked his officers if Napoleon ever acted in the same way with his own soldiers? "Not one among them," says Las Casas, "had formed any idea of sovereigns who could thus explain and execute their own commands; it was, therefore, easy to perceive that they had no just conception of the personage now before them, notwithstanding his having been so marked an object of attention and curiosity for above twenty years." The Emperor was received on board the *Superb* with all the honours paid to royal personages, with the exception of firing a salute. The guard was turned out, the yards manned, and a fine band of music played while he breakfasted. He went through the ship, examining everything, and conversing with the admiral and officers. He expressed great admiration of all the arrangements he had seen in both ships; particularly admiring the appearance of the men, and their celerity and silence in performing their manœuvres. "I observed during the whole time of breakfast," says Captain Maitland, "that Colonel De Planat, who was much attached to him, and of whom Bonaparte always expressed himself in terms of affection, had tears running down his cheeks, and seemed greatly distressed at the situation of his master. I feel convinced he had a strong personal

attachment to Bonaparte; and this, indeed, as far as I could judge, was the case also with all his other attendants, without exception." The whole party returned to the *Bellerophon* about noon, and immediately afterwards the ship got under weigh, and made sail for England.

The voyage was rather tedious. Napoleon passed much of his time in reading. He occasionally played *vingt-un* with all the party; frequently walked the deck, and on one occasion witnessed a play performed by the midshipmen, and laughed heartily at the strapping fellows who personated the ladies. He conversed a great deal with Captain Maitland, entering willingly into the details of various periods of his history and actions; and asking many questions about English customs, saying on one occasion, "I must now learn to conform myself to them, as I shall probably pass the remainder of my life in England." He is described as having been very lethargic, going to bed early, rising late, and frequently falling asleep during the day.

On the 23rd of July, the ship passed Ushant; Napoleon cast many a melancholy look at the coast of France, but said nothing. At break of day on the 24th, they were close to Dartmouth: Bertrand went into the cabin, and informed the Emperor, who came on deck at half past four in the morning, and remained on the poop till the anchor was dropped in Torbay. He was much struck with the beauty of the scenery, and exclaimed, "What a beautiful country! it very much resembles Porto Ferrajo in Elba."

The ship was scarcely at anchor, when an officer came on board with official dispatches from Admiral Viscount Keith. The Lords of the Admiralty strictly forbade any communication with the shore, or the admittance on board of any person whatever, Lord Keith or Sir John Duckworth alone excepted. Gourgaud had not been permitted to land from the *Slaney*, and as he had refused to entrust the letter to the Prince Regent into another hand, it had not been sent. He was himself soon transferred to the *Bellerophon*. The gloomy forebodings which these first proceedings excited in Napoleon were increased by the tone of the ministerial papers, which were not only filled with a great deal that was personally offensive to him, but stated that he would not be permitted to land, and that *St. Helena* was his probable destination. He, however, considered these as newspaper reports.

No sooner was it known ashore that Napoleon was on board the *Bellerophon*, than the ship was surrounded by a crowd of boats, filled with people, who came from all quarters to see him. He came often on deck, and frequently surveyed his visitors from the gangways and stern windows, observing to Captain Maitland, that "the English appeared to have a very large portion of curiosity." Whenever he saw any well-dressed women he pulled off his hat and bowed to them.

On the 26th, the Bellerophon was ordered to proceed to Plymouth Sound. Upon its arrival there, two frigates, the Liffey and Eurotas, took up an anchorage on each side, by order of the Admiralty, and a strict watch was kept day and night. No shore boat was permitted to approach within cable's length of the ships; and as the concourse of people daily increased, the boats of the frigates were continually employed in rowing round and keeping the others off, frequently by violence, and even to the endangering of life; they also fired musquetry, at intervals, with a view to intimidation. Nothing, however, deterred people of all ranks, and both sexes, from striving to get a view of Napoleon. They flocked to Plymouth from distant parts of England, and engaged boats at any price to take them within view of him. On one occasion, Captain Maitland says he counted upwards of a thousand within view, each containing, on an average, eight people. As the report that he was to be treated as a prisoner became confirmed, testimonies of respect and sympathy towards him increased. When he appeared, the men uncovered their heads, and frequently cheered him, and red carnations were extensively worn as being one of his colours. He often acknowledged the acclamations of the people by bowing and taking off his hat. He also appeared much pained by witnessing the violence used to keep them at a distance. He expressed admiration of the beauty of the English women, and asked Captain Maitland how he was to distinguish which were the '*Dames comme il faut*' (ladies of condition), as all seemed equally well dressed.

Napoleon had repeatedly expressed a strong wish to see Lord Keith, but uncertainty as to the manner in which the English government would choose the late Emperor to be treated, deterred the admiral, who, however, desired Captain Maitland to express his gratitude to Napoleon for the attentions he had paid to Captain Elphinstone, his lordship's nephew, who must have died of his wounds in the last campaign, if the Emperor, before whom he was brought prisoner, had not ordered a surgeon to attend him on the spot. On the 28th, Lord Keith at length waited on Napoleon; all difficulty as to form being at an end, as the government had decided that the Emperor should be considered as a general officer, and have the respect due to that rank paid him, and no more.

On the 31st, Sir Charles Bunbury, one of the under-secretaries of state, together with Lord Keith, came on board to notify to the Emperor officially the resolutions of the English government respecting him. Sir Walter Scott had the advantage of comparing Sir Henry Bunbury's account of their interview with Napoleon, with that of Mr. Meike, secretary to Lord Keith. We, therefore, extract the following from his history. The commissioners were introduced into the cabin, where they

were received by Napoleon, who was attended by Bertrand. Sir Charles Bunbury then proceeded to read in French the following letter from the ministers to Lord Keith, while Napoleon, whose manner was easy and dignified, listened without interruption or remark, or any manifestation of emotion:—

“As it may, perhaps, be convenient for General Bonaparte to learn, without further delay, the intentions of the British government with regard to him, your lordship will communicate the following information:—It would be inconsistent with our duty towards our country and the allies of his Majesty, if General Bonaparte possessed the means of again disturbing the repose of Europe. It is on this account that it becomes absolutely necessary he should be restrained in his personal liberty, so far as this is required by the foregoing important object. The island of St. Helena has been chosen as his future residence; its climate is healthy, and its local position will allow of his being treated with more indulgence than could be admitted in any other spot, owing to the indispensable precautions which it would be necessary to employ for the security of his person.

“General Bonaparte is allowed to select amongst those persons who accompanied him to England (with the exception of Generals Savary and Lallemand) three officers, who, together with his surgeon, will have permission to accompany him to St. Helena; these individuals will not be allowed to quit the island without the sanction of the British government. Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, who is named commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope and seas adjacent, will convey General Bonaparte and his suite to St. Helena; and he will receive detailed instructions relative to the execution of this service. Sir George Cockburn will, most probably, be ready to sail in a few days; for which reason it is desirable that General Bonaparte should make choice of the persons who are to accompany him without delay.”

Having heard this document to the close, Napoleon was requested to state if he had any reply to make. He then, with great calmness of manner and mildness of countenance, declared that he solemnly protested against the orders which had been read,—that the British ministry had no right to dispose of him in the way proposed,—that he appealed to the British people and the laws, and asked to what tribunal he could appeal. “I am come,” he continued, “voluntarily to throw myself on the hospitality of your nation,—I am not a prisoner of war, and, if I were, have a right to be treated according to the law of nations. But I am come to this country a passenger on board one of your ships, after a previous negotiation with the commander. If he had told me I was to be a prisoner, I would not

have come. I asked him if he was willing to receive me on board, and convey me to England. Captain Maitland said he was, having received, or telling me he had received, special orders of government concerning me. It was a snare then that had been spread for me; I came on board a British ship as I would have entered one of their towns,—a ship, a village—it is the same thing. As for the island of St. Helena, it would be my sentence of death. I demand to be received as an English citizen. How many years entitle me to be domiciliated?"

Sir Henry Bunbury answered that he believed four were necessary. "Well, then," continued Napoleon, "let the Prince Regent during that time place me under any superintendence he thinks proper,—let me be placed in a country-house in the centre of the island, thirty leagues from every seaport,—station a commissioned officer about me, to examine my correspondence, and superintend my actions; or if the Prince Regent should require my word of honour, perhaps I might give it. I might then enjoy a certain degree of personal liberty, and I should have the freedom of literature."

He referred again to the manner of his coming on board the *Bellerophon*,—said that he was perfectly free in his choice, and that he had preferred confiding himself to the hospitality and generosity of the English nation; reminding them that he might have gone to his father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria, or to the Emperor Alexander, who had no private quarrel with him. "If your government act thus," he said, "it will disgrace you in the eyes of Europe. Even your own people will blame it." He reminded them that the tri-coloured flag was still flying at Bordeaux, Nantes, and Rochefort, when his decision was made,—that the army had not yet submitted; "or," he continued, "if I had chosen to remain in France, what was there to prevent me from remaining concealed for years amongst a people so much attached to me?" He afterwards adverted to the name by which he was now designated. "Your government," said he, pointing to the epithet in Lord Melville's letter, "has no right to term me 'General Bonaparte.' I was Emperor, acknowledged by all the powers in Europe, except Great Britain; and she had acknowledged me as Chief Consul. I am Prince, or Consul, and ought to be treated as such, if treated with at all. When I was at Elba, I was at least as much a sovereign in that island as Louis on the throne of France. We had both our respective flags, our ships, our troops. Mine, to be sure," he said with a smile, "were rather on a small scale; I had six hundred soldiers, and he had two hundred thousand. At length I made war upon him, defeated him, and dethroned him.

But there was nothing in this to deprive me of my rank as one of the sovereigns of Europe."

Napoleon received little interruption from Lord Keith and Sir Henry Bunbury, who declined replying to his remonstrances, stating themselves to be unauthorised to enter into discussions, as their only duty was to convey the intentions of their government to him, and transmit his answer, if he charged them with any. Sir Henry Bunbury, however, suggested that St. Helena had been selected as the place of his residence, because its local situation allowed freer scope for exercise and indulgence than could have been permitted in any part of Great Britain. "No, no," repeated Napoleon with animation, "I will not go there. You would not go there, sir, were it your own case,—nor, my lord, would you." Lord Keith bowed and answered, "He had been already at St. Helena four times." This answer was very little to the point, and the cold subterfuge does his lordship no honour. Napoleon reiterated his protests against being sent there, and again said, "I *will not* go thither; I am not a Hercules (with a smile), but you shall not conduct me to St. Helena. I prefer death in this place. You found me free,—send me back again; replace me in the condition in which I was, or permit me to go to America." He then repeated his expectations that he should have been allowed to land,—urged the admiral to take no further steps to remove him to the Northumberland till the government should have been informed of what he had said. In this manner the interview terminated, and the two commissioners of government took their leave.

Napoleon then recalled Lord Keith, of whom the expressions concerning Captain Elphinstone authorised him to expect some courtesy. Napoleon opened the conversation, by asking his lordship's advice how to proceed under such circumstances of difficulty. Lord Keith replied, that he was an officer, and had discharged his duty, and left with him the heads of his instructions. If he considered it necessary to renew the discussion, Sir Henry Bunbury must be called in. Napoleon said that was unnecessary. "Can you," said he, "after what is passed, detain me until I hear from London?" Lord Keith replied this must depend on the instructions brought by the other admiral, with which he was unacquainted. "Was there any tribunal," Napoleon asked, "to which he could apply?" Lord Keith replied that he was no civilian, but he believed there was none whatever; adding, "I am satisfied there is every disposition on the part of the government to render your situation as comfortable as prudence will permit." "How so?" said Napoleon, lifting the paper from the table, and speaking with animation. Upon Lord Keith's observing that it was surely

preferable to being confined to a smaller space in England, or being sent to France, or perhaps to Russia. "Russia!" exclaimed Napoleon, "God preserve me from it!" (*Russie! Dieu m'en garde!*)

"During this remarkable scene," says Scott, "Napoleon's manner was perfectly calm and collected,—his voice equal and firm,—his tones very pleasing. Once or twice only he spoke more rapidly, and in a harsher key. He used little gesticulation, and his attitudes were ungraceful; but the action of the head was dignified, and the countenance remarkably soft and placid, without any marks of severity. He seemed to have made up his mind, anticipating what was to be announced, and perfectly prepared to reply. In expressing his positive determination not to go to St. Helena, he left it to his hearers to infer whether he meant to prevent his removal by suicide, or to resist it by force."

The announcement of the determination of government threw all the suite of Napoleon into a state of consternation; but the greatest fear each entertained was that of being left behind. Madame Bertrand alone was an exception. Her horror of so dreary an exile overcame the strong attachment to the Emperor, which, there is no doubt, she shared with all his followers; in a paroxysm of grief she attempted to drown herself, and was with great difficulty saved by Montholon; and her efforts to dissuade Bertrand from accompanying the Emperor became a continual source of disquiet and irritation. Savary and Lallemand were naturally inspired with great apprehensions, in consequence of finding their names expressly excluded from the list of those permitted to proceed to St. Helena. They had been placed in the long list of proscribed persons, and condemned to death by the Bourbons, to whom it now appeared as if the British government intended to deliver them up. Captain Maitland strongly reprobated the idea, assuring them there was no risk of the British government taking such a step. He, however, wrote to Lord Melville on the subject in terms which did honour to his good feeling and integrity. Sir Samuel Romilly was also consulted by the French noblemen themselves; and that distinguished lawyer, having personally consulted the Lord Chancellor, finally ascertained that there was no intention to commit so gross a violation of the laws of nations. Napoleon maintained a perfectly calm demeanour. He appeared on deck, and at dinner as usual, on the day he had received the government notification, as well as the day following. In private conversation with Captain Maitland he, however, reverted to the painful subject in the following terms:—"The idea is a perfect horror to me. To be placed for life on an island within the tropics, at an immense distance from any land, cut off from all communication with the world, and every-

thing I hold dear in it! It is worse than Tamerlane's iron cage. I would prefer being given up to the Bourbons. Among other insults—but that is a mere bagatelle, a very secondary consideration—they style me General! They can have no right to call me General; they may as well call me Archbishop, for I was head of the church as well as of the army." He refused to begin any preparations for his exile, or to make choice of the individuals who should accompany him, and frequently repeated the words—"I shall not go to St. Helena." Whether he had some hope that the English government would relent, or did actually meditate suicide, is uncertain. He discussed this latter idea with Las Casas, who has reported his conversation, but it rather indicates that he felt a consolation in expressing aloud a train of thought which it was very natural that, in his circumstances, he should entertain, than that he had any real intention of the kind. "My friend," said he to Las Casas, "I have sometimes an idea of quitting you, and this would not be very difficult; it is only necessary to create a little mental excitement, and I shall soon have escaped.—All will be over, and you can then quietly rejoin your families. This is the more easy, since my internal principles do not oppose any bar to it:—I am one of those who conceive that the pains of the other world were only imagined as a counterpoise to those inadequate allurements which are offered to us there. God can never have willed such a contradiction to his infinite goodness, especially for an act of this kind; and what is it after all, but wishing to return to him a little sooner?" He listened quietly to the arguments Las Casas brought against a voluntary death, and ended with saying,—“A man ought to fulfil his destinies; this is my grand doctrine: let mine also be accomplished.” He suffered from bad health and depression for two days, and did not appear on deck, or at breakfast or dinner, either on the 3rd or 4th.

During this period, Napoleon wrote a second letter to the Prince Regent, which was forwarded. He also prepared the following protest, copies of which were given to Captain Maitland and Lord Keith:—

“I hereby solemnly protest, in the face of heaven and mankind, against the violence that is done me; and the violation of my most sacred rights, in forcibly disposing of my person and liberty. I voluntarily came on board the *Bellerophon*. I am not the prisoner, I am the guest of England. I came at the instigation of the captain himself, who said he had orders from the government to receive and convey me to England, together with my suite, if agreeable to me. I came forward with confidence, to place myself under the protection of the laws of England. When once on board the *Bellerophon*, I was entitled to the hospitality of the British people. If the government,

in giving the captain of the *Bellerophon* orders to receive me and my followers, only wished to lay a snare, it has forfeited its honour and disgraced its flag. If this act be consummated, it will be in vain for the English henceforth to talk of their sincerity, their laws and liberties. British faith will have been lost in the hospitality of the *Bellerophon*.

"I appeal to history: it will say, that an enemy who made war for twenty years against the English people, came spontaneously, in the hour of misfortune, to seek an asylum under their laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and confidence? But how did England reply to such an act of magnanimity? It pretended to hold out a hospitable hand to this enemy; and on giving himself up with confidence, he was immolated!" (Signed) "NAPOLEON."

"*Bellerophon*, at sea, Friday, August 4th, 1815."

No answer was ever returned by the Prince Regent, either to the letters or the protests of Napoleon. It is said that great fears were entertained by certain of the councillors of his royal highness, that he would grant an interview to Napoleon; in which case they dreaded the well-known influence of the latter. Lord Keith expressed himself in very emphatic terms on this subject, after his own visit to the *Bellerophon*. "D—n the fellow," he said, "if he had obtained an interview with his royal highness, in half an hour they would have been the best friends in England."

A singular circumstance occurred on the 4th of August, which threw Lord Keith, who was more used to the perils of the seas than the toils of the law, into a great state of excitement. It was reported at Plymouth that a lawyer was coming there with a writ of Habeas Corpus to claim the person of Napoleon Bonaparte. This safeguard of English liberty, it appears, is not permitted to extend its influence over prisoners of war (in which light the English government regarded Napoleon); but Lord Keith, though one of our hereditary legislators, was not aware of this nice distinction, and no sooner heard that an individual, answering to the description of this dreaded lawyer, was enquiring for him, than he started out of his house at Plymouth, and got on board the *Tonnant*, lying off Plymouth; here he was followed by the same individual who had alarmed him ashore, but as this unwelcome visitor attempted to get in at one side of the ship, the admiral got out at the other, and rowed off at full speed in his twelve-oared barge. He was pursued by the supposed lawyer, whose boat, however, could not compete with the admiral's barge, and accordingly the latter escaped round the Ramehead. Meanwhile he had ordered Captain Maitland to weigh anchor and cruize off the Start, in order to keep out of reach of the—lawyer, which he accordingly

did. As the *Bellerophon* was slowly getting out of the sound against wind and tide, towed by the guard-boats, Captain Maitland was in his turn alarmed by the sight of a suspicious looking person in a boat approaching the ship, and in consequence sent a guard-boat to keep under the stern, and prevent the approach of any person whatever. This suspicious looking person was thus prevented from approaching, and he actually turned out to have been the same, who had alarmed the admiral, and was just returned from his unsuccessful chase. On joining the *Prometheus* (where Lord Keith's flag was then flying) off the Ramehead in the evening, Captain Maitland received the following 'note of alarm;—

"I have been chased all day by a lawyer with a Habeas Corpus; he is landed at Cawsand, and may come off in a sailing boat during the night; of course keep all sorts of boats off, as I will do the like in whatever ship I may be in."

"KEITH."

No date.

The following appears to have been the truth of this mysterious transaction. A London newspaper, in ignorance of the law, like Lord Keith, proposed the attempt to get Napoleon ashore, by the agency of a writ of Habeas Corpus, but this suggestion was never acted on. An individual, however, prosecuted for libel upon a naval officer, conceived the idea (with the same purpose) of citing Napoleon as a witness in a court of justice, to prove the state of the French navy, which he affirmed was necessary to his defence. The writ was to have been served on Lord Keith, and it was the individual himself, and no lawyer, who was foiled in his attempt to get at the admiral, and afterwards to reach Captain Maitland. Las Casas was aware that some attempt of the kind had been made, but it does not appear that it excited any interest in Napoleon. As to the naval gentlemen, they would not have delivered up their prisoner to such a slender authority, but they seem to have had some undefined fear of getting into trouble in the course of the affair, and therefore they fairly ran away.

It was now announced that the *Northumberland*, bearing the flag of Admiral Cockburn, was appointed to carry Napoleon to St. Helena, and that ship made its appearance on the 6th of August, accompanied by two frigates, containing troops destined to form the garrison of St. Helena. Napoleon received the intimation without further remonstrance, and from this time submitted with firmness to his fate. He finally made choice of Counts Bertrand, Montholon, and General Gourgaud, as the three officers of his suite, who were permitted to follow him in his exile; to these he was permitted to add Count Las Casas, who was considered purely in a civil capacity. This ar-

rangement was not made without inflicting much unavoidable pain both on the Emperor and those whom he excluded. His own surgeon having suffered much from sea-sickness on the way from Rochefort, felt averse to undertaking another voyage; Napoleon therefore proposed to Mr. O'Meara, the surgeon of the *Bellerophon*, to take his place; to which, after obtaining the necessary permission from government, Mr. O'Meara consented, and was in consequence transferred to the *Northumberland*. Bertrand was to be accompanied by his lady and three children; Montholon, also, by his lady and one child. Las Casas, by his son. The twelve attendants selected by the Emperor were, Marchand, St. Denis, and Novarez, his valets-de-chambre; Cipriani, maître d'hotel; Le Page, cook; Archambaud, and Gentilini, valets; Piéron, chef-d'office; Santini, Rosseau, Archambaud, and Bernard, holding various offices in his household.

Captain Maitland received orders to take all arms from the foreigners of every rank on board the *Bellerophon*; keeping them in charge to be transferred to the *Northumberland*, and restored at a proper opportunity. This order was obeyed, except in the case of Napoleon himself, to whom Lord Keith had the delicacy to grant permission to wear his sword. A secretary who heard his lordship make this exception, reminded him that "the orders were that *all* should be disarmed;" upon which Lord Keith returned the characteristic answer,—“Mind your own business, sir, and leave us to ours.”

The government also directed Admiral Cockburn to have all the effects of General Bonaparte examined. The plate, baggage, wines, and provisions, the general was to be permitted to retain; the money, diamonds, and saleable effects, were to be delivered up to the British government, which took upon itself the administration of his property, and charged itself with his maintenance. In case of death, he was allowed to dispose of his property by will. All letters written by him or received by him were to be opened and read by the admiral or future governor of St. Helena. Any attempt to escape was to be punished with close imprisonment. All the regulations under which he was placed were to apply to every individual of his suite; and all were warned that they would not be received on board the *Northumberland* without their consent. This last clause gave great pain, as seeming to imply a repugnance on their part to accompany the Emperor. The search of the Emperor's effects was conducted in presence of Admiral Cockburn, by Mr. Byng, his secretary. Captain Maitland says, “the covers of the trunks were merely opened, and Mr. Byng passed his hand down the side, but the things were not unpacked.” Bertrand was invited to attend, but he was so indignant at the measure, that he positively refused. The Duke of Rovigo, how-

ever, consented, and he and Marchand were present. . Four thousand gold napoleons were taken; the rest of the money, amounting to about fifteen hundred napoleons, was returned to Marchand for the Emperor, by whom it was required to pay the salaries of such of his servants as were about to quit him.

The 7th of August was appointed for the embarkation of Napoleon in the Northumberland. "Soon after breakfast," says Captain Maitland, "Marchand came and said the Emperor wished to see me: I went into the cabin. 'I have requested to see you, captain,' said he, 'to return you my thanks for your kindness and attention to me whilst I have been on board the Bellerophon, and likewise to beg you will convey them to the officers and ship's company you command. My reception in England was very different from what I expected; but it gives me much satisfaction to assure you, that I feel your conduct to me throughout has been that of a gentleman and a man of honour.'"

Lord Keith came on board to accompany Napoleon from one ship to the other. When it was announced that all was ready, the admiral's barge was prepared, the guard turned out, and as the Emperor crossed the deck, the guard presented arms, and three ruffles of the drum were beat, being the salute given to a general officer. "He walked out of the cabin," says Maitland, "with a steady, firm step, came up to me, and taking off his hat, said 'Captain Maitland I take this last opportunity of once more returning you my thanks for the manner in which you have treated me while on board the Bellerophon;' then turning to the officers who were standing by me, he added, 'Gentlemen, I have requested your captain to express my gratitude to you for your attention to me, and to those who have followed my fortunes.' He then went forward to the gangway; and before he went down the ship's side, bowed two or three times to the ship's company, who were collected in the waist and on the fore-castle; he was followed by the ladies and the French officers, and lastly, by Lord Keith. After the boat had shoved off, he stood up, pulled his hat off, and bowed, first to the officers, and then to the men; and immediately sat down, and entered into conversation with Lord Keith, with as much apparent composure as if he had been only going from one ship to the other to pay a visit."

Napoleon was received on board the Northumberland with the same species of honours which had been paid on leaving the Bellerophon. He remained on deck, conversing freely with those of the English who approached him. When the hour of sailing drew near, he retired into the after-cabin, where he remained for some time alone with Savary and Lallemand. Captain Maitland was obliged at length to

summon them away. "He embraced each of them" says that officer, "most affectionately, after the French manner, putting his arms round them, and touching their cheeks with his. He was firm and collected; but in turning from him, the tears were streaming from their eyes." Such of the attendants as were left behind were the last people to leave the ship; they were all in deep grief. The ship got under weigh immediately.

"Napoleon appeared," says Maitland, "to have great command of temper; for though no man could have had greater trials than fell to his lot during the time he remained on board the *Bellerophon*, he never, in my presence, or as far as I know, allowed a fretful or capitious expression to escape him. After he had quitted the ship, being desirous to know the feeling of the ship's company towards him, I asked my servant what the people said of him. 'Why, sir,' he answered, 'I heard several of them conversing together about him this morning, when one of them observed,—Well, they may abuse that man as much as they please, but if the people of England knew him as well as we do, they would not hurt a hair of his head—in which the others agreed.'" The only occasion on which he appears to have betrayed his emotion to Maitland, is thus related:—"One morning he began to talk of his wife and child, and desired Marchand to bring two or three miniature pictures to shew me; he spoke of them with much feeling and affection. 'I feel,' said he, 'the conduct of the allied sovereigns to be more cruel and unjustifiable towards me in that respect than in any other. Why should they deprive me of the comforts of domestic society, and take from me what must be the dearest objects of affection to every man—my child, and the mother of that child?' On his expressing himself as above, I looked him steadily in the face, to observe whether he shewed any emotion: the tears were standing in his eyes, and the whole of his countenance appeared evidently under the influence of a strong feeling of grief."

The tone and manner observed towards Napoleon in the Northumberland, conformed to his new title of "General Bonaparte." Care was taken to remain covered in his presence. Government had given especial orders that he should not have the drawing-room to himself, but should share it with the admiral. He no longer presided at table, but sat there as a guest; and dinner was regulated in the usual manner; not in the French fashion, which it had always been in the *Bellerophon*. His look and manner were indifferent, but always gentlemanly and polite. He spoke little, and what he said was generally addressed to such of the officers as the admiral asked daily to dinner. He was attended by his two valets, who

waited behind his chair. It was extremely irksome to him to sit at table for an hour and a half, used as he had always been to bestow only fifteen minutes on his dinner; yet he conformed to the custom without mentioning his dislike to it. He rose, however, from the first day, immediately dinner was over, and retired, followed by his officers. This disconcerted the admiral, who expressed some surprise; upon which Madame Bertrand warmly replied,—“Do not forget, admiral, that your guest is a man who has governed a large portion of the world, and that kings once contended for the honour of being admitted to his table.” The admiral had a mind which could comprehend this appeal. He did his utmost from that moment to accommodate Napoleon in his habits: he ordered coffee for him even before others had finished their dinner; shortened the meal as much as possible, and uniformly all the company rose as their guests retired, and then resumed their places and took wine as usual. Napoleon meanwhile walked the quarter-deck, conversing with his friends; when he had taken eight or nine turns he would seat himself on the second gun from the gangway on the larboard side. The midshipmen, in consequence, christened this the “Emperor’s gun.” At night, he constantly played vingt-un, the admiral and some of the officers being occasionally of the party. He retired to bed early; rose late, and breakfasted about ten in the French style. He read much, dressed towards four o’clock, and went into the general cabin, where he usually played chess till dinner time.

On the 15th, all his officers requested his permission to visit him early, which he granted, though he had forgotten the occasion. It was his birthday. About the 16th, the ship passed Cape la Hogue, and Napoleon took his last look at France.





CHAPTER XXI.

NAPOLÉON ARRIVES AT ST. HELENA—DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND—RESIDENCE OF NAPOLEON AT BRIARS—HIS ESTABLISHMENT AT LONGWOOD—DEATHS OF MURAT, IN NAPLES, AND OF NEY, AND LABÉDOYÈRE, IN FRANCE—ARRIVAL AT ST. HELENA OF SIR HUDSON LOWE AS GOVERNOR—HIS NEW RESTRICTIONS—NAPOLEON ABSTAINS FROM EXERCISE—ARREST AND DEPORTATION OF LAS CASAS—REMOVAL OF O'MEARA—OF DR. STOKOE—RAPID PROGRESS OF DISEASE IN NAPOLEON—ARRIVAL OF ANTONMARCHI—THE LAST ILLNESS OF NAPOLEON—HIS DEATH.



PURSUING its course towards St. Helena, the Northumberland entered the tropic on the 29th of August, 1815, and crossed the line on the 23rd of September. During the saturnalian festivity, which occurs at this period on board ships of war, the Emperor was scrupulously respected; and the various individuals of his suite were presented in a courteous manner to the god Neptune, by whom they were dismissed after receiving a compliment in his own fashion. The admiral had taken care to provide for this exemption from the usual ceremonies to which landmen are subject, after amusing himself with exciting their alarm by awful anticipations. When

Napoleon became aware of the decorum which had been observed towards him, he ordered a hundred napoleons to be distributed amongst the crew; but the admiral objected, and he therefore gave nothing.

Las Casas mentions an interesting instance of the respect which Napoleon inspired in those who came in contact with him. "The midshipmen" he says, "every evening repeated a scene which made a deep impression on our feelings. When the signal was given for the sailors to remove their hammocks from the nettings at the sides of the ship where they had been placed in the morning, a great bustle always ensued. The midshipmen at this moment always formed a circle round the Emperor, whether he were standing in the middle of the deck or near his favourite gun; they watched his motions, and either by signs or words directed the sailors to avoid incommoding him. The Emperor frequently observed this conduct, and remarked that youthful hearts were always inclined to enthusiasm."

Napoleon continued to employ much of his time in reading; he had also commenced the history of his campaigns in Italy, which he dictated to Las Casas. The voyage meanwhile drew near its termination. On the 14th of October, the island of St. Helena was dimly visible in the distance; on the 15th, at daylight, it was full in view, with its barren, peaked, and rocky hills. To its intended inhabitants, it presented the appearance of one entire fortress; every height, platform, and opening, near the sea, was bristling with cannon. Napoleon came on deck early in the morning, and went forward on the gangway to view the island. As he surveyed it through his glass, Las Casas anxiously watched the expression of his countenance, but could perceive no change upon it. He very soon went to his cabin, where he proceeded with his usual occupations.

"The island of St. Helena" says O'Meara, "is situated in lat. $15^{\circ} 55'$ S., and long. $5^{\circ} 46'$ W., in the south-east trade wind. It is about ten miles and a half in length, six and three quarters in breadth, and twenty-eight in circumference. The highest part of it is Diana's Peak. It is distant from the nearest land (the Island of Ascension) about six hundred miles, and twelve hundred from the nearest continent, the Cape of Good Hope. Its appearance is the most desolate and unpromising that can be imagined. Its exterior presents an immense mass of brown rock, formed of different sorts of lava, rising from the ocean in irregular, rugged, and perpendicular precipices, of a burnt and scorified appearance, totally void of vegetation, from three hundred to fifteen hundred feet high, diversified with hideous, deep, and narrow ravines, descending to the sea, and here and there forming landing-places. The island is composed of lava, cooled in different states of fusion: there is a total absence of any primitive

substance. Its conical hills, the *puzzolana*, and other volcanic productions found in it, clearly shew that it has undergone the action of fire. James' Town, the only one in the island, is situated in the bottom of a deep wedge-like ravine. It is defended by a line of works along the beach, to the left of which (from the sea) is the landing-place; and by strong sea-works on Ladder Hill, Rupert's Hill, by Munden's and Banks's batteries. Across the sea-line, there is a drawbridge and a gate leading into the main street, which is closed at night. There are, besides this landing place, five or six others, not however easily practicable, excepting to a sailor. The population of the island (exclusive of the military) is reckoned at about two thousand nine hundred souls, of whom about seven hundred and eighty are whites, thirteen hundred blacks, and the rest Lascars, Chinese, &c."

The Northumberland anchored about noon, and the admiral went ashore immediately, with a view to find a fitting abode for Napoleon and his suite. He returned in the evening, having fixed on Longwood, a country house belonging to the deputy-governor. The place stood in need of repairs which would occupy about two months. The orders of government were imperative that Plantation House, the residence appropriated to the governor of the island, should not be assigned to Napoleon. This is reprobated even by Scott, who justly observes that he ought to have received the best accommodation which could be found. Government also directed that he should remain on board until his residence was prepared for his reception; but the admiral took the responsibility of disobeying this latter injunction, which would have proved a terrible hardship after a long voyage, and announced his readiness to put Napoleon and his suite ashore on the following day.

On the 16th of October, 1815, Napoleon landed in St. Helena. As he left the Northumberland, the officers, by a simultaneous impulse, all assembled on the quarter-deck, and nearly the whole of the crew were stationed in the gangways. Before he stepped into the boat, he took leave of the captain, and desired him to convey his thanks to the officers and men. This message was not received without emotion. The narrow street of James' Town had been crowded from an early hour by people who were anxious to obtain a view of the imperial prisoner; but as he did not land till dusk, the greater number had given up the expectation of seeing him on that day, and he reached his place of temporary abode without molestation. It was a private house, one of the best in the town, which had been hired for him by the admiral; but there was no privacy to be had. He was much incommoded after his arrival by crowds of gazers; and disliking both to be exposed to their eyes, or to come in contact with the sentinels who guarded the doors, he confined himself to his chamber the whole evening.

At six o'clock on the morning of the 18th, the Emperor, accompanied by the admiral and Bertrand, rode up to Longwood. The nature of the country through which they passed is thus described by O'Meara. "The interior of the island is composed of alternate ridges of mountains and ravines, the former of which vary in height from six hundred to two thousand six hundred feet. The face of the country presents a most striking contrast, being composed of a great variety of mountains and valleys, of barrenness and verdure. Some parts consisting of immense stupendous and sterile rocks, separated by deep and frightful dingy-coloured chasms, several hundred feet perpendicular, with huge detached masses of naked rock sticking up here and there, with an occasional patch of green; others of verdant pasturages and gardens, ornamented with trees, and houses erected in the valley or on the declivities, which, with a few cattle, some sheep, and occasionally a horse grazing along the steep sides of the hills, give an agreeable relief to the eye, fatigued with the view of tremendous precipices, and gaping red ravines in the neighbourhood. The view from Sandy Bay ridge, and from the summit of Diana's Peak, is sublime. The greatest part of the island, however, is barren, and inexpressibly desolate and repulsive in its appearance, and even a larger portion of that which is susceptible of culture is now overrun with the blackberry, which was introduced a few years ago as a curiosity. The roads are in general bridle-paths, twining round the brows of the hills, or creeping up the steep sides, and over the sharp ridges of the mountains, and sinking into the profundities of the ravines. There were only two carriages on the island, which belonged to the governor (appointed by the East India Company, and superseded by Admiral Cockburn), and were dragged along by bullocks."

Longwood is situated on the windward side of the island (a circumstance much to its disadvantage), in the midst of a plain on the summit of a mountain, eighteen hundred feet above the level of the sea. It is bleak and sombre in appearance, the few trees about it being chiefly of the species called gumwood, which give little shade, and which were all bent in one direction by the continual prevalence of the south-east winds. The house at that period consisted only of five rooms, all on the ground-floor; it was therefore quite insufficient to accommodate the household of Napoleon. Notwithstanding, he declared that he would rather remain there at any inconvenience than return to the disquiet and the intrusions of the town. The admiral, however, wished to set on foot the necessary additions. The matter was therefore arranged by securing for the Emperor a residence at the Briars, a beautiful small place belonging to Mr. Balcombe, a merchant of the island, and situated about two miles from James' Town. Na-

napoleon had admired the romantic situation of this place as he passed it in the morning. His accommodation was chosen, not in the house itself, but in a pavilion or summer-house at the distance of thirty or forty paces from the house, placed on the top of a little pointed hill, where in fine weather, the family had been used to take tea and amuse themselves. Of this singular abode, Napoleon took possession in the course of the morning, and immediately sent for Las Casas, who acted as his secretary. He had become so much interested in his work on the campaigns of Italy, that he could not suspend it. "As I was ascending the winding path leading to the pavilion," says Las Casas, "I thought I perceived the Emperor, and stopped to look at him. It was Napoleon himself: his body was slightly bent, and his hands behind his back; he wore his usual neat and simple uniform, and his celebrated little hat. He was standing at the threshold of the door, whistling a popular French tune, when I advanced towards him. 'Ah!' said he, 'here you are! Why have you not brought your son?' 'Sire,' I replied, 'the respect, the consideration I owe you prevented me.' 'You cannot do without him,' continued he; send for him.'

"The summer-house contained one room, nearly square, on the ground-floor, having two doors facing each other on two of its sides, and two windows on each of the other sides. These windows had neither curtains nor shutters, and there was scarcely a seat in the room. The Emperor was at this moment alone; his two valets-de-chambre were bustling about to prepare his bed. He wished to walk a little; but there was no level ground on any side of the pavilion, which was surrounded by huge pieces of stone and rock. He took my arm, and began to converse in a cheerful strain. Night was advancing; profound silence, undisturbed solitude, prevailed on every side. What a crowd of sensations overwhelmed me at this moment. I was in this desert alone, and enjoying familiar conversation with the man who had ruled the world! What were my feelings! But to understand them, it would be necessary to revert to the days of his past glory; to the time when one of his decrees sufficed to subvert thrones and create kings. It would be necessary to reflect on what he was to all who surrounded him at the Tuileries; the timid embarrassment, the profound respect with which he was approached by his ministers and officers; the anxiety, the dread of ambassadors, princes, and even kings. With me, all these sentiments remained in full force."

The simple details of these first hours of a mode of existence so novel to the late Emperor of France, present a curious and pathetic picture to the imagination. "When the Emperor was about to

retire to rest, we found that one of the windows (which, as I have already observed, had neither shutters nor curtains,) was close upon his bed, nearly on a level with his face. We barricadoed it as well as we could so as to exclude the draught, to the effects of which the Emperor was very susceptible. For my own part, I ascended to the upper story, immediately above the Emperor's room. In this place, the dimensions of which were about seven feet square, there was only a bed, and not a single chair. This served as a lodging for me and my son, for whom a mattress was spread out upon the floor. But how could we complain, being so near the Emperor? We could hear the sound of his voice, and distinguish his words. The valets-de-chambre slept on the ground across the doorway, wrapped up in their cloaks. Such is the faithful description of the first night which Napoleon passed at Briars. On the 18th," continues Las Casas, "I breakfasted with the Emperor: he had neither table-cloth nor plates; and the remains of the preceding day's dinner were brought to him for breakfast. The English officer was lodged in the neighbouring house, as our guard, and two inferior officers marched up and down with an air of military parade before our eyes, for the purpose of watching our motions. Breakfast being over, the Emperor proceeded to his dictation, which occupied him some hours. He afterwards went to explore our new domain, and to take a view of the surrounding grounds.

"Descending our little hill on the side facing the principal house, we found a path bordered by a hedge, and running at the foot of precipices. After walking along the path to the distance of two hundred paces, we arrived at a little garden, the door of which was open. This is long and narrow, and formed on very uneven ground, but a tolerably level walk extends the whole length of it. At the entrance, there is a sort of arbour at one extremity; and at the other are two huts for the negroes whose business it is to look after the garden. We had no sooner entered the garden than we were met by the daughters of the master of the house, girls about fourteen or fifteen years of age; the one sprightly, giddy, and caring for nothing; the other more sedate, but, at the same time, possessing great naïveté of manner; both spoke a little French. They had walked through the garden, and put all the flowers under contribution to present to the Emperor, whom they overwhelmed with the most whimsical and ridiculous questions. The Emperor was much amused by this familiarity to which he was so little accustomed. 'We have been to a masquerade,' said he, when the young ladies had taken their leave."

The inconveniences to which the Emperor was exposed during his residence at Briars were quite unjustifiable. Even if the British go-

vernment saw fit to forbid his retaining Plantation House as a permanent abode, he ought to have been lodged there, as visitors of distinction had often been, for a time. The admiral, however, had not the power to make this arrangement, and did all he could by hurrying forward the repairs and additions at Longwood. All the workmen, not only of the squadron, but in the island, were put in requisition, and he was himself frequently to be seen superintending their operations soon after sunrise. Every day parties of two or three hundred seamen, sometimes assisted by parties of the 53rd regiment, were employed in carrying up timber and other materials for building, and articles of furniture, which, though purchased at a great expense, were paltry and old-fashioned. Almost everything had to be carried by men, so deficient was the island in the means of transport. The Emperor, in the meanwhile, endured many privations; among others, the want of a bath, which had become a necessary of life to him, was a serious grievance, and these, with the many petty vexations with which he had to contend, irritated him, and drew forth complaints which, during the trying scenes he had lately gone through, had never been heard. The admiral, on receiving a remonstrance, removed the serjeant's guard which had been stationed to watch the pavilion, and which had exceedingly annoyed Napoleon, while its inutility was quite apparent.

The orderly officer continued to reside at the dwelling-house, and it was his duty to ascertain the actual presence of Napoleon twice in the twenty-four hours, which was done with as much delicacy as possible. "Every landing-place in the island," says O'Meara, "and indeed every place which presented the semblance of one, was furnished with a picquet, and sentinels were even placed upon every goat-path leading to the sea, though in truth the obstacles presented by nature in almost all the paths in that direction would of themselves have proved insurmountable to so unwieldy a person as Napoleon. From the various signal-posts in the island, ships are frequently discovered at twenty-four leagues distance, and always long before they can approach the shore. Two ships of war continually cruized, one to windward, and the other to leeward, to whom signals were made as soon as a vessel was discovered from the posts on shore. Every ship, except a British man-of-war, was accompanied down to the road by one of the cruizers, who remained with her until she was either permitted to anchor or was sent away. No foreign vessels were allowed to anchor except under circumstances of great distress, in which case no person from them was permitted to land, and an officer and party from one of the ships of war were sent on board to take charge of them as long as they remained, as well as

in order to prevent any improper communication. Every fishing-boat belonging to the island was numbered, and anchored every evening at sunset under the superintendence of a lieutenant of the navy. No boats, excepting guard-boats from the ships of war, which pulled about the island all night, were allowed to be down after sunset." Under these regulations, St. Helena was one great prison, and the personal annoyance of a guard placed in the actual *presence* of the imperial prisoner, a gratuitous infliction.

The Emperor was visited during one of the first days which he passed at Briars, by Captain Desmond of the Redpole, who, opening the door, introduced himself without farther ceremony: he had, however, come with kind intentions. He was about to return to Europe, and came to enquire if the Emperor had any commands. Napoleon energetically repeated to him the same protests against the treatment he had received, which he had made before he left the Bellerophon, and added,—“We have travelled over the most desolate countries of Europe, but none is to be compared to this barren rock. Deprived of everything that can render life supportable, it is calculated only to renew perpetually the anguish of death. The first principles of Christian morality, and that great duty imposed on man to pursue his fate whatever it may be, may withhold him from terminating with his own hand a wretched existence; the Emperor prides himself on being superior to such a feeling. But if the British ministry should persist in their course of injustice and violence towards him, he would consider it a happiness if *they* would put him to death.”

Napoleon afterwards directed Las Casas to write down the substance of what he had said, and sent the whole to Captain Desmond, accompanied by the following memorandum:—“The Emperor desires, by the return of the next vessel, to receive some account of his wife and son, and to be informed whether the latter is still living.”

The days passed wearily, and the evenings appeared long. Napoleon rose early, walked before breakfast, then heard Las Casas read the matter he had written on the previous day; dictated afterwards till about five o'clock, walked again till six, when he dined; and spent the evening in conversation, relieved occasionally by a game of chess or picquet, or by reading aloud. Sometimes, for the sake of variety, he visited Mr. Balcombe's family in the evening. Here he conversed with the utmost ease and good humour, played whist, joked with the young ladies, and on one occasion, joined them in a game of blind-man's buff, to their great delight. Mr. Balcombe took pains to render the situation of the Emperor less uneasy. A temporary kitchen was erected for him by this gentleman, instead of all his provisions being brought ready cooked from the town. Such of his servants as were neces-

sary to his comfort were accommodated at the Briars. The different individuals of his suite, who still lodged in the town, came round him daily, being allowed to pass backwards and forwards accompanied by an English officer, or O'Meara. A tent also, presented by the Colonel of the 53rd, was set up so as to make a prolongation of the room occupied by Napoleon. The Emperor's plate, and other articles which he required, were unpacked, and his habitation began to assume some appearance of comfort.

The removal of the serjeant's guard, which used to be stationed on the pleasantest walk of the garden, permitted the Emperor to visit that spot, and it shortly became his favourite promenade. The weather was delicious during the early part of November. He frequently remained in the garden for many hours in the day; sometimes he dictated there; and often after the rest of his friends had returned to their lodgings at night, he would remain for some time walking up and down by moonlight alone with Las Casas. It was on these occasions that he detailed those events of his early life, the records of which we owe to his attentive auditor.

Mrs. Balcombe and her daughters frequently joined him in his afternoon walk, and told him the news. It annoyed him very much to encounter strangers, or to be intruded on by curious observers. He became interested in a poor Malay slave, called Toby, who acted as gardener, and frequently stopped to observe him and converse with him. Toby became fond of the Emperor, and gave him the name of "the good gentleman." Napoleon afterwards tried to purchase the liberation of this poor slave; but some delay occurred, and when he left the Briars, it was forgotten.

While he was one day watching Toby, he began to speculate on human nature, its strange varieties, and the different effects which circumstances produced on different natures. "Had Toby been a Brutus," said he, "he would have put himself to death; an *Æsop*, he might have been the counsellor of the governor; a zealous Christian, he would have worn his chains in the sight of God, and blessed them. As for poor Toby, he does not look deeply into things; he stoops and toils in tranquillity." Resuming his walk, the Emperor continued,— "Certainly there is a wide difference between poor Toby and a 'King Richard!'"—"Still," added he after a pause, "the crime was no less great; for this man, after all, had his family, his enjoyments, his own life, and it was a great crime to bring him here to die in slavery." Then suddenly stopping, on perceiving that his words had suggested to his companions a personal application, he said,— "But I read in your eyes that you think the negro is not the sole example of such a fate in St. Helena. My friends, there is not the

slightest resemblance here. If the outrage is of a higher class, the victims also possess very different resources. We have not been exposed to corporeal sufferings; or, if that had been attempted, we have souls to disappoint our tyrants. Our situation may even have its charms. The eyes of the world are fixed upon us; we are martyrs in an immortal cause. We here struggle against the oppression of the *gods*, and the prayers of nations are for us.—“Besides,” he continued after another pause, “this is not the source of my real sufferings. If I considered only myself, perhaps I should have reason to rejoice. Adversity was wanting to my career. Had I died on the throne, enveloped in the clouds of my power, I should have remained a problem to many. But now, thanks to misfortune, all may judge of me without disguise.”

Though Napoleon had three horses at his command, he would not ride, from a repugnance to endure the continual presence of a British officer, according to the regulation made by the admiral. His health suffered, in consequence. He sometimes took long walks. On one of these occasions, he met Mrs. Balcombe, accompanied by Mrs. Stuart, a Scotch lady, who was on her way to Europe. While the Emperor stopped and conversed with the ladies, some slaves came up, carrying heavy boxes, and attempted to pass along the narrow road; whereupon Mrs. Balcombe desired them to stand back. Napoleon, however, immediately made way for them, saying, “Respect the burden, madam!” “At these words,” says Las Casas, “Mrs. Stuart, who had been attentively observing the Emperor’s features, said in a low tone to her friend,—‘What a countenance, and what a character! How different from what I had been led to expect!’”

French newspapers up to the 15th of September reached St. Helena about the beginning of December. The measures of severity pursued by the Bourbons, and the gloomy aspect of affairs in France, caused the conversation at the Briers to run into speculations as to the result, and Napoleon observed on the uncertainty which attended the continuation of the Bourbon dynasty, of the elder branch, on the throne. Some one suggested that the Duke of Orleans might be called to the succession. Subsequent events have made the Emperor’s reply curious. He contended that the sovereigns of Europe would sooner consent to his own return to the throne;—“For,” said he, “what is the doctrine of kings against the events of the present day? It is to prevent a renewal of the example which I furnished against what they call legitimacy? Now the example which I have set cannot be renewed above once in the course of many ages; but that of the Duke of Orleans, the near relative of the monarch on the throne, may be renewed daily, hourly, and in every country. There is no

sovereign who has not in his own palace, and about his person, cousins, nephews, brothers, and other relations who could easily follow such an example if it were once given." Napoleon did not anticipate that the sovereigns of Europe exhausted, at length, with their perpetual efforts to maintain the legitimate dynasty, would quietly permit its overturn in 1830. He did not know that the cause to which he was a martyr was absolutely gained, though apparently lost with his fall from the throne.

Napoleon removed to Longwood on the 10th of December. The additions and repairs had been finished some days previously, but the smell of paint, to which he was exceedingly sensitive, at first prevented his entrance, though his numerous inconveniences at the Briars made him anxious to leave his abode there. On the evening before his departure, he sent the expression of his regrets to Mr. Balcombe, for the trouble which he had caused to him, accompanying the message with the present of a handsome snuff-box. That gentleman also breakfasted with the Emperor, by invitation, on the last morning of his residence in the pavilion.

Admiral Cockburn arrived in the middle of the day to escort the Emperor to Longwood. They had not met for some time; the inconveniences sustained by Napoleon and the restraints put on the members of his suite, having occasioned some coolness between them. Napoleon, however, received him with perfect courtesy, and appeared to have forgotten all causes of complaint. The admiral, on his part, shewed every attention towards him. They soon mounted on horseback, and, accompanied by all the officers of the Emperor's suite, and several English officers, rode to Longwood. A guard, under arms, received them at the gate. The Emperor's horse started aside as the three ruffles of the drum gave the usual honours to a general officer, and it was only by the use of the spur that he could force the animal to enter the gate. "At this moment," says Las Casas, "I observed very expressive looks exchanged among the persons composing the escort." It was about four o'clock on the 10th of December, 1815, that Napoleon, after all his wanderings—his life of intense action and strange turns of fate—entered the abode in which all action was to be superseded by passive endurance, and all glory by suffering, and which he was never to leave until he had found his final rest.

"The admiral," says Las Casas, took great pains to point out to us even the minutest details at Longwood. He had superintended all the arrangements, and some things were even the work of his own hands. The Emperor was satisfied with everything, and the admiral seemed highly pleased. He had evidently anticipated petulance and disdain; but the Emperor manifested perfect good humour."

The foregoing description of Napoleon's arrival at Longwood, and the following account of his first evening in that abode, present a strange contrast to the impressions which the public in general have received concerning his usual deportment there, which, according to some writers, was one continued series of selfish and undignified complaints. "He retired," says Las Casas, "at six o'clock, and beckoned me to follow him to his chamber. Here he examined various articles of furniture, and enquired whether I was similarly provided. On my replying in the negative; he insisted on my accepting them, saying in the most engaging manner, "Take them; I shall want for nothing: I shall be taken better care of than you." He felt much fatigued, and asked whether he did not look so. This was the consequence of having passed five months in absolute inactivity. He had walked much in the morning, besides riding some miles on horseback. Our new residence was provided with a bath, which the admiral had ordered the carpenters to fit up in the best way they could. The Emperor, who since he quitted Malmaison, had been obliged to dispense with the use of the bath, which to him had become one of the necessities of life, expressed a wish to bathe immediately, and directed me to remain with him. The most trivial details of our new establishment came once more under consideration; and as the apartment which had been assigned to me was very bad, the Emperor expressed a wish that during the day I should occupy what he called his topographic cabinet, which adjoined his own private closet, in order, as he said, that I might be nearer to him. I was much affected by the kind manner in which all this was spoken. He even went so far as to repeat to me several times that I must come next morning and take a bath; and when I excused myself on the ground of the respect and distance which ought to be kept up between us,—"My dear Las Casas," said he, "fellow-prisoners should accommodate each other. I do not want the bath all day, and it is not less necessary to you than to me." One would have supposed that he wished to indemnify me for the loss I was about to sustain, in being no longer the only individual about his person. This kindness delighted me it is true; but it also produced a feeling of regret. The Emperor, not wishing to dress again, dined in his own room, and desired me to remain with him." If to this description it should be objected that it was given by an affectionate and devoted friend, it must be remembered that no man, after two months of hourly intercourse with a friend, under circumstances of trial and privation, could have continued to excite such affection and devotion without the possession of the amiable qualities here ascribed to Napoleon.

Longwood House now contained the following accommodations. A new entrance hall had been built, which was designed to answer the additional purpose of a dining room. This apartment led to the drawing room, partly new and partly old; altogether forming a spacious apartment, with three windows on each side, and a verandah leading to the garden. It would have been a very good room, but that being built of wood, it was apt to become intolerably hot. A small and rather dark room adjoined it, intended for Napoleon's books and maps, but it was afterwards converted into a dining room. The Emperor's bed-room and cabinet opened into this apartment, at the right hand side. They had been originally one room, and were recently divided. They were very small. The bed-room was about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet high. A little external gallery served as a bathing room. The Count and Countess de Montholon occupied the opposite wing of the house. The servants' offices were in a range of buildings detached from the other part. Las Casas occupied a small square room close to the kitchen, and his son slept in a kind of loft above, to which he ascended by a ladder. The servants slept in the lofts above the old house, until rooms, then in preparation, were completed for them. Gourgaud and O'Meara, and the orderly officer, slept under a tent, till their apartments were completed. The Count and Countess Bertrand and their family lived at first at Hut's Gate, a small place at about two miles distance.

A kind of garden surrounded the house, but the arid soil, the want of water and proper cultivation, made it a garden only in name. In front of Longwood, but separated by a ravine, was the camp of Deadwood, occupied by the 53rd regiment. The climate of this elevated plain, was considerably cooler than that of the sea-shore; the thermometer marking a difference of about ten degrees. It was subject to violent gales of wind, occasionally rising to hurricanes; and to violent rains, thick fogs, and mists.

All the evidence which can be collected on the subject seems to prove that the climate of St. Helena would be less destructive of European health and life than most places within the tropics, but for the extraordinary variations of its surface. Its atmosphere is continually purified by the sea breeze; its rocky soil precludes nearly all the danger resulting from vegetable decomposition; but the following clear statement taken from O'Meara, will at once shew the kind and degree of danger to which its residents are exposed. "The interior of St. Helena, as has been already mentioned, is chiefly formed of successions of high, steep, and unequal ridges of hills, the most elevated of which are two thousand six hundred feet above the level of the ocean, divided by deep, narrow, and long ravines, some of which at

the bottom are not more than a few feet above the level of the sea. Whoever therefore would ride a few miles, must calculate on passing through different climates every half hour; one moment, becalmed in the bottom of the ravines, he experiences the heat of the tropics, in a latitude of $15^{\circ} 55'$ south; a moment afterwards, passing the aperture of some chasm, perspiring from every pore, the temporary lull is succeeded by a sudden and bleak blast from the mountains, the effects of which, combined with the humidity accompanying it, are to produce a rapid evaporation and abstraction of animal heat from the surface of the body, driving thereby the blood to the interior. Emerging from the valley covered with perspiration, a similar cutting blast, producing the same effects, strikes you on reaching the summit of the mountains." The elevated part of the island, on which Longwood was situated, being exposed to the prevailing trade wind, and quite unsheltered, was subject to violent and sudden alternations of temperature in the course of a single day. "At one moment," says O'Meara, "assailed by a shower of rain and enveloped in fog, to the force of which the wind communicates such an impetus, as to cause it to penetrate the best great coat in a few minutes: shortly afterwards, the sky brightening, the weather clearing up, and the scorching rays of a tropical sun beaming forth. This continues for a short time, and is suddenly followed by a repetition of fog, rain, and mist. This alternate drenching and scorching is, of itself, sufficient (as every medical man will allow) to produce the most violent inflammatory affections of the viscera, particularly in those of the abdomen." This description given by O'Meara, which is proved to be correct, by simply looking at the map of St. Helena, is quite sufficient to shew that the climate is dangerous without great precaution, and the possession of the most favourable circumstances. Accordingly we find that Dr. Arnott, though he pronounces the climate "healthy, the air pure and temperate," and adds "Europeans enjoy their health, and retain the vigour of their constitution as in their native country;"—yet, qualifies this general assertion by important exceptions. He states that dysentery and other acute diseases of the abdominal viscera, prevailed among the troops; which he imputes to the carelessness and intemperance of the English soldiers, and the fatigue of the working parties. "I can safely assert," continues Dr. Arnott, "that any one of *temperate habits*, who is *not exposed to much bodily exertion, night air, and atmospherical changes* as a soldier must be, may have as much immunity from disease as in Europe." This may be perfectly true, but at the same time it must be admitted that a climate which requires such precautions as these, should not be characterised as healthy.

Each historian, in speaking of the proportion of sick among the troops, gives the returns according to his own political bias, and they are

so contradictory that they can only be reconciled by the supposition that one return was made in a sickly season, another in a healthy; another in an interval of comparative immunity from exposure to dangerous influences; another in one of much fatigue or intemperance. The English ministry had pronounced the climate to be salubrious; Scott therefore declares, that Dr. Short, physician to the forces at the period of Napoleon's residence, made returns to the effect—that among the troops stationed in St. Helena, constantly employed in ordinary and fatigue duty, the proportion of sick was only one man to forty-two, including casualties, and those sent to the hospital after punishment. Lockhart reduces the number of sick to one in forty-five, quoting Dr. Arnott as authority; a statement (if taken as a general fact) certainly at variance with that physician's own admission that "dysentery, and other acute diseases of the abdominal viscera, *prevailed* among the troops." O'Meara declares that from the 20th of November, 1815, to the 20th November, 1816, there were admitted into the regimental-hospital, four hundred and thirty-eight patients, one hundred and seventy-nine of whom had bowel-complaints; the regiments being only between five and six hundred strong; that during the first twelve or thirteen months after its arrival at St. Helena, the second battalion of the 66th regiment lost by dysentery and liver complaints fifty-six men out of six hundred and thirty—being one in eleven. That the *Conqueror*, which ship arrived in July, 1817, lost one hundred and ten men out of six hundred, besides one hundred and seven invalided and sent to England, being more than a third of her complement; and gives his opinion that the climate is decidedly unhealthy.

Such are the contradictory statements to be found on the subject of the climate of St. Helena. They are, however, of the less consequence, since want of exercise for mind and body, preying grief, chiefly caused by his separation from his child, of whom he appears to have been devotedly fond,—and the irritation produced by petty insults and vexations, much more than the climate, caused the active and fatal development of the disease of which Napoleon died, and produced that complication of disorders which were found on examination to have affected nearly every organ of his frame.

Under the regulations established by Sir George Cockburn, a space of twelve miles in circumference was allotted to Napoleon, within which he might ride or walk, without being accompanied by a British officer. Two military stations were placed within these limits, one at Deadwood, the other at Hut's Gate, opposite to the residence of Count Bertrand.

An arrangement was made with Bertrand by which persons furnished with a pass from him were permitted to enter Longwood grounds.

This was productive of no inconvenience, as no one could visit Bertrand without permission. The French were allowed to send sealed letters to anybody residing upon the island; Sir George Cockburn sensibly considering that no restriction on that point would be of the slightest avail, as they were at liberty to visit and converse at pleasure with any inhabitant. A subaltern's guard was posted at the entrance of Longwood, about six hundred paces from the house, and a cordon of sentinels and picquets were placed round the limits. At nine o'clock, the sentinels were drawn in, and stationed in communication with each other; surrounding the house in such positions that no person could come in or go out without being seen and scrutinised by them. Double sentinels were placed at the entrance of the house, and patrols were continually passing backwards and forwards. After nine, Napoleon was not at liberty to leave the house unless in company with a field-officer; and no person whatever was allowed to pass without the countersign. The picquets stationed at every landing-place or semblance of one, and the regulations as to ships and boats, have already been stated.

Under this system of precautionary restrictions, the late Emperor of France accommodated himself to his circumstances with dignity. He maintained even a cheerfulness of manner, and portioned out his time so as to find employment for the various hours of the day. He arranged his household, allotting to each member of it a certain trust; and preserving the etiquette and arrangements of a court as much as possible. To the minds and feelings of the faithful followers who surrounded him, he was still the Emperor of half Europe, though his manners to them were simple, familiar, and frequently playful. All the conversations detailed by Las Casas and O'Meara are those of friends, talking on equal terms. He rode, drove, or walked out frequently; visiting the residents within his limits, and frequently entering into familiar conversation with the labourers and poorer inhabitants. The officers of the 53rd, and of the St. Helena regiment, with their wives, were introduced to him, and he invited some of them to his table every week, together with some of the families of the island, such as Colonel and Mrs. Skelton, the Balcombes, &c. The officers of India ships, the passengers to or from India, came in numbers to Longwood, to request an interview with him, and were rarely disappointed. They generally went away highly pleased with their reception, and often expressed great surprise at finding Napoleon so unlike the idea they had formed of him. On one occasion, O'Meara told him of the great admiration his manners had excited in some ladies who had been presented to him. "Oh," replied he, laughing, "I suppose they imagined I was some ferocious horned animal."

Napoleon was not on cordial terms with Sir George Cockburn, and they seldom met. This coolness was owing more to the admiral's manners than his acts. He excited disgust in the Emperor by a kind of forced familiarity, by which he appeared determined to shew that he conceived himself to be of equal rank with the "General." There were certain points also on which painful feelings necessarily arose between Napoleon and any one appointed to guard him. The Emperor did not acknowledge himself a lawful prisoner—he yielded to force alone; he therefore never voluntarily complied with any of the conditions imposed upon him as a prisoner; such as shewing himself to a British officer twice in the course of the twenty-four hours. It was also a principle with him not to acknowledge the right of the English government to pretend to sweep away, by a stroke of the pen, all the acts of the French people—by which he had been endowed with the titles of First Consul, Consul for Life, and finally Emperor. He, therefore, would never recognise the title of General Bonaparte, which the English Government had conferred upon him. This did not proceed from personal vanity, as his detractors assert. He offered, both before his imprisonment and during its continuance, to assume a name, which he intended should be either Colonel Muiron, or Duroc, but no notice was taken of his offer. The English government chose to treat him as an usurper, and to consider that Louis XVIII. had reigned for twenty years; notwithstanding that they had made the peace of Amiens with him as First Consul, and had treated with him as Emperor on more than one occasion, the last instance being at the conferences of Chatillon-sur-Seine. "If the people had no right to make me Emperor," said Napoleon, "they were equally incapable of making me General. The English called Washington a leader of rebels for a long time, and refused to acknowledge either him or the constitution of his country; but his success ultimately obliged them to change their tone, and acknowledge both."

That infliction of the English government, however, which pressed most heavily on the mind and spirits of Napoleon, and the companions of his exile, was the order that "all letters addressed to him or any of his suite should be delivered, in the first place, to the admiral, or the governor, who was to read previously to transmitting them; and the same regulation was to be enforced with respect to letters written by the General, or those of his suite." This cruel measure, which was intended, of course, to cut off all communication between the late Emperor and Europe, and by that means to hasten the time when Lords Bathurst and Castlereagh hoped that he would be forgotten, is thus stigmatised by Sir Walter Scott, whose kind heart on this and a few other occasions has conquered his political preju-

dices. "If a third person, cold-blooded at best, perhaps inclined to hold up to scorn the expressions of our grief or our affection, is permitted to have the review of the feelings of our hearts towards a wife, a sister, a brother, or a bosom friend, the correspondence loses half its value; and forced as we are to keep it within the bounds of the most discreet caution, it becomes to us rather a source of new mortification, than the opening of a communion with those absent persons, whose friendship and attachment we hold to be the dearest possession of our lives. * * * * Whatever was to be apprehended of danger in this species of intercourse, was much more likely to occur in a clandestine correspondence than in one carried on even by sealed letters openly and by permission of the government." The effect of the regulation as to the Emperor was to prevent his ever writing at all, to any individual whatever, as he would not submit to the indignity proposed.

It was asserted by the admiral that his instructions were to cause an English officer *always to dine at the Emperor's table*, but as Napoleon declared that if this were enforced he would dine in his own apartment, it was remitted by the admiral.

An evil which threatened to affect the peace of the establishment at Longwood even more than the measures of the English ministry, was conquered in a great degree by the Emperor's justice, kindness, and care. Dissensions and jealousies began to grow up among the members of his household, who though all united by one common tie of affection for him, had been comparatively strangers to each other, yet were now thrown into daily intercourse. "These circumstances," says Las Casas, "served to develope many excellent traits in the Emperor's character. They were apparent in his endeavours to produce among us unity and conformity of sentiment; his constant care to remove every just cause of jealousy; the voluntary abstractions of mind by which he averted his attention from that which he wished not to observe; and finally, the paternal expressions of displeasure, of which we were occasionally the objects; and which (to the honour of all be it said) were avoided as cautiously, and received as respectfully, as though they had emanated from the throne of the Tuileries."

The newspapers successively brought accounts of the violent deaths of Murat, Ney, and Labeledoyère, and of the condemnation, with the subsequent escape, of Lavalette by the help of his heroic wife.

Murat had fled from France after the second abdication of Napoleon,—found a refuge in Corsica, and was promised an asylum in Austria; but he cherished a wild hope of recovering his crown. He invaded the Neapolitan territory at the head of a small band. He was attacked by the country people,—fought with his usual des-

peration,—but after seeing nearly all his followers killed or wounded at his side, was taken. He was tried by a military commission, and condemned to immediate death. He wrote an affecting letter to his wife, in which he enclosed a lock of his hair, and then walked to the place of execution with a firm and calm demeanour. He stood facing the soldiers who were drawn out ready to fire; kissed a little cornelian gem on which was the head of his wife, and gazing steadfastly at it, said—"Save my face, aim at my heart!"—received six balls, and fell dead. Ney was shot in direct violation of the twelfth article of the capitulation of Paris. Like Murat, he refused to have his eyes bandaged. He took off his hat, raised it above his head, and said, with a firm voice, "I declare before God and man, that I have never betrayed my country: may my death render her happy! Vive la France!" Then, turning to the men, and striking his other hand on his heart, he himself gave the word, "Soldiers—fire!" "This extraordinary man," says Colonel Napier, "was notoriously indolent and unlearned in the abstract science of war: it was necessary for him to see in order to act; his character seemed to be asleep, until some imminent danger aroused all the marvellous energy and fortitude with which nature had endowed him. He who had fought FIVE HUNDRED battles for France—not one against her—was shot as a traitor." Thus do we pass over—described in how few abrupt words—the death-scenes of two men, whose lives were almost miracles of inexhaustible spirit, activity, and defiance of death,—and over whose lives it seemed as if death had no power until they could be taken at the utmost disadvantage.

The execution of Ney, and of the young and enthusiastic Labe-doyère, roused a strong feeling of disgust throughout Europe, against the Bourbons. Napoleon observed on the imprudence of their inexorable policy. "But the saloons of Paris," said he, "have shewn the same passions as the clubs, the noblesse have renewed the spirit of the jacobins."

Napoleon's health already began to decline, though there was no appearance of any decided disease. The representations of O'Meara, however, induced him to take more exercise, and towards the end of the year, and the commencement of 1816, he took frequent rides and walks, often very early in the morning. On one occasion, when he was riding by a field in which some labourers were ploughing, he alighted,—took hold of the plough,—and to the astonishment of the workmen, traced a furrow of considerable length. His favourite ride was through the deep ravine which separated Longwood from Diana's Peak. He gave it the name of the "Valley of Silence," and in the midst of it he fixed on a regular resting-place. He read very much,

especially when the files of newspapers arrived by the ships which came from Europe. He also continued his dictations. He generally invited one or more, sometimes all the members of his suite, to dinner. The conversation then turned on the events of the day, which had been learned from the newspapers; or on old recollections; or on the discussion of works of literature, poetry, or romance. The reports of these conversations are highly interesting. Once, the Emperor entertained his guests with a narrative of the expedition of La Perouse, which he professed to have found in a newspaper. He went on a long while, dictating the most romantic adventures, and strange turns of fate. At last, when they were all put into a state of excitement, he laughed, and they found he had been exerting his old talent of *improvising*. The evenings were spent in reading aloud—generally romances and novels—but frequently dramas. Once or twice the Bible became the subject; after reading the ‘Sermon on the Mount,’ and observing on its pure and exalted morality, Napoleon said laughing, “It would be hard to make many people in Europe believe what I have been reading.” In one of his rides with Las Cases, they dismounted to explore the bottom of a deep valley, and sunk in the mud up to their knees. It was with considerable difficulty that they extricated themselves. As Napoleon scrambled out, he said “This is a dirty adventure. If we had sunk and been lost, it would certainly have been said that I was swallowed up for my crimes.” He had a full sense of the monstrous nature of the character which had been attributed to him in England, and read the libellous publications concerning him whenever he could get them. He used to laugh excessively at some parts of them. O’Meara describes him once as he was lying on his sofa, turning over a most scurrilous work of the kind. Sometimes he laughed, and sometimes exclaimed “Jesus!” and crossed himself—an action common to him when he was excited; but he never seemed moved to anger except once, when he read some atrocious scandals concerning his mother. As to himself, he used to say he was accustomed to it. “If,” said he, on one occasion, “it should enter any one’s head to put it in print that I had grown hairy, and walked on all fours, there are people who would believe it, and would say that God had punished me as he did Nebuchadnezzar.”

On the 14th of April, 1816, Sir Hudson Lowe, the new governor, arrived at St. Helena. He was accompanied by Lady Lowe, and a numerous staff. He landed the following day, and sent notice to Longwood that he should visit Napoleon at ten the following morning,—without in any way consulting his illustrious prisoner as to the convenience of that early hour, an hour at which he never received

visitors. Accordingly, when he presented himself, accompanied by the admiral, and by the whole of his staff, in the midst of a pelting storm of wind and rain, he received notice that Napoleon was indisposed, and could not receive him. Two o'clock of the following day was then fixed, when he again arrived, attended as before, and the whole party was ushered into the dining-room, within which was the drawing-room; where the Emperor, attended by Bertrand, was soon after ready to receive them. Sir George Cockburn had offered to introduce Sir Hudson Lowe, but as no notice of his intention or even of his presence had been given to Napoleon, the governor alone was called for; and as Sir Hudson hastily stepped forward, the valet whose business it was to stand at the door, and announce the names of the persons introduced, admitted him only, and then closed the door, and refused to usher in the admiral. The governor's staff was then called for and introduced, while the admiral remained much disconcerted, to the great discomfiture of the Emperor's suite who were stationed in the dining-room, and whose French politeness was shocked by the circumstance. When the cavalcade had departed, the Emperor was informed of this occurrence, and declared that he had known nothing of the matter, very properly observing that he ought to have been apprized by the new governor of Sir George Cockburn's presence. He could not help laughing, however, at the discomfiture which this officer had undergone, as if in return for all his insults, and then added in a graver tone, "Perhaps the admiral has lost nothing by the mistake. I should have apostrophised him in the midst of his countrymen, and have told him that by the sentiment attached to the honourable uniform which we both had worn for forty years, I accused him of having, in the eyes of the world, degraded his nation and his sovereign, by wantonly and stupidly failing in respect to one of the oldest soldiers in Europe. I should have assured him that a man of true honour would pay me more respect on my rock, than if I were still on my throne and surrounded by my armies."

After dinner, the events of the morning came under discussion. "Some one," says Las Casas, jokingly observed that the two first days of the governor's arrival had been like days of battle, and were calculated to make us appear very untractable, though we were naturally most patient and accommodating. At these words, the Emperor smiled, and pinched the ear of the individual who made the remark." This was a frequent action of Napoleon when anything struck him as comic. The governor, with all his suite, had arrived in the rain and wind to no purpose, because the prisoner was still warm in bed; and the great admiral, who had brought the prisoner across the sea, had been accidentally subject to a ludicrous indignity on his farewell visit.

"The conversation," continues Las Casas, "then turned on Sir Hudson Lowe. He was described as being a man about forty-five years of age; of the ordinary height, and of slender make, with red hair, a ruddy complexion, and freckled. His eyes were said to have an oblique kind of expression,—glancing askance, seldom fixed full in a person's face; surmounted by fair, bushy, and very prominent eyebrows. 'He is hideous,' said the Emperor; 'he has a most villanous countenance. But we must not decide too hastily; the man's disposition may perhaps make amends for the unfavourable impression which his face produces; this is not impossible.'" In all this, we see certainly an unpromising beginning to an intercourse intended to endure, but none of that premeditated animosity towards Sir Hudson Lowe attributed to Napoleon by Scott and others. On the contrary, he evidently regarded all that happened as trifling circumstances which he treated playfully. Graver matters were soon presented to his mind.

The convention between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, signed at Paris on the 20th of August, 1815, reached St. Helena at this period. Its principal provisions were as follows. After a preamble which stated that the sovereigns had agreed on the measures best calculated to preclude the possibility of Napoleon Bonaparte again disturbing the peace of Europe, the document continued:—

"Napoleon Bonaparte is considered by the powers who signed the treaty of the 20th of March last, as their prisoner. His safeguard is specially entrusted to the British government. The choice of the place and the measures which may best ensure the object of the present stipulation are reserved to his Britannic Majesty. The imperial courts of Austria and Russia, and the royal court of Prussia, shall appoint commissioners to reside in the place which his Britannic Majesty's government shall assign as the residence of Napoleon Bonaparte; and who, without being responsible for his security shall assure themselves of his presence. His most christian Majesty is also invited to send a French commissioner to the place of Napoleon Bonaparte's detention."

M. de Chateaubriand well characterised the fear which had dictated this convention, when he said in the Chamber of Peers,—“The grey great coat and well-known hat of Napoleon mounted on a pole on the coast of Brest, would make all Europe fly to arms.”

As if to insinuate that the captivity, now declared to be permanent, was to become even more rigorous, the British government had officially ordered, that all the persons forming the suite of Napoleon, including his domestics, should sign a written declaration that it was their desire to remain in the island, and to participate in the restrictions to be imposed on Napoleon Bonaparte personally. No individual refusing to sign was permitted to remain, but was to be sent to the Cape of

Good Hope, and thence to Europe. A paper containing the requisite form was, in consequence, sent up to Longwood by the governor on the morning after his own interview with the Emperor, for signature by the servants. The officers of the suite were permitted to draw up their own declarations. The tenour of the governor's paper was not approved by Napoleon, who besides declared the translation from the English into French to be too literal to be easily understood by Frenchmen; he, therefore, caused Count Montholon to substitute the following:—"We, the undersigned, desiring to remain in the service of the Emperor Napoleon, consent, however frightful the abode in St. Helena may be, to remain there, submitting ourselves to the restrictions, however unjust and arbitrary, which are imposed upon his majesty and the persons in his service." This declaration was signed by all the servants; and the officers each sent in his own written resolution to remain, and abide by the regulations, whatever they might be.

Sir Hudson Lowe was not satisfied with this unanimous compliance. He appeared at Longwood the following week, and asked the Emperor's leave to summon all the servants before him. He received for answer through Montholon, who was at the head of the domestic department at Longwood, that "His Majesty had not imagined there could have been any pretence for interference between him and his valet-de-chambre; that, if his permission were asked, he decidedly refused it; that if the governor's instructions required the adoption of this measure, the power was in his own hands, and he might use it: this would only be adding another outrage to those which the English ministers had already accumulated upon him." The governor then proceeded to summon the domestics, and was left alone with them, none of the Emperor's suite choosing to sanction his proceeding by their presence.

Upon his re-appearance after his interrogatories were finished, he remarked, "I am now satisfied. I can inform the English government that they all signed it freely and voluntarily." The governor's "instructions did *not* require the adoption of this measure;" it was a gratuitous insult on his part towards the Emperor, by an insinuation that undue influence had been exercised over his domestics. It was the first in the series of vexatious, paltry interferences by which he embittered the few remaining years of his noble victim, and was sufficient of itself, to prove that he was most unfit for the post which had been assigned to him. He had already, after an apparently kind offer of lending books to Las Casas, sent up two, one of which was the Abbé de Pradt's "Embassy to Warsaw," which is, from beginning to end, an attack upon Napoleon. This had given rise to doubts of his

kindness being sincere. As he took his departure, he now began to extol the beauties of Longwood, a subject scarcely to be expected to give much pleasure to its unfortunate inmates, who remarked that "they felt severely the want of shade in that burning climate, and that there were scarcely any trees." "Oh," replied the governor, "we will plant some!" This answer, if not intended as a cruel taunt, bears too much the appearance of it, and was felt as such. It must at least be allowed that such an intimation of "perpetual imprisonment" could not have proceeded from a man of tact or delicacy; and both ought to have been possessed by the governor intrusted with the charge of Napoleon.

The Emperor made very few remarks on the arbitrary proceedings of the sovereigns, and the vexatious measures of the governor. He appeared to avoid the subjects as much as possible. He read the Abbé de Pradt's work; seemed much amused with it, and it served as a text for conversation. Sleep, however, now began to desert him, and his health suffered. For some days he remained in utter seclusion, shut up in his own apartment, only admitting Las Casas in the evening. This devoted friend observing that the Emperor's spirits were failing, tried to amuse him by anecdotes of the emigrants and the gossip of the Fauxbourg St. Germain, which he was fond of hearing, because, as he once expressed it, "I was well acquainted with everything that had relation to myself, but I never knew anything of those affairs." Las Casas therefore went on with one story after another,

and succeeded in making the Emperor laugh heartily. His kind intention was fully understood. "At the conclusion of one of my stories," says he, "the Emperor pinched my ear, and said in a tone of voice which delighted me,—'I read a story in your Atlas (the work published under the title of Le Sage's Atlas, but in reality by Las Casas), of a northern monarch who was immured in a prison, and one of his soldiers solicited and obtained permission to be imprisoned with him, in order that he might cheer his spirits either by inducing him to converse, or by relating amusing stories to him. My dear Las Casas, you are that soldier.'"

Some of the 'amusing stories' are related in the journal: the following is selected as a specimen:—It had been reported in Paris that Napoleon, irritated against the Emperor of Austria, exclaimed within hearing of Maria Louisa that he was a blockhead (*une ganache*). Not understanding the term, the Empress asked a courtier what it meant, who stammered out—"a clever man, a man of extraordinary talent." Shortly afterwards, she presided at the Council of State, and on occasion of some stormy debate, she called on Cambacérès to set all right, for, said she, "I consider you the greatest *ganache* in the empire." At

this story, Napoleon held his sides with laughter. "What a pity," said he, "it is not true! Only imagine the scene. The offended dignity of Cambacérès, the merriment of the whole council, and the embarrassment of poor Maria Louisa, alarmed at the success of her unconscious joke."

Three days after his last visit, Sir Hudson Lowe returned to Longwood, and was admitted by Napoleon, though he was still indisposed, and not able to leave his couch. The interview was stormy. Napoleon referred to the convention of the sovereigns, spoke of protesting against it,—and proceeded to enumerate the oppressions under which he suffered, with warmth, and at great length. It should be remembered by those who blame him for this, that he wished his observations to be sent to England, and had no other means of communication with the English government than through Sir Hudson Lowe. That officer maintained his temper; replied in a conciliatory manner, except once, when he hinted at further restrictions; and ended by asking if he had offended since his arrival. "No, sir," replied the Emperor, "we complain of nothing since your arrival. Yet one act has offended us, and that is your inspection of our domestics. It was insulting to M. de Montholon, by appearing to throw suspicion on his integrity; and it was petty, disagreeable, and insulting towards me, and perhaps degrading to the English general himself, who thus came to interfere between me and my valet-de-chambre."

When Napoleon described this interview afterwards to his officers, he added an expression which shewed that a rooted antipathy to Sir Hudson Lowe had taken possession of him. "How mean and disagreeable," said he, "is this governor's countenance! I should be unable to drink my coffee if this man were left beside it for a moment. They have sent me worse than a jailor." This kind of disgust with which Sir Hudson Lowe inspired him, enhanced every difficulty, of course. But, it should be remarked, that such a feeling was unusual with Napoleon, and by no means existed towards the governor as an "Englishman," which is sometimes asserted. Napoleon was attached to Captains Usher and Maitland; to O'Meara, to Sir Pulteney Malcolm; and he even liked Sir George Cockburn, though he was justly displeased with his manners. He was also on the best terms with the different captains on guard who successively resided at Longwood.

New measures, indicative of suspicion and fear, were shortly commenced by the governor. His secretary and aide-de-camp went through the town to the different shopkeepers, forbidding any credit to be given to the French, or any communication held with them without permission from the governor, under pain of being sent off the island. The officer on guard at Hut's Gate was ordered to report all persons

entering Bertrand's house. Sentinels were placed to turn back visitors. A sensation of fear to visit the exiles began to prevail, and many officers of the 53rd regiment went to take leave of Madame Bertrand, as they declared the impossibility for men of honour to comply with the new regulations, which extended to a requisition that they should repeat to the governor the conversation which had passed. The weather being wet, and Napoleon not stirring out, Sir Hudson became alarmed, and went to Bertrand to enforce the necessity which existed for an English officer seeing him daily; and his fears could not be calmed, although the inhabitants of Longwood (including an English officer) were assured of the presence of the Emperor by the sound of his voice. He at length obtained a short interview with Napoleon, in his bed-chamber, which was more unpleasant than the last. He walked much about the house, and measured and laid out plans for a new ditch round it; he also had the only large tree which was there grubbed up, probably lest it should serve as a place of concealment. All these measures are indicative of nothing worse than a narrow mind, and restless, timid, nervous disposition, full of panics. It has been said in his excuse, that he was constantly tormented with the fear that Napoleon would escape, and oppressed with the weighty charge laid upon him. This *is* an excuse for Sir Hudson Lowe, but it is a condemnation of the government which could commit such a charge to such a man. Having undertaken the

custody of the late Emperor of France, and having chosen so remote and inaccessible a prison for him, it was incumbent on the British government to choose, as the governor of that prison, a man of large and comprehensive mind; at once firm and uncompromising, and humane. Such a man would have surveyed the narrow rock of St. Helena as a general surveys a field of battle; would have seen that by skilful management, he might give Napoleon the range of the whole island, if he pleased, for he could watch him from every height; would have taken the necessary measures to make escape impossible, and having done so, would have concealed the fetters from his prisoner as much as possible, and lightened his sufferings by every comfort, indulgence, attention, and respect, within his power. We shall see how opposite to this was the conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe, for many of whose subsequent actions, the excuse of a "nervous temperament" will not account.

It was a few days after the last interview of the governor, that Napoleon sent for O'Meara, to visit him in his bed-room, at about nine o'clock in the morning. The minute description which the latter has given of this apartment, will interest those to whom the power of association makes such "little things" seem, in some cases,

"great." "It was," says O'Meara, "about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet in height. The walls were lined with brown nankeen, bordered and edged with common green bordering paper, and destitute of surbase. Two small windows, without pulleys, looking towards the camp of the 53rd regiment, one of which was thrown up and fastened by a piece of notched wood. Window-curtains of white long-cloth, a small fire-place, a shabby grate, and fire-irons to match, with a paltry mantel-piece of wood, painted white, upon which stood a small marble bust of his son. Above the mantel-piece hung the portrait of Maria Louisa, and four or five of young Napoleon, one of which was embroidered by the hands of the mother. A little more to the right hung also a miniature picture of the Empress Josephine, and to the left, the alarm chamber-watch of Frederick the Great, obtained by Napoleon at Potsdam; while, on the right, the consular watch, engraved with the cypher "B," hung by a chain of plaited hair of Maria Louisa from a pin stuck in the nankeen lining. The floor was covered with a second-hand carpet, which had once decorated the dining-room of a lieutenant of the St. Helena artillery. In the right hand corner was placed the little, plain, iron camp bedstead, with green silk curtains, upon which its master had reposed on the fields of Marengo and Austerlitz. Between the windows, there was a paltry second-hand chest of drawers; and an old bookcase, with green blinds, stood on the left of the door leading to the next apartment. Four or five cane-bottomed chairs, painted green, were standing here and there about the room. Before the back door, there was a screen, covered with nankeen, and, between that and the fire-place, an old-fashioned sofa, covered with white long-cloth; upon which reclined Napoleon, clothed in his white morning gown, white trowsers and stockings, all in one. A chequered red Madras upon his head, and his shirt-collar open, without a cravat. His air was melancholy and troubled. Before him stood a little round table, with some books, at the foot of which lay, in confusion upon the carpet, a heap of those which he had already perused, and at the foot of the sofa, facing him, was suspended a portrait of the Empress Maria Louisa, with her son in her arms. In front of the fire-place stood Las Casas, with his arms folded over his breast, and some papers in one of hands. Of all the former magnificence of the once mighty Emperor of France, nothing was present except a superb wash-hand stand, containing a silver basin, and water jug of the same metal, in the left hand corner."

Napoleon had sent for O'Meara to ask him the following questions:—"You know that it was in consequence of my application that you were appointed to attend upon me. Now I want to know from you precisely and truly, as a man of honour, in what situation you con-

ceive yourself to be, whether as my surgeon, as M. Maingaud was, or the surgeon of a prison-ship and prisoners? Whether you have orders to report every trifling occurrence or illness, or what I say to you, to the governor? Answer me candidly: what situation do you conceive yourself to be in?" O'Meara replied, "As your surgeon, and to attend upon you and your suite;" and proceeded to satisfy Napoleon on the subjects which had agitated him. The sequel and the ultimate expulsion of O'Meara from the island shew that he was



justified in his declaration. The Emperor proceeded to say, that the governor had in a manner forced himself into his chamber a few days before when he was ill and a prey to melancholy, and had pressed him to accept the visits of Mr. Baxter, his own physician; to which he would not consent. "I understand," said he, "that he proposed an officer should enter my chamber to see me, if I did not stir out. Any one," continued he, with much emotion, "who endeavours to force his way into my apartment, shall be a corpse the moment he enters it."

The wooden palace prepared for Napoleon in England, arrived at St. Helena in May, 1816. It proved to be useless, as there were no workmen on the island who could put together the planks of which it was composed, and no measures were taken to procure any. It merely served the purpose of making the English think themselves very generous. Napoleon resided at Longwood till his death.

Lady Moira passed a few days at Plantation House, on her way from India, about the same period; and the governor sent a card of invitation to "General Bonaparte" to meet her at dinner, which of course received no answer. It may have been well meant, but it was another instance of all want of tact and delicacy to suppose that Napoleon would ride under a guard to dine among English people under a title which he did not acknowledge. The vexatious interferences continued; the sentinel's orders were continually changed, so that the French did not know what they had to expect on each fresh day. Bertrand was warned that he must not *speak* to passengers going to Europe, and the presence of the English officer in Napoleon's rides was insisted on. "Cannot the governor," said Napoleon, "put a few horsemen in motion, when he knows I am going out? Cannot he place them on the hills, or where he likes, without letting me know anything about it; *I will never appear to see them.*" Nothing in truth could have been more easy, as no inhabitant of Longwood ever moved out without being observed; and a signal conveying the intelligence to Plantation House in less than a minute.

Under these irritations, another interview was sought by Sir Hudson Lowe, in which Napoleon told him he believed that the English ministry had ordered his assassination by his means. This is treated as a wanton insult but the suspicion was natural, and was doubtless sincere. Why should it not have been so? Napoleon had already been declared an outlaw, and his death connived at by some of the diplomatists concerned. The mystery and isolation daily increasing and closing round him, favoured the idea. "If my death is determined on," said he, "execute your orders. I know not how you will administer poison; but as for putting me to death by the sword, you already know the means of doing that. If you should attempt, as you have threatened, to violate the sanctuary of my abode, I give you fair warning that the brave 53rd shall enter only by trampling over my corpse."

Napoleon perpetually deprecated the renewal of these painful scenes, by begging the governor to abstain from visiting him. He was aware that he lost command of himself at the sight of this object of his antipathy. When he is censured for this weakness, it should be remembered that he was of Italian blood, and of fiery temperament,

and galled by petty details and mysteries, which were above all things intolerable to him. His anger, however, did not last. "Well," said he to one of his suite shortly after the interview, with something like a satirical tone of comment upon himself, "I have been thrown quite out of temper! I received Sir Hudson to-day with my stormy countenance, my head inclined, and my ears pricked up. We looked most furiously at each other. My anger must have been powerfully excited, for I felt a vibration in the calf of my left leg. This is always a sure sign with me; and I have not felt it for a long time before."

The commissioners of Russia, Austria, and France, arrived in June, 1816. Napoleon would not receive them in their official capacities, so that they were never presented to him at all. He laughingly complimented Prussia on having spared itself the expense of sending one; and expressed vexation at hearing that the Frenchman of the party was an old emigrant, the Marquis of Montchenu, one of that race of "*imbeciles*," as he expressed it, "who had made all Europe believe that Frenchmen were all dancing-masters." He, however, laughed very heartily at the anecdotes current concerning the poor marquis.

At the same time, Rear-admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, with his lady, arrived. He was appointed admiral on the station. On the 21st, he was presented to Napoleon; they had a conversation of two hours, and were mutually pleased with each other. As the admiral went away, he said to the French officers that he had been taking a very fine and valuable lesson on the history of France. Napoleon thus expressed himself concerning Sir Pulteney:—"Ah! there is a man with a countenance really pleasing, open, intelligent, frank, and sincere. There is the face of an Englishman. His countenance speaks his heart, and I am sure he is a good man. I never yet beheld a man of whom I so immediately formed a good opinion as of that fine soldier-like old man."

Napoleon's conversation then turned on the protest made by Lord Holland against the second reading of the bill called "Bonaparte's Detention Bill," which had passed the British parliament, and of which he had just heard, expressing, at the same time, his high respect and admiration for that excellent nobleman. The protest was as follows:—

"Because, without reference to the character or previous conduct of the person who is the object of the present bill, I disapprove of the measure it sanctions and continues.

"To consign to distant exile and imprisonment a foreign and captive chief, who, after the abdication of his authority, relying on British generosity, had surrendered himself to us in preference to his other enemies, is unworthy of the magnanimity of a great country;

and the treaties by which, after his captivity, we have bound ourselves to detain him in custody, at the will of sovereigns, to whom he had never surrendered himself, appear to me repugnant to the principles of equity, and utterly uncalled for, by expedience or necessity."

On the third reading, the Duke of Sussex entered his protest for the same reasons.

Several cases of books which had been ordered by Bertrand at Madeira, were brought by the admiral. When they arrived at Longwood, so great was Napoleon's impatience to get at them, that he laboured hard with hammer and chisel, in assisting to open the cases. The next morning, O'Meara found him in his bed-room, surrounded by heaps of books. The floor was covered with those he had thrown down as he finished them, according to his constant habit. He had been up nearly all night reading; his countenance was smiling, and his manner perfectly good-humoured. "Ah," he exclaimed, "what a pleasure I have enjoyed. I can read forty pages of French, in the time that it would require me to comprehend two of English."

The delight which Napoleon took in reading, made it the more cruel of Sir Hudson Lowe to restrict this pleasure as he did. Instead of permitting a regular series of newspapers to go up to Longwood as heretofore, only irregular numbers of the "Times" and "Courier" now appeared. The "Morning Chronicle," and pamphlets or books favourable to Napoleon, were detained by the governor. "The Last Reign of Napoleon," by Hobhouse, was never sent to him at all, because on the back was inscribed—"To the Emperor Napoleon." These practices, which grew more and more frequent, were among the totally unnecessary evils which the governor inflicted.

The English government allowed £12,000 a-year towards supporting the establishment at Longwood. The sum sounds liberal, but it should be remembered that the household consisted of nearly fifty persons, including the English officers and servants, and that the high price of all the necessaries of life at St. Helena, reduced the value of an income there, to one-half its worth in England. Lord Bathurst sent orders for a reduction of the expenses to £8,000 a-year, about this time. £12,000 had been found insufficient; and besides the scantiness, the badness of the provisions was very much complained of. All this was the fault of the government, not of the governor. The expense of this remote rock, which was incapable of production, and the means of providing properly for so large an ingress of persons into it, ought to have been duly considered by them before they fixed upon it. The attempt to reduce, however, gave a fresh impetus to Sir Hudson Lowe's vexatious activity. He examined into minute de-

tails; such as whether common salt should not be used instead of basket salt; he complained of the fire-wood used, of the frequency of the Emperor's baths, which entailed expenses, as all the water had to be brought from a distance, there being none at Longwood. He even found fault with so much linen being sent to the wash! It is said that Sir Thomas Reade and Major Gorrequer inspected and made their remarks on the foul linen. At the same time, orders and counter-orders so confused the sentinels, that O'Meara was arrested for going into Bertrand's house. Gourgaud was repeatedly stopped; and no one knew from one day to another how to avoid these irritations. The Emperor, who would not expose himself to such insults, gave up his rides, and only drove out in his calash or took short walks. One day at dinner, he asked his groom "How his horse was," and was answered, that he was in good condition and high spirit. "At all events," answered the Emperor, "I hope he does not complain of me. No horse ever led more the life of a canon than he does." Notwithstanding he talked thus lightly on the subject, Napoleon's health visibly suffered, and his friends observed with pain that his countenance altered.

It was at this period, about the middle of July, 1816, that the most painful—but happily the last—interview took place between Napoleon and Sir Hudson Lowe. The latter had sought it, and arrived suddenly, accompanied by the admiral, while the Emperor was walking in his garden, so that he could not avoid it. On this occasion, Napoleon used language unbecoming and unworthy of himself, and which he afterwards regretted. The governor wished to enter into details concerning the expense of the establishment, a kind of subject intolerable to Napoleon; and further declared that he had altered nothing since his arrival, and that if Napoleon knew him better, he would feel differently. Here Napoleon, losing all command of himself, said—"I know all the English generals who have distinguished themselves, but of you I never heard except as a clerk to Blücher. You have never commanded in battle, nor any but vagabond and Corsican deserters, or Piedmontese and Neapolitan brigands." Sir Hudson reminding him that he had not sought his present employment, Napoleon replied: "Such places are not sought, they are given to people who have dishonoured themselves;"—and finally, calling the governor no Englishman, but a Sicilian thief-catcher, he desired him to send him no provisions if he pleased, but to let him go and dine at the table of the brave 53rd, who would not refuse a place to an old soldier. "Never appear before me again," he concluded, "till you bring me my sentence of death—then all the doors shall be open to you."

Napoleon firmly kept to his purpose, and never again admitted the governor to an interview. Sir Hudson Lowe had just cause of complaint; but if one half of the language imputed to him in the different expressions of his resentment, and the messages he delivered to O'Meara, with orders that he should "repeat them to General Bonaparte," are authentic, he fully revenged himself as far as words could do so. Besides expressions too coarse to be repeated, he called Napoleon "a great liar;" said he considered Ali Pacha a more respectable scoundrel than Bonaparte, &c.

It was perhaps because Napoleon regretted the undignified scene which had occurred, that he dictated to Montholon a clear and detailed list of his grievances, and sent it to the governor. Copies of this document found their way to Europe. He then turned his attention into totally different channels; resumed his study of English, which he had previously begun; returned to his dictations, and evening conversations and readings. A billiard table was sent up to him about this time, which became a source of amusement. This power of entirely dismissing a subject from his mind was a remarkable characteristic of Napoleon. He once explained it by saying, that the different affairs were arranged in his head as in a closet. "When I wish to turn from any business," said he, "I close the drawer which contains it, and I open that which contains another. They do not mix together, and do not fatigue me or inconvenience me. If I wish to sleep, I shut up all the drawers, and I am soon asleep." He was, in fact, able to sleep at will. All his counsellors were well aware of this faculty in him. He was frequently aroused suddenly upon some emergency in his campaigns; he would then get up immediately, give his decision, or dictate his answer, with his mind as clear and unembarrassed as at any other moment, and without having in his eyes the slightest appearance of sudden awaking. When the business was over, he immediately returned to rest. This has been known to have happened ten times in one night, and he was always found to have fallen asleep again.

When the reductions in the expenses began, Napoleon would not suffer any disputes; but to supply the deficiency, ordered a portion of his gold plate to be broken up monthly, and sent to the town for sale: a circumstance disgraceful to the English government. Scott mentions that it was proved afterwards by his will that he possessed four thousand napoleons in secret at this time; and therefore, according to that historian, this sale of plate was unnecessary, and only done for effect. Surely Napoleon had a right to expend whatever part of his property he chose; the disgrace lay with the

English ministry, which occasioned him to contribute in any way to his own support, after taking upon itself that charge.

"I cannot," observed Napoleon to O'Meara, "well comprehend the conduct of your ministers. They go to the expense of sixty or seventy thousand pounds in sending out furniture, wood, and building-materials for my use, and at the same time send out orders to put me nearly on rations! They will not furnish my followers with what they have been accustomed to, nor will they allow me to provide for them by sending sealed letters through a mercantile house, even of their own selection. No man in France would answer a letter of mine, when he knew that it would be read by the English ministers, and he denounced to the Bourbons. Moreover, your ministers having seized the trifling sum of money that I had in the *Bellerophon*, gives reason to suppose that they would do the same again, if they knew where any of my property was placed. It must be to gull the English nation. John Bull, seeing all this furniture sent out, and so much parade and show in the preparations, thinks I am well treated here."

Soon afterwards, the ministerial papers, in reply to Lord Holland's motion on the subject, commenced the cry that "Bonaparte must possess immense treasures, which he no doubt concealed." On reading these assertions, Napoleon gave utterance to one of the most noble denunciations of a mean insinuation that was ever recorded. He called for a secretary, and rapidly dictated the following, which was taken down without the alteration of a single word:—

"You wish to know the treasures of Napoleon! They are immense, it is true, but they are all exposed to light. They are:—The noble harbours of Antwerp and Flushing, which are capable of containing the largest fleets, and of protecting them against the ice from the sea; the naval works at Dunkirk, Havre, and Nice; the great harbour of Cherbourg; the maritime works at Venice; the fine roads from Antwerp to Amsterdam, from Mentz to Metz, from Bordeaux to Bayonne; the passes of the Simplon, of Mont Cenis, of Mont Genève, of La Corniche, which open the Alps in four directions:—these passes exceed in grandeur, in boldness and skill of execution, all the works of the Romans; in these alone you will find eight hundred millions of francs:—the roads from the Pyrenees to the Alps, from Parma to Spezzia, from Savona to Piedmont; the bridges of Jena, Austerlitz, Des Arts, Sèvres, Tours, Rouanne, Lyons, Turin, Bordeaux, Rouen, of the Isere, of the Durance, &c.; the canal which connects the Rhine with the Rhone by the Doubs, and thus unites the northern seas with the Mediterranean; the canal which connects the Scheldt with the Somme, and thus joins Paris

and Amsterdam; the canal which unites the Rance with the Vilaine; the canals of Arles, of Pavia, of the Rhine; the draining of the marshes of Burgoing, of the Cotentin, of Rochefort; the rebuilding of the greater number of the churches destroyed during the revolution; the building of others; the institution of numerous establishments of industry for the suppression of mendicity; the works at the Louvre; the public warehouses; the Bank; the Canal of the Ourcq; the distribution of water in the city of Paris; the numerous sewers; the quays; the embellishments and the monuments of that great capital; the works for the embellishment of Rome; the re-establishment of the manufactories of Lyons; the creation of many hundreds of cotton manufactories for spinning and weaving, which employ several millions of hands; funds accumulated to establish four hundred manufactories of sugar from beet-root, for the consumption of France, and which would have furnished sugar at the same price as the West Indies, if they had continued to receive encouragement for only four years longer;* the substitution of woad for indigo, which would have been brought to equal in quality, and not to exceed in price, the indigo from the colonies; numerous manufactories of different descriptions; fifty millions of francs expended in repairing and beautifying the palaces belonging to the crown; the furniture of the palaces; the crown diamonds, all purchased with Napoleon's money; the *Regent* (the only diamond that was left of those formerly belonging to the crown), withdrawn from the hands of the Jews at Berlin, with whom it had been pledged for three millions of francs; the Napoleon museum, valued at upwards of four hundred millions of francs, filled with objects legitimately acquired, either by money or treaties of peace known to the whole world, by virtue of which the master-pieces it contains were given in lieu of territory, or of contributions; several millions amassed for the encouragement of agriculture, which is the paramount consideration for the interest of France; the introduction into France of merino sheep, &c., &c. These form a treasure of several thousand millions of francs, which will endure for ages! These are the monuments which will confute calumny!

"History will say, that all these things were accomplished amidst perpetual wars, without having recourse to any loan, and whilst the national debt was diminishing every day; and that nearly fifty millions of taxes had been remitted; while very large sums remained in the private treasury of Napoleon."

History will also add to the mass of treasures left by Napoleon, as not the least valuable, though intangible, his great Code of simplified

* The thriving state of this manufacture, at the present day, is well known.

laws ; his schools and universities ; and his cadastre, or excellent system of registration, which, had he had time to complete it, would have proved one of the greatest boons ever conferred on a civilised nation.

But, our view must be again contracted, and concentrated on the rock of St. Helena. After various preliminaries,—such as putting Piontkosky under arrest, and sending a note up to Bertrand, which gave warning that the French would all be required to sign another paper, and that any of them who might use insulting language, or behave so as to give offence to the governor or the government, would be immediately removed to the Cape of Good Hope,—Sir Hudson Lowe sent up to Longwood his new restrictions of the 9th of October, 1816. They were as follows:—"First:—Longwood, with the road by Hut's Gate, along the hill, as far as the signal-post near Alarm-House, are to be fixed as boundaries." One-third of Napoleon's limits were cut off by this article ; and in the space so cut off, was included his favourite spot—the fountain and the willow trees, which afterwards contained his grave. By the third article, another road leading to Napoleon's favourite "Valley of Silence" was forbidden. Within the boundaries, there was not now a single spot in which the captives could enjoy the sight of trees and water. The fourth article prescribed the rules to be observed by the officer who should attend Napoleon when he wished to ride farther ; and was useless, because he would not voluntarily submit to direct and public inspection. The fifth article was as follows:—"The rules already in force, for preventing communications with any one whatever without the governor's permission, must be strictly enforced. Consequently, it is requisite that General Bonaparte should abstain from entering into any conversation (except such as the interchange of customary salutations may demand) with the persons whom he may happen to meet, unless it be in the presence of an English officer." Napoleon characterised this article as the "extremity of insult." The sixth article prohibited those persons who might visit General Bonaparte by permission, from communicating with any of his suite, except by farther permission. Napoleon justly observed, that if he should receive a stranger after this rule, he must himself open his doors, as none of his suite or servants could be permitted so to do. The seventh article announced "That, at sunset, the garden round Longwood would be considered as the boundary, and the sentinels posted at its limits." As the grounds were without verdure or shade, the only period at which they were tolerable in the hot season, was "after sunset ;" and as Napoleon would not walk in them under direct inspection of sentinels, his walks were necessarily altogether prevented by this regulation.

From the moment these restrictions were enforced, Napoleon entirely gave up riding, and confined himself to the house, with the exception

of an occasional, but very rare, drive in his calash, or stroll near the doors, or a walk to see the Bertrands, who were now resident within the grounds of Longwood. Scott and others treat his determination as a petulant, childish whim. Sir Hudson Lowe said,—“He believed it was laziness.” It was a “whim” dearly bought; “laziness” indulged at a heavy price. It was a voluntary resignation to imprisonment in a small and inconvenient house, in a tropical climate, after being used “to ride over half Europe” as Napoleon expressed it himself; and that imprisonment to be terminated by a slow but certain death, rather than submit to the heartless injustice of this tyranny.

The members of Napoleon’s suite were now presented with a form by which they were to bind themselves to come under the same restrictions, or leave the island. They all signed it, inserting, however, the words “the Emperor Napoleon” instead of “Napoleon Bonaparte.” This could not be admitted. At length, after much discussion and much pain, occasioned by fear of displeasing the Emperor, on the one hand, or of being separated from him, on the other, they all signed the original paper, with the exception of Santini. This man was a Corsican, and devotedly attached to Napoleon; but his way of shewing his love was to refuse to assent to the pretended annihilation of the imperial dignity. He was accordingly sent away. He was a man of vindictive Italian blood, and had once formed a scheme to shoot Sir Hudson Lowe, which was fortunately discovered, and prevented by Napoleon. He published a statement of the Emperor’s wrongs when he reached Europe, but in language so violent and exaggerated, that it injured the cause. Together with Santini, Piontkoski, Rousseau, and Archambaud the younger, were sent away,—the reduction of the establishment having been ordered by government.

The officers of Napoleon’s suite continued to ride and walk in their limits, especially Gourgaud, whose health was much affected; but he was continually stopped by sentinels, in consequence of new orders. To these indignities the Emperor would of course have been exposed, had he not secluded himself. The exiles were now completely isolated, and condemned to a kind of *collective*, solitary imprisonment.* Ditches and iron railings surrounded Longwood, and so many mounds and

* It happened to the Editor to meet lately with a gentleman who had visited St. Helena at this period. He said he well remembered that, while riding with his brother, who was an officer in Sir Hudson Lowe’s staff, they met the Bertrands and Montholons, and sensibly felt the awkwardness of passing, without any sign of recognition beyond a mute glance or slight gesture, acquaintances with whom they had been on terms of intimacy. “Had we even lifted our hats,” said he, “a signal would have conveyed the fact to Plantation House in a minute.” The tone of disgust in which this was said, marked the feelings of English officers on the proceedings of the governor.

defences had been raised about the house and stables, that the English soldiers used to call them "Fort Hudson" and "Fort Lowe."

On the 13th of November, Las Casas received orders from the governor to dismiss his servant, a mulatto, and receive another who would be sent to him, on the ground that "Sir Hudson Lowe had conceived some doubts as to the propriety of the Count being attended by a native of the island." The answer of the Count was brief, but positive. He would not receive a servant of Sir Hudson Lowe's choosing, who, however, had, of course, the power to dismiss his present one. After various notes and messages, the mulatto was taken away, and the Count was served by Gentilini, one of Napoleon's valets. This was the prelude to a piece of treachery, which the French writers attribute to Sir Hudson Lowe, but which, in the absence of all direct evidence, is here related without comment.

A few days after he had been removed, the mulatto returned late at night, having, as he said, scaled precipices, and avoided sentinels, in order to tell his late master that he had got a new place, was going to Europe, and had come to offer his services without reserve; he would return, he declared, before he sailed. Las Casas informed the Emperor of the circumstance on the following day, urging "That they were lost in the world; Europe was ignorant of their real situation; the newspapers shewed the veil of imposture which had been thrown over them: it was for them to publish the truth; it would find its way to the ears of sovereigns, to whom it was, perhaps, unknown, and would rouse the sympathy and indignation of the people." The Emperor was pleased at the idea; he spent the day in searching out their records, and choosing those which should be transcribed and sent; but on the succeeding days, he entirely dropped the subject. Las Casas understood him; he saw that complaints should not come from Napoleon himself, and, without further consultation, wrote a letter to Lucien Bonaparte, on satin. The mulatto returned, and assisted with his own hands to sew the letter into his clothes. On the following day, the 25th of November, 1816, Las Casas was arrested by Sir Hudson Lowe, being accused, on the deposition of the mulatto, of attempting to carry on an illegal correspondence.

All the papers belonging to the Count were seized, and examined by the governor; but as nothing treasonable, nor any attempt to assist in the Emperor's escape, could be found, the utmost punishment that could be awarded, was a dismissal to the Cape of Good Hope, which was accordingly ordered. The Count and his son were, however, first detained in strict imprisonment on the island, and exposed at first to extreme hardships. After repeated protests, Las Casas was permitted to receive back all his papers which did not relate to the

Emperor; his journal and other documents were sealed up for the decision of the English government. A farewell letter, written by Napoleon to the faithful companion who was thus torn from him, was detained by Sir Hudson Lowe, and never reached him entire till after the death of the writer; but portions of it were sent to their destination, and even these fragments are mentioned as a "real blessing." The following passage is contained among these fragments. "Your company was necessary to me. You are the only one that can read, speak, and understand English. How many nights you have watched over me during my illnesses! However, I advise you, and, if necessary, I order you, to demand of the governor to send you to the continent; he cannot refuse, since he has no power over you, but by virtue of the act which you have voluntarily signed. It will be a great source of consolation to me to know that you are on your way to more favoured climes. If you should, some day or other, see my wife and son, embrace them for me; for the last two years, I have had no news from them, either directly or indirectly."

Napoleon had declared that he would not write to his mother, wife, or brothers, under the regulation of submitting his letters to his jailors; but he made an exception of this case. He sent his letter sealed. It was returned to him. He was lying on his sofa at the time: he raised his hand over his head, broke the seal, and gave it back to the person who brought it, without uttering a word. A parting interview was desired by the Emperor, but it could not be granted, except in the presence of an English officer. The intention was therefore renounced, with the observation,—“Las Casas knows I would not see my own wife and son on such a condition!”

It is difficult to explain for what reason Sir Hudson Lowe gave Las Casas the option of returning to Longwood, as before, until the pleasure of the English government, concerning him, had been made known; but so it was. The Count had resolved, however, to proceed to Europe, and the Emperor's desire to that effect,—prefaced by the words, “I advise you, and, if necessary, I order you,”—held him firm to his resolution. He was full of the hope that he should effect some good to the Emperor by going. He was, however, grievously disappointed. He was detained at the Cape under *surveillance*, for seven months: when he reached England he was not permitted to land; and five months more elapsed, before he was a free agent. When, at length, he found an asylum at Frankfort, he wearied every court of Europe, every minister and congress, with his protests and remonstrances, but all in vain. He himself made over to Napoleon's service about four thousand pounds, his whole private fortune, which was vested in the English funds. His health had been injured considerably by his resi-

dence at St. Helena, and his subsequent sufferings of mind and body; he lived, notwithstanding, to hear of the death of his beloved Emperor. He afterwards received his papers, through the intervention of Lord Holland, and was able to publish his valuable and interesting journal.

The journal of O'Meara began to assume the appearance of a series of bulletins of illness, as the year 1817 advanced. Some further restrictions, ordered by Sir Hudson Lowe, in the March of that year, induced the Emperor to give up even his occasional drives.

Nearly the sole exception to the Emperor's refusal to see visitors from the period already mentioned, till his death, occurred in the instance of Lord Amherst, who touched at the island on his return from China. He had an interview of two hours, alone, with Napoleon, in the beginning of July, 1817; the members of his suite were afterwards introduced. His secretary, Mr. Ellis, has described the appearance and conversation of Napoleon, who received his visitors with his accustomed politeness, and addressed each in turn. Mr. Ellis mentions the extent of the limits allowed to the prisoner, with much complacency; but has not taken into account those restrictions "*sur le moral*," which, as Napoleon used to express it,—“Imposed by Sir Hudson Lowe on me, have the same effect in imprisoning me, as chains and irons on the legs would have upon galley slaves.”

Lady Holland sent out some presents for Napoleon about this period. He felt her attentions deeply. Mr. Manning, who had an interview with Napoleon, and who had travelled in China, and Mr. Elphinstone, the brother of Captain Elphinstone, wounded at Waterloo, also transmitted presents. The latter were of a splendid description. It was about this time that an Italian sculptor sent out a marble bust of young Napoleon, for his father. This bust was kept for fourteen days at Plantation House, before it was delivered up, and it seemed to embarrass the governor, who evidently had some doubts about sending it at all. It is said, and was believed by the inmates of Longwood, that he entertained thoughts of having it broken, or thrown into the sea. It has been conjectured, that he was terrified at the idea of the marble containing some aperture inside, filled with dangerous materials of some kind, and that he had employed this fortnight in examining it all over. The bust gave the most exquisite pleasure to Napoleon, and he gave an order for three hundred pounds to the man who brought it out to him, who was the gunner of the ship Baring. Two engravings of young Napoleon, brought out by a Mr. Barber, of the Cambridge, about the same time, and given by him into the charge of Sir Hudson Lowe, had never been sent to the father, when O'Meara left the island. Surely there could be

nothing dangerous in these? A botanist, attached to the suite of the German commissioner, who was known to have seen and conversed with Maria Louisa and young Napoleon just before he left Vienna, was never allowed to go to Longwood, though Napoleon, who knew the circumstance, wished very much to have an interview with him. No feasible motive can be assigned for these and many other acts of Sir Hudson Lowe, except a secret pleasure in giving pain.

The news of Lord Holland's motion for an enquiry into the personal treatment of the Ex-emperor, reached St. Helena about this period. The question had come on in the House of Lords on the 18th of March, 1817. Lord Holland chiefly grounded his motion on the paper written by Count Montholon, which, as already mentioned, had found its way to England. His speech was clear and forcible. He was answered by Lord Bathurst, in a series of assertions which satisfied the house, and his motion was negatived without a division. Napoleon attentively read the newspaper reports. The utter failure of an attempt in his favour, brought forward in so high a quarter, and in terms so moderate and reasonable, sensibly affected him. "I am glad," said he, "to see that the English minister has attempted to justify his atrocious conduct to me, to the parliament, to his nation, and to Europe, by falsehood,—a poor resource, which will not long avail. The reign of lies will not last for ever."

Napoleon lost the agreeable society of Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm, in July, 1817, when they left the station. It was towards the end of the same month, that the jealous fears which tormented Sir Hudson Lowe, took the form of suspicions of O'Meara, whom he ordered henceforth to hold "no conversation with General Bonaparte, except on professional subjects," and to give a report in person, twice a-week, of the state of his patient's health. The former of these commands, which Sir Hudson had neither the right nor the power to enforce, led to a course of violent conduct on his part, towards O'Meara, which lasted as long as the latter remained on the island. O'Meara continued to converse with Napoleon as usual, whenever he had an opportunity of enjoying the privilege; and the two reports every week, which he gave personally to the governor, thenceforth became the opportunities for an inquisitorial persecution. The governor insisted on being informed of all that had passed at Longwood, and all that had been said by Napoleon, while O'Meara steadily refused to reply to any question unconnected with the health of his patient; and, moreover, repeatedly enforced the fact, that want of exercise, caused by the governor's restrictions, was the occasion of the disease which was beginning to make its appearance. These interviews generally ended in violent language, and insulting behaviour, on the part of Sir Hudson; and

the situation of O'Meara, who, as an inferior officer, was subjected to this ordeal, became so irksome, that he requested to be removed from his employment; but no actual measure to this effect was taken on either side, till some time afterwards.

The first decided symptoms of liver-complaint in Napoleon, made their appearance in October, 1817; in addition to scorbutic symptoms, and swelling of the legs, which he had exhibited for some time. O'Meara was placed in a most difficult situation by the refusal of his patient to take medicine; which, he declared, he never remembered having taken in his life. A change of diet, and outward remedies, such as friction, salt-water baths, &c., were all he would submit to adopt. He argued—sometimes seriously, sometimes playfully—that physicians worked in the dark,—that they could not see the interior of the organs on which they endeavoured to make an impression: with surgeons it was quite another matter, he would say; their science he duly estimated. “But,” said he, in one of these frequent disputes with O'Meara, “my opinion is, that physicians kill as many as we generals. When they despatch a number of souls to the other world, either through ignorance, mistake, or not having properly examined their complaints, they are just as cool, and as little concerned, as a general with whom I am acquainted, who lost three thousand men in storming a hill. Having succeeded, after several desperate attempts, he observed, with great *sang-froid*,—‘Oh, it was not this hill I wanted to take; it was another; this is of no utility!’ and returned back again to his former position.” It must, nevertheless, be admitted that physicians, even of the school of Molière or Le Sage, would find it difficult to compete with generals, in “sending souls to the other world.” When pressed to be serious on the subject, Napoleon said,—“At least I shall have this consolation, that my death will be an eternal disgrace to the English nation.” On further expostulation, he would reply,—“What is written, is written:—our days are numbered.”

It was not till a month afterwards that Napoleon consented to take the necessary remedies. It is scarcely credible that he would have suffered his mere prejudices on this point to prevail for so long, and to resume their influence so frequently throughout his long illness, had he not been aware that all medicine was unavailing in a case like his, counteracted as its effects must be by confinement, anxiety, and want of stimulus for mind or body. The state of Longwood House had become very bad by this time. The additions made by Admiral Cockburn were constructed only on a temporary plan; great part of the buildings were roofed with brown paper, pitched over. The heat of the sun having cracked the pitch, the rain now poured in; and the walls of some of the apartments were covered

with green mould, from the extreme dampness, though fires were kept continually burning. The old part of the house was infested by rats, to such a degree as to annoy its inmates extremely, and to prevent sleep by their noises and inroads. A proposal was made by O'Meara, and seconded by Mr. Baxter, Sir Hudson Lowe's surgeon, that Napoleon should be removed to some other residence on the island; but the difficulties which presented themselves to the mind of the governor, as to maintaining elsewhere the necessary vigilance, prevented its accomplishment. Repairs of Longwood were talked of, and the erection of the wooden palace was commenced; but it went on slowly. On the latter subject, Napoleon observed,—“It would take three years to erect the building, even if we had the admiral back, with all his energy; and it could not then be inhabited immediately. I shall be dead before it could be ready!”

The governor, however, shewed considerable alarm at the increasing illness reported of Napoleon. He proposed to build a large wooden barrack at Longwood, as a place of exercise, shaded from the sun's rays. Napoleon refused to accept the offer. He wanted, he said, the shade of trees; and the barrack would get hot in the same way that the billiard-room did. The governor next offered, by letter to Bertrand, to permit Napoleon to go off the road and down into the valley; but added, that the same privilege (unless in company with Napoleon) was not to be extended to his officers. O'Meara tried to persuade the Emperor to take advantage of this permission. “Mere *tracasserie*,” he replied; “it would only expose me to more insults, for the sentinels do not know me; and every old soldier who wished to fulfil his duty, so as to clear himself of all responsibility, would say ‘*Halte-là!* is General Bonaparte amongst you? Are *you* him? Oh, then, if you are him, you may pass.’ Thus should I be exposed to daily insults, and be obliged to give an account of myself to every sentinel who thought it right to perform his duty properly. Besides, he has no right to impose more restriction upon these gentlemen than upon me. By the paper which they have signed, they only engage to subject themselves to such restrictions as are, or may be, imposed upon me. Moreover, I do not recognise his right to impose any other restrictions than those made by Admiral Cockburn, which were approved of by his government; unless he shews that they are signed by the Prince Regent, or by the ministers. For, if he has the power to impose what he likes, he may, according to his caprice, or some pretext, which to him would never be wanting, lay them on again, or make them worse than before. This is one of the reasons why I have not taken exercise, that I may leave nothing in his power to inflict. I do not choose to sub-

ject myself to the caprice of a man whom I do not trust, and who is my personal enemy."

If, in the unquestionable justice of these objections, some petulance and unwillingness to accept any approach to conciliation from the governor, are observable in Napoleon, it should be remembered that, at the period in question, he had become the prey of extreme ill-health. The only point of defence, indeed, for Sir Hudson Lowe, amidst the general hatred with which he is beheld in England, almost as much as in France, is to be found in that complication of mortal diseases, which, during the three last years of Napoleon's life, occasioned suffering, sometimes amounting to excess of agony, and unavoidably produced a state of nervous irritability, such as—had he been surrounded by saints, and himself an angel (as he was most certainly a victim)—must have exaggerated every cause of complaint, and rendered any apprehension of interference intolerable. A defence of Sir Hudson Lowe, on the ground of any real danger of the escape of his prisoner cannot be admitted. The few wild schemes entertained in America or in Europe to effect it, only prove the fact of its impossibility; and it is not pretended by any authority that Napoleon himself ever paid any attention to these reported attempts, one of which was to have been made by a vessel capable of being sunk in the water during the day, and raised at night.

Whatever might be the irritable effects of his illness in his intercourse with the governor, it is, nevertheless, the unvarying declaration of all his friends and attendants, that Napoleon's equability towards them never deserted him, and that the patience and fortitude which he exhibited to the last were wonderful. To O'Meara, he was always kind, frequently playful, even when suffering much. On visiting him, one morning, O'Meara found him worse, and heard that he had been very ill in the night. "I was going to send for you early in the morning," said he; "but then I considered,—this poor devil of a doctor has been up all night, at a ball, and has need of sleep. If I disturb him, he will have his eyes so heavy, and his intellects so confused, that he will not be able to form any correct opinion. Soon after this, I fell into a perspiration, and felt much relieved." Few patients shew so much consideration for their medical attendants. He often amused himself with jokes upon O'Meara. Whenever he heard of an English dinner party, he would ask,— "Well, how many bottles of wine did you drink? Have you a head-ache to-day? Ah! doctor, your eyes betray you!" And if he still met with a denial of the charge, he would ask,— "How many of you got drunk? It must have been a very stupid party, surely, if none did." He had a great notion of English wine-drink-

ing; and used to animadvert on the practice of sitting after dinner, and sending the ladies away. Once he asked O'Meara what was his Christian name, and who was his patron saint;—"For," said he, laughing, "you must have one to plead your cause for you. Saint Napoleon," he went on, "ought to be very much obliged to me, and do everything in his power for me in the next world. Poor fellow! nobody knew him before. He had not even a day in the kalendar. I persuaded the Pope to give him the 15th of August, my birthday!" Then he went on to tell the story of a poor sinner, as he had heard it told by a priest in Italy. This sinner died; and his soul saw all the good and evil he had done in his life thrown into the scales. The evil much preponderated, and the poor soul was condemned. 'Already,' said the preacher, 'had the devouring element covered his feet and legs, and proceeded upwards, even unto his bowels; in his vitals, O brethren! he felt them. He sank; and only his head appeared above the waves of fire, when he cried out to his patron saint,—'O patron! take compassion; and throw into the scale all the lime and stone, which I gave to repair the convent of ——.' The saint took the hint, gathered together all the lime and stone, threw them into the scale of good, and the evil flew up to the beam, and the sinner's soul to paradise, at the same moment. Now, you see by this, brethren, how useful it is to keep the convents in repair, &c.' You observe," said Napoleon, laughing, "those knaves wanted money to get a new convent built, and it poured in upon them after this expedient."

One of the few newspapers which Sir Hudson Lowe sent up to Longwood, contained the account that young Napoleon was not permitted to succeed to the duchies of Parma, &c. The intelligence produced extreme melancholy in Napoleon. "I was always prepared to expect something of the kind from the congress," said he. "They are afraid of a prince who is sprung from the people. However, you may yet see a great change; that is, provided they continue to give him a good education, or that they do not assassinate him. If they brutify him by a bad education, there is little hope. As for me, I may be considered as dead, as already in the grave. I am certain that, before long, this body will be no more. I feel that the machine struggles, but cannot last."

Cipriani, the maître d'hotel of Napoleon, died in the spring of 1818, of inflammation of the bowels. Bertrand announced the event to the widow, by letter to Cardinal Fesch: the following is an extract from the same letter, dated March 22nd, 1818. "I shall not afflict you by speaking of the Emperor's health, which is very unsatisfactory. It has not, however, become worse since the hot season. I think

that these details should be concealed from Madame. Do not give any credit to the false accounts that may be prevalent in Europe. Keep in mind, as a rule, and as the sole truth, that for twenty-two months the Emperor has not left his apartments, except rarely to visit my wife. He has seen nobody, but the two or three French who are here, and the English Ambassador to China."

On the 10th of April, 1818, Sir Hudson Lowe sent an order, through Sir Thomas Reade, that O'Meara should not be permitted to pass out of Longwood. O'Meara, in consequence, resigned his situation; but, after a confinement of twenty-seven days, he was released, and resumed his medical attendance on Napoleon. In the interval, Sir Hudson had utterly failed in his attempts to induce the Emperor to see another medical man; and the foreign commissioners had made such strong remonstrances with him on the danger to his own character, throughout Europe, of suffering Napoleon to remain deprived of all advice, that he was compelled to end the matter for the time. The health of the patient had become considerably worse, in the course of this altercation, and great indignation was excited, throughout the island, at the way in which he had been treated.

About the same period, an order arrived from the English government, in mitigation of some of the governor's restrictions respecting visitors to Napoleon; and, a few days afterwards, as if to neutralise it, a proclamation was issued by Sir Hudson Lowe, interdicting "all officers, inhabitants, and other persons whatever, from holding any correspondence or communication with the foreign persons under detention." At this time, Napoleon had been confined to his apartments for six weeks, and suffered much from pain in the side and shoulder, nausea, swelling of the legs, severe catarrhal affections, scurvy in the gums, and tooth-ache, to mitigate which several of his teeth were extracted.

On the 20th of July, 1818, O'Meara received his dismissal, by order of Lord Bathurst, and was commanded to leave Longwood immediately, without any further communication with the persons residing there. The latter inhuman order he disobeyed without a moment's hesitation. He felt that it was necessary that he should prepare medicines and prescribe a regimen for the illustrious patient, who was about to be left without medical aid. He accordingly went instantly to Napoleon's apartment, and, having obtained admission, communicated the order he had received. "The crime will be consummated more quickly," said Napoleon: "and I have lived too long for them."

After some professional as well as other conversation, Napoleon said:—"When you arrive in Europe, you will either go yourself, or

send to my brother Joseph. You will inform him, that I desire he shall give to you the parcel containing the private and confidential letters of the Emperors Alexander and Francis, the King of Prussia, and the other sovereigns of Europe with me, which I delivered to his care at Rochefort. These valuable records were intrusted by Joseph Bonaparte, on his departure for America, to a person in whom he believed he might place confidence. The trust was abused for a large bribe, and they are irremediably lost to the world. Considering the humble and crouching character of several of their public letters, some notion may be formed of what the private letters contained. You will publish them to cover those sovereigns with shame, and to shew to the world the abject homage which those vassals paid to me, when asking favours, or supplicating for their thrones. When I was strong, and in power, they besought my protection, and the honour of my alliance, and licked the dust from under my feet. Now, in my declining years, they basely oppress, and take my wife and child from me. I require of you to do this; and if you see any calumnies published of me during the time that you have been with me, and that you can say, 'I have seen with my own eyes that this is not true,'—contradict them."

The Emperor then dictated a letter to Count Bertrand, addressed to O'Meara, to which he added, with his own hand, a postscript, recommending him to Maria Louisa. "You will express to the different members of my family the sentiments which I preserve for them:" he added;—"You will bear my affections to my good Louisa, to my excellent mother, and to Pauline. If you see my son, embrace him for me: may he never forget that he was born a French prince! Testify to Lady Holland the sense I entertain of her kindness, and the esteem which I bear to her. Finally, endeavour to send me authentic intelligence of the manner in which my son is educated." Then, taking O'Meara by the hand, the Emperor embraced him, saying,—“Adieu, O'Meara, we shall never meet again. May you be happy!"

O'Meara transmitted an official letter to the Lords of the Admiralty immediately upon his return to Europe, dated 28th October, 1819, containing a statement of the vexations inflicted upon Napoleon, of which the following is an extract:—"I think it my duty to state, as his late medical attendant, that, considering the disease of the liver with which he is afflicted; the progress it has made in him; and reflecting upon the great mortality produced by that complaint in the island of St. Helena (so strongly exemplified in the number of deaths in the 66th regiment, the St. Helena regiment, the squadron, and Europeans in general, and particularly in His Majesty's ship

Conqueror, which ship has lost about one sixth of her complement, nearly the whole of whom died within the last eight months),—it is my opinion that the life of Napoleon Bonaparte will be endangered by a longer residence in such a climate as that of St. Helena, especially if that residence be aggravated by a continuance of those disturbances and irritations to which he has been hitherto subjected, and of which it is the nature of his distemper to render him peculiarly susceptible." From that moment, therefore, the British ministry must be regarded as having been perfectly aware of the situation of Napoleon.

Sir Hudson Lowe had accompanied the order for the dismissal of O'Meara by a notification that Mr. Baxter would supply his place, but that any other medical man on the island who might be preferred by Napoleon, should be permitted to attend him. Napoleon, after a time, made choice of Dr. Stokoe, surgeon of the Conqueror, who attended him for the short period intervening before the month of January, 1819, when he also was removed. The Emperor then remained without medical advice for nine months. General Gourgaud, meanwhile, had been compelled by the state of his health to leave St. Helena. Counts Bertrand and Montholon now alone remained with their revered and suffering Emperor. Some time afterwards, Colonel de Planat, whose strong affection for him has been mentioned, succeeded in obtaining leave to go to him, but succeeded too late.

The records of the first six or seven months of 1819, are few and melancholy. The month of August was signalised by a course of brutal and outrageous conduct on the part of the governor and his officers such as must make every Englishman who has a heart, blush for his country. The governor had been in the habit of corresponding constantly with Count Montholon, who gave the required reports of the Emperor's health; but this nobleman being ill, the governor, as if desirous to invent fresh vexations, refused to correspond with Count Bertrand, and endeavoured to insist on a direct correspondence with Napoleon himself, either by the visit of one of his officers twice a-day to him, or by letter. The letters, addressed in the usual style, the Emperor would not receive; against the visits his doors were bolted. During a whole week, Sir Thomas Reade and another staff-officer perpetrated the almost incredible outrage of entering Longwood House, proceeding to the outer door of Napoleon's apartments, and continuing to knock for some time, exclaiming "Come out Napoleon Bonaparte!" "We want Napoleon Bonaparte!" &c., concluding their atrocious act by leaving packets of letters addressed to him. The following declaration from the victim of these insults,

put an end to these disgusting scenes:—"On the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 16th of August, 1819, attempts were made, for the first time, to violate the apartments inhabited by the Emperor Napoleon, which to this epoch had been constantly respected. He resisted this violence by shutting and locking the doors. In this situation, he reiterates the protestation which he has made, and caused to be made several times, that the right of his door shall not be violated unless by walking over his corpse. He has for three years lived concentrated in the interior of six small rooms, in order to escape insults and outrages. If baseness is carried to the degree of envying him this refuge, it has been determined to leave him no other than the tomb. Labouring for two years under a chronic hepatitis, a disease endemic in this place, and for a year deprived of the assistance of his physicians by the removal of Dr. O'Meara, in July, 1818, and of Dr. Stokoe, in January, 1819, he has experienced several crises, during which he has been obliged to keep his bed, sometimes for fifteen or twenty successive days. At the present moment, in the midst of one of the most violent of the crises that he has yet experienced, confined to his bed for nine days, having only patience, diet, and the bath, to oppose to the disease; for six days his tranquillity has been disturbed by threats of an attack, and of outrages which the Prince Regent, Lord Liverpool, and all Europe, well know he will never submit to. As the wish to debase and to insult him is daily manifested, he reiterates the declaration he has already made,—that he has not taken, nor will he take any notice, nor has he ordered, nor will he order any answer to be given to any dispatches or packets, the wording of which shall be done in a manner injurious to him, and contrary to the forms which have been established for four years, to correspond with him through the intermediation of his officers; that he has thrown and will throw in the fire or out of the window, those insulting packets, not wishing to innovate anything upon the state of affairs that has existed for some years.

"Longwood, 16th August, 1819.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

The reports of the state of Napoleon, successively brought to Europe by Las Casas, O'Meara, and Gourgaud, filled with apprehensions all those who remembered the Emperor with affection. His mother and his sister Pauline were agitated with extreme anxiety and grief. The former addressed an affecting appeal to the congress of the allied sovereigns, for his removal to a more genial climate; but failing, she obtained from Lord Bathurst, through the mediation of Cardinal Fesch, permission to send out a physician in whom Napoleon might feel confidence. She selected, for this purpose, Dr. Antommarchi, a young

man of Corsican birth, who accordingly arrived at St. Helena in September, 1819, accompanied (by permission) by two ecclesiastics, the Abbés Bonavita and Vignali,—Napoleon having expressed a wish that himself and his suite might have it in their power to perform the rites of the church according to the Catholic mode of observance.

As Napoleon had not been apprised of this negotiation, Antommarchi was received at Longwood with some suspicion; but this he soon succeeded in dispelling, and was introduced to his patient on the 22nd of September, 1819. Napoleon received him with much kindness, and overwhelmed him with a thousand questions. Their two first interviews were entirely occupied with conversation concerning every member of the imperial family, especially Madame Mère. Antommarchi was made to repeat her words, and describe her looks. Unfortunately, he had not seen Maria Louisa nor young Napoleon; but he could give intelligence of them, and had to repeat all he knew, or had heard. He had brought a print of the latter, on which Napoleon gazed with a kind of rapture for some time. Intelligence of Las Casas, O'Meara, and of Lord and Lady Holland, was eagerly sought; no one was forgotten; the news of Europe were next discussed; old recollections of Corsica revived: in this manner, no time was left for professional inquiries. It was not till the third interview, that the physician found an opportunity of making the necessary examination, which produced evidence of the existence of extensive disease. The colour of the skin was unhealthy, the body excessively fat, the white of the eyes had become yellow, the ear hard, the tongue bad, the pulse low; violent sneezing and hard dry cough were frequent. The right side was hard, swelled, and painful on being touched. A vague pain existed there, and great uneasiness in the shoulder, with a fixed and deep-seated pain, which Napoleon described as appearing to be in the interior of the chest, and which never left him, proceeding doubtless from the dreadful organic disease of the stomach, which was the principal cause of his death. The appetite was gone; and frequent nausea and rejection of the food taken, occurred. "Well, doctor," said Napoleon, when this examination had concluded, "what do you think of it? Am I still destined to disturb, for a long time, the digestion of the rulers of the earth?"

It is probable that the opinions of the physician and his patient were much alike on this matter; but the zeal of Antommarchi prevailed over Napoleon's unwillingness to use remedies. He submitted to take medicine. He was actually induced, once more, to take exercise. He walked out; he even mounted on horseback, and galloped a few miles; and took short drives in his calash. A decided, but temporary, improvement was the result, interrupted, however, by severe

attacks of illness. A new mode of inducing the continuance of a more active life occurred to Antommarchi, towards the close of the year; he proposed to the Emperor to dig in the garden. The very next morning, Napoleon was at work. He had named Noveraz, who



had been used to rural occupations, his head gardener, and worked under his directions. "Well, doctor," he cried, as Antommarchi approached, "are you satisfied with your patient? Is he obedient enough? This is better than your pills, *dottoraccio*" (great doctor), he continued, laughing, and holding up his spade; "you shall not physic me any more!"

The Emperor became fond of his new employment. He pressed all Longwood into his service. The ladies alone escaped, though he tried by every means to persuade them also to begin to dig. They made alleys, grottoes, cascades, miniature roads, basins, or excavations; transplanted young trees; manured the ground, and sowed in it beans, peas, and every vegetable that grows in the island. The arid soil gave little hope of vegetation, but the object was attained for the time;

Napoleon enjoyed a month of comparative health. On these occasions, he wore a loose, light dress, and a large straw hat; and he gave the same costume to a set of Chinese, who worked under his direction.

The cruel diseases which preyed on him, were, however, only lulled for a time. His sufferings returned, and increased as the year 1820 proceeded. His physician could now perceive, by certain indications, that a dread of the complaint of which his father died,—a cancer in the stomach,—had entered Napoleon's mind, but that he dared not avow his fears. He was observed consulting medical books and physiological plates, to endeavour to gain information from them, and he sometimes recurred to the question of the existence of hereditary diseases. In one of these discussions, a striking proof appears of the acuteness of his mind. The conversation having turned on the causes of pestilence, and the difference between pure and impure air, Napoleon exclaimed,—“How! is it not known what, in an æriform fluid, wounds such or such organ? Has no attempt been made to isolate that fatal principle?” “The attempt has been made,” replied Antommarchi, “but in vain; it is too subtle.” “But” rejoined Napoleon, “the atmosphere that surrounds an individual infected with the plague, cannot offer the same elements of composition as that of an healthy individual.” These remarks are rendered highly interesting, since modern science has succeeded in isolating the fatal principle by condensing and separating from the air those minute particles of animal and vegetable matter in a state of decomposition, which have been found, by direct experiment on animals, to produce various forms of fever, in its different degrees of intensity.

The intervals of comparative ease which Napoleon enjoyed, became fewer and of shorter duration as the year 1820 proceeded: whilst they lasted, his spirits were cheerful. He is described as amusing himself with the young Bertrands, whom he liked to have about him, and whom he used to encourage to romp, and make a great noise. One day, finding them all around him, he said to General Montholon,—“Send for the doctor, I want his ministry; he must bore these pretty little ears,”—shewing those of little Hortense, and opening a paper in which a pair of coral ear-rings were folded up. The little girl was frightened at first at the sight of the instrument, and her brother Arthur began to stamp and storm, crying out, that he would not allow his sister to be hurt; she, however, was soon reconciled by the sight of the trinkets, and Napoleon, who was much amused at the anger, threats, and English phrases of the little fellow, superintended the operation; and then giving Hortense a kiss, sent her to her mamma, to shew the ear-rings, and to tell her (if she was angry) that “It was the *dottoraccio* who did it.” Antommarchi bears the same

testimony to the amiable qualities of Napoleon, which all his other followers have done. "He was to us," says he, "amiable and affectionate, seeking to centre in himself all our affections: his advice was that of a father,—his reproaches, those of a friend."

Some rainy weather came, which stopped the operations in the garden, and Napoleon would not allow even the Chinese to proceed. He was employing them to construct a basin, to which he meant to bring water by pipes. "It is useless," said he; "since there is no hurry for this basin, let them rest; we will resume our task hereafter. I have, besides some observations to make; come, follow me, you will find them interesting." "I went," says Antommarchi; "and found that the objects of his observations were some ants, whose manners he had been studying. These insects had appeared in greater numbers in his bed-room, since he occupied it less, and had climbed upon his table, on which there was usually some sugar. Allured by the bait, they had established a chain of communication, and taken possession of the sugar-basin. Napoleon was anxious that they should not be disturbed in their plans; he only now and then moved the sugar, following their manœuvres, and admiring the activity and industry they displayed until they had found it again. 'This is not instinct,' said he, 'it is much more—it is sagacity, intelligence, the ideal of civil association. But these little beings have not our passions, our cupidity; they assist, but do not destroy each other. I have vainly endeavoured to defeat their purpose; I have removed the sugar to every part of the room; they have been one, two, or sometimes three days looking for it, but have always succeeded at last.'"

In the month of October, 1820, the sufferings of the Emperor had greatly increased. He was very weak, he experienced severe pain, and had occasionally a sensation of icy coldness all over the body. He slept ill, and the paleness of his face, lips, and limbs, was extreme. In this state he at times fell into profound melancholy, and passed whole days without speaking. Frequently, he refused the remedies proposed; and defended himself with his old arguments. "We are," he said, "machines, made to live. Do not counteract the living principle. Our body is a watch that is intended to go a given time. The watch-maker cannot open it, and must, in handling it, grope his way, blind-fold and at random. For once that he assists and relieves it, by tormenting it with his crooked instruments, he injures it ten times, and at last destroys it." Then, seeing that this analogy had made but little impression, he continued, half in earnest and half in humour:—"You are aware, doctor, that the art of healing consists only in lulling and calming the imagination: that is the reason why the ancients dressed up in robes, and adopted an imposing costume.

That costume you have unadvisedly abandoned; and, in so doing, you have exposed the imposture of Galen. Who knows whether, if you were suddenly to appear before me, with an enormous wig, a cap, and a long train, I should not take you for the god of health?—whereas you are only the god of medicines.”

The illness of Napoleon was still varied by intervals of ease, during which he took exercise, and occasionally mounted on horseback. He one day even rode fast and far enough to alarm Sir Hudson Lowe, who instituted an inquiry into the mysterious circumstance of a horseman having been seen galloping to the camp at Deadwood, disguised as a Chinese. This horseman turned out to have been the Emperor in his working dress. “Is he afraid,” said Napoleon, “that I should find wings and fly away, and escape the grave?”

Napoleon, when suffering from weakness and exhaustion, would sit for hours by a small pond, which had been dug under his directions, filled with water, and in which some small fishes had been placed. He took an interest in watching these little creatures,—in throwing bread to them, and studying their habits and motions; and became acquainted with each of them. Unfortunately, they sickened, and floated dead on the water, one after another. Napoleon was deeply affected at this circumstance, trifling as it seems. “You see very well,” said he, “that there is a fatality attached to me. Everything I love, everything that belongs to me, is immediately struck: heaven and mankind unite to persecute me.”

The intelligence of the death of his sister, the Princess Eliza, which reached him in the end of December, 1820, threw him into a state of intense melancholy, amounting, for some time, to stupor; his own disease rapidly increased. After the 17th of March, 1821, he was chiefly confined to bed. On the 2nd of April, he consented to receive the visits of Dr. Arnott, the surgeon of the twentieth regiment, in addition to the attendance of Antommarchi. Towards the end of the month, Napoleon removed out of his small and close bed-room into the adjoining apartment: though overpowered by pain and fever, and scarcely able to stand, he refused to be carried:—“No,” said he, “you may do that when I am dead; for the present, it will be sufficient that you support me.” He had, already, spent nearly the whole of four days in dictating his will, shut up alone with Count Montholon and Marchand. It is a most interesting document of considerable length, and highly characteristic of Napoleon. The effort had been beyond his strength; and, on the last occasion, had produced an exacerbation of fever, intolerable pain, and delirium. On the following day, he sent for the Abbé Vignali. “Do you know, Abbé,” said he, “what a *chambre ardente* is?” “Yes, sire.” “Have you ever officiated in one?”—“Never, sire,” replied the Abbé.

"Well," said Napoleon, "you must officiate in mine." He then explained minutely to the priest all the details of the ceremonies to be observed in a room in which a body lies in state. "His countenance," says Antommarchi, "was excited and convulsive; and I was watching, with uneasiness, the contraction of his features, when he observed in mine I know not what expression, which displeased him. 'You are above these weaknesses,' said he; 'but what is to be done? I am neither a philosopher, nor a physician. I believe in God, and am of the religion of my father. It is not everybody who *can* be an atheist.'" Then, turning to Vignali, he continued:—"I was born in the catholic religion;—I will fulfil the duties it imposes, and receive the assistance it administers."

"The Abbé withdrew," says Antommarchi; "and I remained alone with Napoleon, who censured my supposed incredulity. 'Can you,' said he, 'carry unbelief to such a point? Can you not believe in God, whose existence everything proclaims, and in whom the greatest minds have believed?' 'But, sire, I have never doubted it. I was following the pulsations of the fever; and your majesty thought you perceived in my features an expression which they had not.' 'You are a physician,' replied he, laughing: and then added, in an under-tone,—'those people have only to do with matter; they will never have faith.'" This affords another example, among the numbers already on record, of the recurrence of early impressions in physical disease and prostration.

Napoleon was now on his death-bed; and he was quite aware of his situation. It was on the 28th of April that he gave to Antommarchi, in a voice of the greatest kindness, and with perfect calmness and composure, the following instructions:—"After my death, which cannot be far distant, I desire that you will open my body. I desire also, and insist, that you will promise that no English medical men shall touch me. If, however, the assistance of one should be indispensably necessary, Dr. Arnott is the only one whom you have permission to employ. I further desire, that you will take my heart, put it in spirits of wine, and carry it to Parma, to my dear Maria Louisa. You will tell her, that I tenderly loved her,—that I never ceased to love her; and you will relate to her all you have seen, and every particular respecting my situation and my death. I particularly recommend to you carefully to examine my stomach, and to make a precise and detailed report of the state in which you may find it; which report you will give to my son. I am inclined to believe that it is attacked with the same disorder which killed my father; I mean, a scirrhus in the pylorus.—What is your opinion?"—I hesitated to reply," says the physician; "and he continued:—"I began to suspect that such was the case, as soon as I experienced the frequency and obstinate recurrence of the sickness. I beg you will be very particular in your examination, in order that,

when you see my son, you may be able to communicate your observations to him, and point out to him the most proper medicines to use. When I am no more, you will go to Rome; you will see my mother and my family, and will relate to them all you may have observed concerning my situation, my disorder, and my death upon this dreary and miserable rock. You will tell them, that the great Napoleon expired in the most deplorable state, deprived of everything, abandoned to himself and to his glory; and that he bequeathed with his dying breath, to all the reigning families of Europe, the horror and opprobrium of his last moments."

An access of violent delirium succeeded; after which, Napoleon repeated his anxious injunctions. "Doctor, I recommend to you, once more, to examine my pylorus with the greatest care: write down your observations, and deliver them to my son; I wish, at least, to preserve him from that disease. You will see him, doctor; and you will point out to him what is best to be done, and will save him from the cruel sufferings I now experience."

On one of these days, marked only by alternations of anguish, Napoleon was able to swallow and enjoy a large draught of cold water; and he immediately expressed his gratitude to the anxious friends who surrounded him:—"If fate had decreed that I should recover, I would erect a monument on the spot where the water flows, and would crown the fountain in testimony of the relief it has afforded me. — Let me be buried," he added, "near the limpid stream of this pure fountain."

In the paroxysms of fever and delirium, which were of frequent occurrence, imagination carried him back to the days of his power, when his word decided the turn of battle, and his will regulated the fate of nations; and the dying sufferer saw armies at his command, and would exclaim,—“Ah! victory is declaring! Steingel, Dessaix, Massena, press the charge!—they are ours!”—and would leap from his bed, to fall prostrate and helpless on the floor.

“His end was approaching,” says Antommarchi; “we were going to lose him; and all redoubled their zeal and attention, anxious to give him a last mark of devotedness. His officers, with Marchand, Saint Denis, and myself, had exclusively taken upon ourselves the duty of sitting up at night: but Napoleon could not bear the light; and we were obliged to lift him up, and to administer all the cares his state required, in the midst of darkness. Anxiety had added to our fatigue: the grand-marshal was exhausted; General Montholon was equally so; and I was not much better. We, therefore, yielded to the pressing solicitations of the Frenchmen who inhabited Longwood, and gave them a share in the melancholy duties we had to perform. Pieron, Coursot,—every one, in short,—sat up conjointly with some one of us. The zeal and

solicitude they manifested, sensibly affected the Emperor, who recommended them to his officers, enjoining that they might be assisted and taken care of. "And my poor Chinese," said he, "do not let them be forgotten neither; let them have a few scores of napoleons: I must take leave of them also."

On the 3rd of May, the last day but one which Napoleon was destined to see to its close, he called his officers to him, and addressed to them the following discourse, which the historian who has recorded his power, and his despotic use of power, should never omit to record:—"I am going to die," said he, "and you to return to Europe; I must give you some advice as to the line of conduct you are to pursue. You have shared my exile; you will be faithful to my memory, and will not do anything that may injure it. I sanctioned great principles, and infused them into my laws and acts. Unfortunately, however, the circumstances in which I was placed were arduous, and I was obliged to act with severity, and to postpone the execution of my plans. Our reverses occurred: I could not unbend the bow; and France has been deprived of the liberal institutions I intended to give her. She judges me with indulgence; she feels grateful for my intentions; she cherishes my name, and my victories. Imitate her example; be faithful to the opinions we have defended, and to the glory we have acquired; any other course can only lead to shame and confusion."

While the wings of the Angel of Death had already cast their mighty and soothing shadow over the bed of anguish, a hurricane howled round the rocks of St. Helena. On the night of the 4th, the willow, under which Napoleon had usually sat, was torn up by the roots; and the young trees, which he had assisted to plant with his own hands, were carried away, or scattered by the tempest.

On the morning of the 5th, it was evident to his faithful attendants, that the long agony was fast drawing to a close. There were fearful indications of physical pain; but the mind appeared to have become unconscious of it; and, except at intervals, sensation was apparently abolished. A few scarcely articulate words were still uttered; amongst which, the last that could be distinguished were,—"*Tête . . . armée*" (head . . . army; or, perhaps, armed . . . head). Madame Bertrand, who, though very ill herself, was a close attendant on the dying Emperor, now brought her children to take a last view of their kind friend. They had not seen him for fifty days; and sought in vain to recognise in his pale and disfigured countenance the expression of greatness and goodness to which they had been accustomed. They took hold of his hands, which they covered with tears, sobbing aloud, with all the bitter grief of childhood; and young Napoleon Bertrand, overcome by the terrible sight, fell back, and fainted. The poor children were quickly removed from the room.

As the short sum of the appointed hours gradually decreased, the pulse became scarcely perceptible; there were deep sighs, piteous moans, and convulsive movements; the lips were spasmodically closed against all nourishment: at eleven minutes before six, on the 5th of May, 1821, Napoleon died.

Those who have seen a cast of the mould which was taken of his countenance a few hours afterwards, will not require to be told that the transitory distortion, occasioned by physical disease, had then given place to the indescribable calm of death. The noble expanse of forehead is not furrowed by a single line; the eyes are gently shrouded by the deep eye-lids; the finely-formed nose, the delicate upper lip, and broad, firm chin, might form a study for a sculptor; and the whole expression is that of power in repose, almost awaking into a child-like smile.

After the first burst of grief had been indulged, the executors proceeded to open two codicils, according to the desire of the Emperor. The first gave orders as to the gratuities to be paid to the members of his household, and the alms to be distributed to the poor of the island. The second contained the well-known direction, which has been lately fulfilled:—"It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom I loved so well." Sir Hudson had no authority to comply with this desire; but he expressed a wish to have the grave prepared in any situation within the island which might be selected by the officers of the deceased. They accordingly fixed on that spot, to which the late Emperor had often recurred with recollections of pleasure, near the spring from which the water had been brought, which had, on one occasion, allayed his cruel sufferings.

The Princess Pauline, his sister, had only a short time previously succeeded in obtaining permission to join him at St. Helena; but the voyage never took place, being prevented by the news of his death.

Twenty hours after death, Antommarchi proceeded to perform the examination of the body, according to the repeated orders he had received. Doctors Arnott and Short, with six other medical men, witnessed the operation, together with Sir Thomas Reade, and a few staff-officers. Counts Bertrand and Montholon, and Marchand, were also present. The examination disclosed the ravages of a complication of diseases. The lungs were inflamed, and organically diseased; the liver was seriously affected; and both the lobes adhered, the one to the diaphragm, the other to the stomach. The latter circumstance had prolonged the sufferings and the life of the patient; for the adhesion of the liver to a portion of the stomach, had occurred on the very spot where the dreadful disease, which had been the immediate cause of death, had perforated a hole entirely through the latter organ, which, had it not been so covered, would have caused death at the instant



DEATH OF NAPOLEON.

of its formation, by admitting the contents of the stomach into the cavity of the abdomen. Nearly the whole of the interior of the stomach was occupied by a cancerous ulcer.

The examination being concluded, the heart and stomach were placed in a silver vase containing spirits of wine. The body was then dressed in the costume usually adopted by the Emperor during his



life,—the uniform of the horse-chasseurs of the imperial guard,—and was removed to the small bed-room, which had been hung with black, and there laid on a bed, covered by the blue cloth cloak which had been worn by the Emperor at Marengo. Behind the head, was the altar, at which the priest recited prayers. Lighted tapers were placed on either side. All the persons of the household, dressed in mourning, stood on the left side; Dr. Arnott watched over the corpse, which had been placed under his personal responsibility.

A great crowd had been assembled for some hours, desirous to gain admittance. When the doors were opened, they thronged the apartment and continued so to do for several days; but the greatest order was maintained, and a feeling of awe caused the preservation of a deep silence. When the coffin was brought, the body was deposited in it

by Antommarchi, who was not permitted to carry into effect the request of the late Emperor, concerning the transmission of the heart to Europe. The coffin was composed, first of tin, lined with white satin, which having been soldered down, was enclosed in another of mahogany, a third of lead, and the whole in a fourth of mahogany, secured with iron screws.

The funeral was appointed to take place on the 8th of May, on which day the troops received orders to be under arms at day-break, and in mourning. Early in the morning, the governor arrived at Longwood, and was shortly followed by the admiral and all the civil and military authorities. The description of the several solemnities we give in the words of Antommarchi.

"The weather was beautiful, the roads were crowded with people, and the hills covered with musicians; never had so mournful and solemn a spectacle been before exhibited in the island. At half-past twelve, the grenadiers took the coffin, which they could not lift without difficulty, and after repeated and persevering efforts, they succeeded in carrying it to, and placing it on, the hearse, which was waiting in the great walk in the garden; and it was then covered with a violet-coloured velvet cloth, and the cloak which Napoleon wore at Marengo. The Emperor's household was in mourning. The funeral procession was arranged, and proceeded in the following order, which had been regulated by the governor himself:—

"Abbé Vignali, habited in the sacerdotal ornaments used for the celebration of mass, with young Henry Bertrand, carrying a vase of silver, containing Holy-water and the *Aspersorium*."

Doctor Arnott and myself (*i. e.* Dr. Antommarchi).

The persons appointed to take care of the hearse, which was drawn by four horses, led by grooms, and escorted by twelve grenadiers on each side, without arms.

Young Napoleon Bertrand and Marchand, both on foot, one on each side of the hearse.

Counts Bertrand and Montholon, on horseback, immediately behind the hearse.
Part of the Emperor's suite.

Countess Bertrand, with her daughter Hortense, in a calash drawn by two horses, led by servants who walked on the side of the precipice.

The Emperor's horse, led by his *piqueur* Archambaud.

The officers of the marines, on foot and on horseback.

The officers of the staff, on horseback.

General Coffin and the Marquis Montchenu, on horseback.

The Admiral and the Governor, on horseback.

The Inhabitants of the Island.

"The procession left Longwood in this order, and passed before the guard-house, and the garrison of the island, about two thousand five hundred strong, lining the whole of the left side of the road as far as Hut's Gate. Bands of music, stationed at intervals, added by their mournful

sounds to the solemn sadness of the ceremony. After the procession had passed before the troops, they followed, and accompanied it towards the place of burial. The dragoons marched first, the 20th regiment of infantry followed; then came the marines; the 66th regiment; the volunteers of St. Helena; and lastly, the regiment of royal artillery, with fifteen pieces of cannon. Lady Lowe and her daughter were waiting on the road at Hut's Gate, in a calash drawn by two horses, and afterwards followed the procession at a distance, accompanied by some servants in mourning.

"At about a quarter of a mile beyond Hut's Gate, the hearse stopped, and the troops halted and ranged themselves in order of battle along the road. The twelve grenadiers then took the coffin on their shoulders, and carried it thus to the grave, by the new road which had been made for that purpose on the side of the mountain. Everybody then dismounted; the ladies got out of the calash, and the procession followed the corpse, without observing any order: Counts Bertrand and Montholon, Marchand, and young Napoleon Bertrand, holding the four corners of the pall. The coffin was deposited on the edge of the grave, which was hung with black, and near to it were the machinery and the ropes with which it was to be lowered: everything offered a mournful aspect; everything contributed to increase the grief and affliction which filled our hearts. Our emotion was great, but deep, concentrated, and silent. The coffin having been uncovered, the Abbé Vignali recited the usual prayers, and the body was consigned to the grave, the feet turned towards the east. The artillery then fired three successive volleys of fifteen guns each. During the march of the funeral procession, the admiral's ship had fired twenty-five minute-guns. An enormous stone, which was to have been employed in the construction of the Emperor's new house, was now used to close his grave. The religious ceremonies being over, that stone was lifted up by means of a ring fixed in it, and was lowered down over the body, resting, on both sides, on a strong stone wall, so as not to touch the coffin. It was then fastened; the ring was taken away, the hole it had left filled up, and the masonry covered with a layer of cement.

"The Emperor's grave is about a league from Longwood. Its shape is quadrangular, but wider at the top than at the bottom; its depth is about twelve feet. The coffin is placed upon two strong pieces of wood, and isolated on all sides. We were not allowed to place over it either a stone, or a modest inscription: the governor opposed this pious wish; as if a tomb-stone, or an inscription, could have told the world more than they already knew!"

The completion of a work like the present, which has involved the account of so many actions and events, so many designs and policies,

so many complicated feelings and interests, all ramifying over a prodigious extent of the civilised world, may well render the historian diffident of his success, and anxious lest his forbearances and occasional balancings of conflicting facts or statements, should be misinterpreted. To the examination and decision, therefore, not only of competent judgments, conversant with the histories of the period, but to the examination and decision of the public sentiment of whatever nation—which is always eventually influenced by that love of the truth inherent in all aggregate masses of humanity—this work is respectfully submitted. One thing only is especially claimed for it,—that of being written with a sincere desire to place the memory of a great man in its true and just light, for the future as well as present times. One thing, also, is especially regretted—namely, the want of power, in the vehicle of words, to contend against the prejudices of “foregone conclusions,” except when aided by the slow process of years. But, of the real character of the Emperor, both in public and private, and of the true history of his actions, and their demonstrable causes, it is quite certain that the world has not yet heard sufficient; nor will it ever cease to crave for fresh works, and means of judging, till a history of such importance as that of Napoleon be found satisfactory to the progressive intelligence of mankind.



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THE SECOND FUNERAL OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.



NAPOLEON is again in France; and, for the first time, with a power which is only passive. The recent disinterment of his imprisoned ashes, and their entombment in the heart of the country, is an event which has aroused strong memories all over Europe; memories which had scarcely slept, and were never dead. But the evil passions of the past have long slept,—and, we believe, are at last at an end. It has been thought that

the history of the great Emperor of France would not be complete, without an account of the funeral honours paid to him by his country, and a recognition of the becoming tone of feeling manifested by a Government which was once his most implacable foe.

From the period when the dying wish of the exile, that "his ashes should repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom he had loved so well," became known, its accomplishment was sought from time to time by the French nation, especially by the military portion of it; but as often discountenanced by parties in power. Shortly after the Revolution of 1830, the slumbering question was again mooted, and with a louder voice; but the son of NAPOLEON—he who had been recognised by all France as his heir, and even proclaimed emperor after his father's second abdication—was still living, and it was considered that such honour to the dead might endanger the stability of the existing dynasty, by reviving the old question of legitimacy. The disturbed state of Europe, looking on with a distrustful eye to the purposes of France, also discouraged the experiment. It was reserved for the French ministry of 1840, with M. THIERS at its head, to propose that the Emperor's wish should be complied with, by consigning his ashes to their fitting resting-place. On the 5th of May, by direction of LOUIS-PHILIPPE, an official correspondence took place between the cabinets of France and England concerning the removal of the remains. The British ministry responded frankly and generously, as is testified by the following communication from Lord PALMERSTON:—

"The government of her Britannic Majesty hopes that the promptness of its answer may be considered in France as a proof of its desire to blot out the last trace of those national animosities which, during the life of the Emperor, armed England and France against each other. The British government hopes that if such sentiments survive anywhere, they may be buried in the tomb about to receive the remains of NAPOLEON."

On the 12th of May, the design so worthily entered upon was thus communicated to the Chamber of Deputies by M. de REMUSAT, Minister of the Interior:—

"The King has commanded his son, the Prince de JOINVILLE, to proceed to St. Helena to receive the ashes of the Emperor NAPOLEON, in order to convey them to France. Our magnanimous ally has wished in this event to efface the last traces of past animosity. The frigate bearing the remains will, on its return, repair to the mouth of the Seine, from whence another vessel will transport them to Paris, to be deposited in the Hôtel des Invalides, when a solemn ceremony, worthy of the occasion and of the country, will take place. NAPOLEON was legitimate sovereign of France; and as such, his mortal remains might repose at St. Denis; but the ordinary sepulture of kings would not be worthy of NAPOLEON: he should lie among the soldiers of the nation—his former companions in glory—in that silent and sacred asylum, to which those who henceforth may be called on to defend our country, may always repair to invoke success. Beneath the dome of the temple, a monument, durable

as his memory, will be erected, for which, with the expenses of removal and of the funeral ceremony, we require of the chambers the grant of a million of francs (£40,000). Henceforth, France alone will possess all that remains of NAPOLÉON: his tomb, like his fame, will belong to none but his country."

The chambers nobly responded to the appeal of the government, and to the wishes of the country; and the announcement speedily spread through France, eliciting a burst of enthusiasm. Preparations for the expedition were immediately commenced. M. BAUDOIN, Director of Funeral Ceremonies, was intrusted with the construction of the coffin, in form resembling the ancient sarcophagi. It is of solid ebony, finely polished, but without orna-



ments, surmounted only by an entablature and moulding, and inscribed "NAPOLÉON," in letters of gold,—medallions, bearing the letter "N," being incrustated upon each side. Within the sarcophagus is a leaden coffin, upon which are engraven branches of laurel and arabesques in basso-relievo. In the centre is inscribed—

NAPOLÉON
EMPEREUR ET ROI,
MORT A STE. HELENE
LE 5 MAI,
MDCCCXXI.

A superb pall of violet-coloured velvet, bordered with ermine, decorated with the imperial eagle and the letter "N" in silver brocade, and studded with golden bees, accompanied the coffins.

On the 2nd of July, the Prince de JOINVILLE quitted Paris to take command of the *Belle Poule* frigate and the *Favorite* corvette, lying off Toulon. The quarter-deck of the frigate (on board of which the Prince sailed) had

been fitted up as a *chapelle-ardente*—an imperial cenotaph,—bearing allegorical bassi-relievi—History and Justice, with Religion, and the cross of the legion of honour at the sides; eagles at the four angles; and the crown on the summit.

The Prince was accompanied by four of the Emperor's companions in exile—Count BERTRAND, Baron GOURGAUD, the younger LAS CASAS, and MARCHAND (the Emperor's ancient *valet-de-chambre*), and by Captain HERMOUX, of the navy, his royal highness's aide-de-camp; Midshipman TOUCHARD, his ordnance officer; the Count de ROHAN-CHABOT, the king's commissioner; the Abbé COQUEREAU, chaplain; and four old servants of NAPOLEON—DENIS and NOVARREZ, valets; PIERROU, domestic officer; and ARCHAMBAUD, his huntsman. Of MARCHAND, his testamentary executor, the Emperor had said—"The services which he has rendered me have been those of a friend."



The *Belle Poule* and *Favorite* put to sea on the 8th of July, 1840, and anchored off St. Helena on the 8th of October. On the 1st of December, the French government received the following dispatch:—

"Cherbourg Roads, November 30th, 1840.

"Monsieur le Ministre,—As I had the honour of announcing to you, I left the Bay of All Saints on the 14th of September. I sailed along the coast of Brazil with easterly winds, which enabled me to reach St. Helena by the parallel of 28 degrees south, and to arrive at this point after some delay. On the 8th of October, I cast anchor in the roads of James' Town. The brig

Oreste, sent by Vice-Admiral de MACKAN to take a channel-pilot on board the *Belle Poule*, had arrived the evening before. As this vessel brought me no new instructions, I immediately attended to the orders previously com-



mitted to me. My first care was to introduce M. de CHABOT, the king's commissioner, to General MIDDLEMORE, Governor of the Island. These gentlemen had to regulate, according to their respective instructions, the manner in which the remains of the Emperor should be exhumed and removed on board the *Belle Poule*. The execution of the plans decided on was fixed for the 15th of October.* The governor undertook the exhumation, and all that was to be done on the English territory. As for myself, I regulated the honours that were to be paid on the 15th and 16th, by the division placed under my orders: the French trading vessels, *La Bonne Aimée*, Captain GALLET, and *L'Indien*, Captain TRUQUETIT, eagerly joined us. On the 15th, at midnight, the operations were commenced in presence of the English and French commissioners, M. de ROHAN-CHABOT, and Captain ALEXANDER, R.E.; the latter directed the works. As M. de CHABOT will transmit to the government a circumstantial report of the operations he witnessed, it is unnecessary for me to detail the particulars; I shall, therefore, only inform you that at ten in the morning the workmen reached the coffin. After having removed it from the grave uninjured, it was opened, and the body found in a state of unhoped-for preservation. At this solemn moment, on sight of the remains—so easily recognised—of him who had done so much for the glory of France, profound emotion seized the spectators. At half-past three, cannons from the forts announced that the funeral *cortège* was moving towards James' Town.

* The anniversary of Napoleon's arrival in the island twenty-five years before.

The militia and the garrison preceded the car, which was covered with the pall borne by the generals GOURGAUD and BERTRAND, and by Messrs. LAS CASAS and MARCHAND; the authorities and the inhabitants followed in crowds. The frigate in the roads responded by minute-guns to the cannon of the forts; our flags were lowered half-mast high, and all the foreign vessels displayed the same signs of mourning. When the *cortège* appeared on the quay, the English troops formed an avenue, through which the car advanced slowly towards the beach. On the sea-shore, where the English lines terminated, I had assembled around me the officers of the French division: all in deep mourning, heads uncovered, we awaited the approach of the coffin. It stopped at twenty paces from us, and the governor, advancing towards me, gave into my charge, in the name of the British Government, the remains of the Emperor NAPOLEON. So soon as the coffin had been lowered into the frigate's long-boat, previously disposed to receive it, renewed emotions were manifested; the last wishes of the Emperor were fulfilling; his body at length reposed under the national flag.

"From that moment, all signs of mourning were abandoned; honours that the Emperor would have received in life, were rendered to his mortal remains, and it was amidst the salvos of the ships, with their flags hoisted and their yards manned, that the long-boat, escorted by the boats of all the vessels in the roads, was slowly towed towards the frigate. On its arrival on board, the coffin was received between two files of officers under arms, and borne to the temporary *chapelle-ardente*. According to your orders, the honours were rendered by a guard of sixty men, commanded by the senior-lieutenant of the frigate. Though it was already late, the absolution was read, and the body remained thus exposed during the night, the chaplain and an officer keeping watch near the coffin.

"On the 16th, at ten in the morning, the officers and the crews of the French ships of war, together with those of the merchant-men, having assembled on board the frigate, a solemn funeral service was celebrated. The body was then lowered between decks, where a new *chapelle-ardente* had been prepared to receive it. At noon, all was ended, and the frigate ready to sail, but two days were required for the drawing up of the *procès-verbal* (authentic account), and it was not till the morning of the 18th, that the *Belle Poule* and *Favorite* were able to get under weigh. The *Oreste* left at the same time, for its destination. After a quick and favourable voyage, I anchored in the Cherbourg Roads at five o'clock this morning.

(Signed) "F. D'ORLEANS."

"To the Minister of Marine."

The official report of the commissioners, referred to in the foregoing dispatch, gives the following detail of the exhumation and delivery of NAPOLEON's remains :—

“We, the undersigned PHILIPPE-FERDINAND-AUGUSTE DE ROHAN-CHABOT, in virtue of powers conferred on me by His Majesty the King of the French, and CHARLES CORSAN ALEXANDER, deputed by his Excellency General MIDDLEMORE, Governor of St. Helena, to preside on the part of Her Britannic Majesty, having previously communicated to each other our respective powers, have repaired, this 15th day of the present month of October, of the year 1840, to the place of sepulture of the Emperor NAPOLEON, to superintend and direct personally all the operations of exhuming and removing his remains.

“Having arrived at the Valley of Napoleon, we found the tomb guarded, according to the orders of the governor, by a detachment of the 91st regiment of British infantry, commanded by Lieutenant BARNEY, for the purpose of preserving order befitting the occasion. The members of council received directions to attend the disinterment: these were Lieutenant-Colonel TRELAWNY; his Honour Chief-Justice WYLDE; and Colonel HODSON. There were also ordered to be present, Mr. SEALE, the Colonial Secretary, and Lieutenant LITTLEHALES, commanding the *Dolphin*. On the French side were Generals BERTRAND and GOURGAUD; Count LAS CASAS; MARCHAND; ARTHUR BERTRAND, the commander of the frigate; the Abbé; and the Surgeon, with five or six of NAPOLEON's domestics. The persons appointed to execute the works having been admitted within the reserved space round the tomb at midnight, and in silence, Captain ALEXANDER, of the Engineers, commenced his work by removing the railing, and the slabs that covered the grave. The earth was next excavated, and after unwearied efforts the workmen succeeded in making an impression on the cement which covered the first layer of masonry below. This being entirely removed, we next found a rectangular wall, forming, as we afterwards ascertained, the four sides of a vault, fourteen feet deep, six feet wide, and ten feet two inches long. Below the slabs already removed, this vault was entirely filled with earth, about nine inches deep. Beneath the earth appeared a layer of common cement, covering the whole space, and adhering to the walls, which having been completely cleared away, the undersigned commissioners descended into the vault, and found it perfectly uninjured. The next covering, formed of stones thirteen inches in thickness, bound together by iron cramps, resisting the labour of several hours, the undersigned English commissioner caused a tunnel to be excavated from the left side of the vault, in order to reach the coffin by this means, in case further efforts to perforate the solid mass should prove insufficient. The removal of the latter, however, having been at length effected, the digging of the lateral ditch was abandoned; and below the demolished

mass we found a slab, eight feet four inches long, four feet and an inch wide, and six feet thick, forming the covering of the inner sarcophagus (or sepulchre) of hewn stones, containing the coffin. This slab, in perfect preservation, was framed in Roman cement, and strongly fastened to the walls of the vault; and this last masonry having been carefully raised by means of rings or pulleys affixed to it, at half-past nine o'clock in the morning everything was ready for the opening of the sarcophagus. Then Dr. GUILLARD purified the tomb by besprinkling it with chlorine, the slab was drawn up, and laid on the edge of the vault, exposing the coffin to view, at which moment all present uncovered their heads, and the Abbé COQUEREAU, sprinkling holy water, repeated the *De Profundis*. The undersigned commissioners then stepped down to inspect the coffin, which they found well preserved, excepting only a small portion of its base, which, although resting on a sound slab, supported by hewn stones, was slightly impaired. Some sanitary precautions having been again taken by the surgeon, an express was sent to the governor, to inform him of the progress of the work. The coffin was then raised with hooks and straps, and removed with reverent care to a tent erected to receive it, the chaplain reading the while the service for the dead conformably to the rites of the Roman Catholic church.

"The undersigned commissioners then descended into the tomb, which they found to be in perfect preservation, and agreeing entirely with the official description of the interment.

"Towards eleven o'clock, the undersigned French commissioners, learning that his excellency the governor had authorised the opening of the coffins, caused the first to be taken off with every requisite precaution, within which was found a leaden one, which, with its contents, was placed within that brought out from France. Then his excellency, accompanied by his staff, Lieutenant MIDDLEMORE, aide-de-camp and military secretary, and Captain BARNES, town-major, entered the tent, to be present at the opening of the inner coffins. The upper part of the leaden coffin was thereupon cut, and lifted off with the utmost care. In it was found another of wood, in excellent preservation, and corresponding with the description and recollection of those who had been present at the depositing of the Emperor's remains.

"The lid of the third coffin having been removed, the lining of tin was withdrawn, and disclosed a sheet of white satin, which was carefully drawn aside by Doctor GUILLARD, and the body of NAPOLEON was exposed to view. The features had undergone so little alteration as to be instantly recognised. The contents of the coffin were found remaining in the exact position in which they had been placed; the hands in remarkable preservation; the uniform, the orders, the hat, very little injured; and the whole person indicating recent inhumation. But two minutes at most did the body remain exposed to the air, that short interval



THE EXHUMATION.

sufficing for the surgeon to take the measures prescribed to preserve it from further injury. The tin and mahogany coffins were then re-closed, over which the leaden one was carefully re-soldered, under the direction of Dr. GUILLARD, and securely fixed by wedges in the new leaden coffin sent from Paris. The whole were then placed in the splendid ebony sarcophagus, which was locked, and the key delivered to the undersigned French commissioner.

"Then the undersigned English commissioner declared that, the exhumation being ended, he was authorised by his excellency the governor to inform the French commissioner that the coffins containing the mortal remains of NAPOLEON should be considered at the disposal of the French government from the moment they had reached the place of embarkation, whither they would be conveyed under the personal orders of his excellency the governor.

"The coffin was then placed on a funeral car, covered with an imperial mantle presented by the undersigned French commissioner, and, at half-past three in the afternoon, the *cortège* formed, under the command of his excellency the governor (who, in consequence of illness, had been unable to preside at the labours of the night), and advanced from the grave in the following order :—

The St. Helena Militia, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel SEALE.

The detachment of the Ninety-first Regiment,

Commanded by Captain BLACKWELL, forming the escort of the Body.

The Militia Band, playing the Dead March in Saul.

The Priest, in white vestments, accompanied by two choristers, the one bearing the Crucifix, the other, the Holy Water.

THE FUNERAL CAR :

Drawn by four horses, and escorted by a detachment of Royal Artillery :

the Pall, borne by Count LAS CASAS and MARCHAND in front ;

and near the head, by Generals BERTRAND and GOURGAUD.

Immediately behind the Car, walked the Commissioner, leading the Captains of the Corvette and *Oreste* ;

And followed by M. ARTHUR BERTRAND ;

The Servants of NAPOLEON ; Captain DORET and Doctor GUILLARD ;

The Military, Naval, and Civil Officers ;

The Members of Council ;

The Chief Justice ;

The Governor ;

The Inhabitants of the Island in deep mourning.

"From the moment the procession began to move, minute-guns were fired from the battery at High Knoll, and continued from the lines. On its arrival at James' Town, the *cortège* passed slowly down the main street, through lines of the militia and of the 91st, resting on their arms reversed, to the quay, where stood the Prince de JOINVILLE, surrounded by French officers in waiting to

receive the body. The Prince then received from the governor the imperial coffin, which was immediately deposited in the long-boat prepared for its reception, and conveyed by the Prince on board the *Belle Poule* with all the honours due to sovereigns.

"For the faithful record of which, we, the undersigned commissioners, have drawn up this *procès-verbal*, and have sealed it with our arms.

"Made in duplicate between us, at St. Helena, this fifteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty."

(Approved) "MIDDLEMORE."

"ROHAN CHABOT.

"ALEXANDER."

Further details of the transfer of the body from the custody of the English governor to that of the French commissioners have been derived from an eyewitness of the ceremony, who writes to the following effect:—After two hours march, the *cortège* reached the end of the quay, where the Prince de JOINVILLE had stationed himself, at the head of the officers of the three French ships of war. The greatest official honours had been rendered by the English authorities to the memory of the Emperor, and every testimonial of respect had marked the adieu given by St. Helena to his remains. When the funeral car halted at the quay, the Prince de JOINVILLE (who, very considerably judging that in his character of commandant of the expedition, it would be proper to absent himself from the operations not under his immediate directions, had remained on board the frigate during the exhumation) advanced alone, and, in presence of all around, who stood with their heads uncovered, received in a solemn manner the imperial coffin from the hands of General MIDDLEMORE. His royal highness then thanked the governor, in the name of France, for all the marks of sympathy and respect testified by the authorities and inhabitants of St. Helena at the memorable ceremonial, and expressed his entire satisfaction with everything that had been done.

The sarcophagus, having been lowered from the quay to the French cutter, was covered with an imperial mantle, and borne towards the frigate amidst salutes from the ships, dressed out in their colours, and having their yards manned. All indications of mourning which the French vessels and crews had hitherto assumed, now that the remains of Napoleon were in French custody, were exchanged for manifestations of festivity and triumph. The magnificent flag which some ladies of James' Town had worked for the occasion was unfurled; and, amid the roar of artillery, the exulting cheers of the French crews, with their bands playing lively national airs, the remains of the great conqueror and captive left the island, and were received on board the *Belle Poule* frigate, between two ranks of officers under arms, and carried to the quarter-deck, which had been arranged as a *chapelle ardente*. A guard of sixty men, commanded

by the senior-lieutenant of the frigate, did the honours. Although it was now late, the absolution was pronounced, and the coffin remained exposed all night, the almoner and an officer keeping watch by its side, as if ocean might claim what earth had spared: a touching and an impressive scene must have been



that night death-watch on the great deep. The Abbé COQUEREAU shared the post, though this was the third night of his watch; and at ten o'clock on the following morning a solemn funeral service was to commence. At that hour, all the officers and crews of the French ships of war and merchantmen assembled on board the frigate, where an altar was erected at the helm, bearing towards the mizen-mast; it was surmounted by a French tent, and military trophies; muskets were disposed on the right and left; beneath them, a crown of oak; and two small pieces of artillery in front; between the altar and the capstern stretched an immense black drapery, embroidered with silver, upon which lay the coffin, covered with its splendid pall, and bearing the imperial crown, veiled with crape; while above it were suspended censers of burning incense. Of the sixty men commanded by Captain PENANROS, thirty were stationed a-starboard, under his own immediate orders; and thirty a-larboard under those of M. JAUGE. The companions of the Emperor's exile took their places; near them were his faithful servants, and the oldest non-commissioned officers of the division. At the foot of



the coffin knelt the Prince commander; at his right, the Commander HERNOUX, his aide-de-camp; at his left, the Count de CHABOT, king's commissioner; behind him were the commanders GUYET, DORET, and the Deputy-Consul of France. Then the chief officers, each in his rank; the captains of French merchant vessels, with their officers; and finally appeared all the sailors on their knees. The *Favorite* and the *Oreste* had each sent a deputation of sixty men: no stranger was among them; it was exclusively a national ceremony. The Abbé conducted the sacred service; during which the sloop and the frigate fired minute-guns alternately.

Nothing (says LAS CASAS) could obliterate recollection of the impressions that attended this ceremony. To those who had lived familiarly at St. Helena with NAPOLEON in decay, it was the dust of the most attaching of men over which they now wept; to those who had known him not, it was the tomb of the greatest of men, who had exalted to the highest the glory of his country; to all those assembled, it was the shade of the great NAPOLEON re-appearing amidst the French, after an exile of a quarter of a century.

The rites ended, the body was deposited in the receptacle prepared for it, with the prayers and forms prescribed by the Roman Catholic church.

On Sunday at nine o'clock, the three French vessels were under weigh, and were soon out of sight of the island.

The *Belle Poule* having anchored in the roads of Cherbourg, of which event the prince's dispatch conveyed immediate intelligence to Paris, preparations for the celebration of the obsequies, to take place in that city on the 15th of December, were commenced on the most extensive scale; and every town and village of the route by which the remains were to pass thither manifested zealous eagerness to pay its tribute of respect to the memory of Napoleon. On the receipt of final instructions from the French government, the prince proceeded to execute them. At sunrise on Tuesday the 8th, the



sarcophagus containing the body was transferred from the frigate to the *Normandie* steamer, destined to convey it to Val de la Haie, a small village below Rouen, where other steamers in waiting were stationed. During the transfer, all the vessels in the port and roadstead of Cherbourg slung their yards, and hoisted their colours half-mast high. The civil and military authorities were assembled on the quay; the troops presented arms, and the ships of war fired a royal salute as the *Normandie* steamer, followed by the *Courrier* and *Veloce*

steamers, and the *Rodeur* cutter, sailed on for Havre. The entire ceremony at Cherbourg was of the most imposing description. The whole of Tuesday was wet and gloomy, and the vessels on their passage to Havre encountered a sharp gale. The inhabitants of Havre, knowing that the steamer was expected that evening, maintained an anxious watch for it; and as the weather cleared, and the moon shone forth upon the sea, a dark speck in the blue distance became visible; and, as it neared the shore, was hailed by many a watchful eye as bearing to the mouth of the Seine the mortal remains of the great warrior of France. All doubts were soon removed by the recognition of the three vessels, which, as they approached the land, were joined by the *Seine*, from the port of Havre, and, then bearing off, anchored at two miles' distance for the night. Between seven and eight in the morning, it was observed that the *Normandie*, convoyed by five steamers, was approaching the shore. The troops of the line and national guards had long been stationed along the quays and ramparts, and the artillerymen at their guns. As the steamer passed the town, the imperial canopy under which the sarcophagus was placed could be clearly seen. It was hailed with salutes by the whole line, and with every demonstration of enthusiasm by the assembled multitudes, who stood with heads uncovered, many of them rushing down to the water's edge, and throwing crowns of laurel and of flowers towards it. As the little squadron proceeded, and the river narrowed, both banks became lined with spectators, and the vessels were greeted with one continued discharge of artillery, blended with murmured acclamations of the people. On Wednesday, at three o'clock, the prince and his suite reached Val de la Haie, amidst such tokens of respect as the place could afford, and where the *Dorade*, a boat distinguished from the others stationed there by its state adornments, was laid



alongside the *Normandie*, and another removal of the coffin effected. The deck of this vessel represented a funeral temple, hung with drapery of violet-coloured velvet, embroidered with golden bees. The coffin was covered with a magnificent pall, surmounted by an imperial crown. The stern was decorated with flags, inscribed with the names of NAPOLEON'S victories. On this occasion, the prince ordered away all ornaments from the deck, observing,—“This noble deposit from St. Helena needs no decoration.” At Val de la Haie, the vessel anchored for that night, and arrived off Rouen the following morning. Here, at the earnest petition of the citizens, it halted a sufficient time to enable the authorities to visit the remains, and the archbishop and clergy to perform some religious rites. The municipal council also met, and voted 25,000 francs (£1,000), to defray the expense of honours to be rendered as the revered freight passed their city. Nothing was left undone that could give effect to the arrangements; the array of military force was most imposing,—shops were closed,—windows and balconies were filled with spectators,—nearly every building displayed a banner,—and when the fog cleared away, and the sun burst forth, the *coup-d'œil* was admirable. These dispositions were all completed when, about a quarter-past ten o'clock, a discharge of artillery announced that the convoy was entering the precincts of the city. It was responded to by the batteries of the *Vaisseaux d'Honneur*, which (displaying colours of all nations, with the British flag in the midst) fired guns every minute till the close of the religious ceremony. The bells of the churches rang the knell, and the bands of the troops played funeral marches. At eleven, the first steamer approached. The flotilla consisted of twelve small vessels, the third in order being the *Dorade*, with the sarcophagus raised on its prow. At its four corners stood Generals GOURGAUD and BERTRAND, LAS CASAS, and M. MARCHAND; behind was an altar, surmounted with a large eagle and fasces of tricoloured flags, next to which were placed the Abbé COQUEREAU, the chaplain of the expedition, and his two acolytes; after him stood the Prince de JOINVILLE, as chief mourner, surrounded by his staff and the other persons who had accompanied him to St. Helena; and in the rear were one hundred seamen of the *Belle Poule* frigate. The coffin was covered with an imperial mantle, and different other insignia of the Emperor; and everything on board was decorated with the letter “N,” and other devices and emblems of the empire. As the convoy passed along, the drums beat a funeral march, the troops and national guards presented arms, and the banners were inclined. On reaching the suspension-bridge, upon which stood the triumphal arch, the steamer paused awhile, during which the military veterans, who had accompanied the Emperor in his career of glory, defiled before the coffin, throwing upon it crowns of laurel, and saluting it. At this moment, innumerable banners and handkerchiefs were waved by the specta-

tors, and *immortelles* and laurel-wreaths were thrown from every part towards the sarcophagus. The cry (somewhat incongruous) of "Vive l'Empereur!" seemed to burst almost involuntarily from the old *légionnaires* as they saluted the corpse of their favourite chief. After the delay of a few minutes, the *Dorade* passed under the arch, and took her station alone in the centre of the basin, fired several salutes, and remained there for about twenty minutes, while a funeral service was conducted by the Cardinal Archbishop of Rouen, attended by two hundred priests. The deepest silence and profound attention prevailed during this solemnity.

Immediately afterwards, a salute of six rounds from the shore announced that the ceremony would henceforth assume a triumphal character; the bells rang in peals,—all signs of mourning disappeared,—the bands played national airs,—the troops presented arms,—and the artillerymen of the national guards fired one hundred and one rounds.

The Prince de JOINVILLE, in compliance with the orders he had received not to quit his charge an instant, remained on deck all the time; but shortly before weighing anchor, he sent his aide-de-camp, Captain HERNOUX, to compliment the authorities in his name. A moment afterwards, the boat containing the coffin cleared the Pont de Pierre, and the escort-steamers followed in the same order, and were soon out of sight.

To detail the progress of the flotilla from Rouen to Courbevoie would be only to repeat similar demonstrations of honour, of triumph, or of mourning. All the wealth and beauty of France seemed congregated on the banks of the Seine; the military swarmed as in a camp, and the veterans of the old armies all rallied round the remains of their chief. Hundreds of them were to be distinguished by their faded uniform, bearing crowns of laurel and *immortelles*. There were chasseurs of the imperial guards,—and grenadiers of the armies of Italy and of Egypt, of Spain and of Russia,—heroes of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, many of whom were obviously affected,—some even to tears. Nor were young soldiers of the day devoid of such feeling; one of them, a lieutenant, was heard to say to a group of cuirassier officers, 'I would give much to be able to command my emotion; but I feel that when the convoy comes up I shall cry like a child, and look foolish at the head of my men.' Early on Saturday the 12th, the steamers arrived at Mantes, and the same afternoon at Poissy. On the following day, the procession moved up from Poissy to Maisons, where it remained for the night; and on Monday the 14th, advanced to the bridge immediately below St. Germain's, through which the vessels passed amid every possible manifestation of welcome from the assembled thousands, who densely thronged every position from whence the spectacle could be seen. At Anniers, a small village two miles below Courbevoie, lay the massive and gorgeous vessel which had been built expressly

to convey the remains from Val de la Haie. A receptacle for them had been raised on its deck, in the form of an Egyptian temple, oblong in build, open at the sides, with plain square columns supporting a flat roof, but sustained in front by four statues, on the heads of which it appeared to rest; the entrance to this temple was by several steps; the vessel had an immense eagle (gilded) as a figure-head, and bronze shields suspended all round, with the names of victories, trophies of arms, and banners surmounted by the imperial eagle,—the bulkhead being covered with laurels and *immortelles*. In the front and rear were four tripods, throwing out flames; and round the tomb were engraved on escutcheons the names of the principal victories of the Republic and the Empire. This magnificent and expensive piece of craftsmanship was not used for the destined purpose, its great weight preventing the possibility of towing it to Paris by any steamer on the river, in time for the translation to take place on the 15th. This vessel, however, formed part of the convoy from Anniers to Courbevoie, and had a superb effect. At half-past three in the afternoon, the *cortège* reached Courbevoie (some four miles from Paris), where it was received with imperial honours. Courbevoie is finely situate on one of the eminences which diversify the left bank of the Seine, at a short distance from Neuilly. On the summit of the hill upon which the village is built are some magnificent barracks erected by Louis XV.; its population is about two thousand, but on this occasion every house was densely crowded with people eager to obtain a view of the ceremony on the following morning.

As the vessels advanced slowly towards Courbevoie, the fine battalions stationed there were seen drawn up under arms along the left bank of the river, which was covered with an immense multitude, who received the remains with deafening acclamations. The deck on which the coffin rested was observed to represent a funeral temple, and was hung with drapery and violet velvet, embroidered with golden bees. The stern was decorated with banners, inscribed with NAPOLEON's victories. As each steamer came up, she fired a salute, and then took the station assigned to her for the night.

At five o'clock, Marshal SOULT, Admiral DUPERRÉ, and M. DUCHATEL, arrived at Courbevoie, and repaired on board the *Dorade*, to pay their homage to the Prince de JOINVILLE. They were soon after joined by the Duke de NEMOURS, who spent part of the night with his brother. Very few of the sailors were allowed to land; but one man went ashore by special leave, who no sooner set his foot on the quay than he was surrounded and embraced by all the generals in the presence of all the troops. This man, Sergeant HUBERT, had never abandoned the Emperor dead or alive,—had assigned to himself the pious mission of guarding his tomb, and had faithfully discharged the self-imposed office from the 5th of May, 1821. HUBERT was dressed

in the uniform of the grenadiers of the imperial guard, and wore the decoration of the Legion of Honour.

Early in the morning of Tuesday the 15th of December, the *Dorade* steamer left her station in the centre of the river, and was moored near the landing-place. The twenty-four seamen of the *Belle Poule*, who were appointed to bear the coffin ashore, were ranged on each side the sarcophagus. The funeral car shortly afterwards drew up under the portico of a Grecian temple, erected to receive the coffin. This structure, one hundred feet high, and of tasteful design, was decorated at its angles with branches of palm and



tri-coloured flags; and an eagle, with displayed wings spanning sixteen feet, was placed over the front. At half-past nine, the clergy of Courbevoie went on board the *Dorade*, where prayers were read over the body. The Prince de JOINVILLE then gave orders to land, when the twenty-four seamen raised the coffin on their shoulders; the artillery fired twenty-one rounds, and the remains of the Emperor once more rested on French ground, amidst every demonstration of welcome from the troops and people. After lying in state a short time in the temple, where the Abbé COQUEREAU and the clergy chanted prayers, the seamen raised again their precious load, and carried it to the funeral car destined to convey the remains to the church of the Invalides. The car consisted of five distinct parts—the base, the pedestal,



the caryatides, the shield, and the cenotaph. The base rested on four massive gilt wheels. It was twenty-five feet long and six feet high, and presented the form of a parallelogram, with a semi-circular platform in front. On this last stood a group of four genii, supporting the crown of Charlemagne; at the four angles were four other genii in relief, who held garlands with one hand, and with the other the trumpet of Fame; above were fasces in the middle eagles, and the cipher of the Emperor, surrounded with crowns. The base and its ornaments were covered with burnished gold.

The pedestal placed on this base was eighteen feet long by seven high, and entirely covered with gold purple cloth, with the cipher and arms of the Emperor. On each side hung a violet-coloured velvet imperial mantle, sprinkled with golden bees. Behind drooped a number of flags, bearing the names of the Emperor's victories.

On the pedestal stood fourteen caryatides, somewhat larger than life, entirely covered with gilding, and supporting with their heads and hands an immense shield. These were placed six on one side, and six on the other, back to back, and one at each extremity.

The shield, encrusted with gold, was of one elongated oval form, and loaded with fasces of javelins.

The sarcophagus, of an antique form, was raised above the shield. In the centre, on a rich cushion, lay the sceptre, the hand of justice, and the imperial crown, studded with jewels.

This monument of gold and velvet, about fifty feet high, was drawn by sixteen black horses yoked by fours, and so caparisoned as only to shew the extremity of the feet. The trappings were of cloth of gold, cut and disposed like those used in the tournaments of the middle ages, and the manes adorned with white plumes and golden tresses. Grooms in the livery of the Emperor led the horses.

By the time the coffin was deposited upon the car, the numerous civil authorities of Paris and its districts had arrived at the bridge of Neuilly, to receive the body on the limits of the department. At this spot, a number of veterans of the old army, dressed in the uniforms of the various corps, passed through the crowd to await and join the procession. One of the most affecting associations recalled by the scene was a colossal statue of the Empress JOSEPHINE, erected at the extremity of the bridge on the road leading to Malmaison. It was eleven o'clock before the car left Courbevoie; it paused awhile near the statue of JOSEPHINE, after which the procession commenced its march towards the capital in the following order:—

The Gendarmerie of the Seine, with trumpets, and the Colonel at its head.
The Municipal Horse Guards, with standards and trumpets, headed by their Colonel.
Detachments of the Seventh Lancers,
With the flags and band of the regiment, and commanded by their Colonel.

Lieutenant-General DERRIULE, Commandant of Paris,

And his staff, and the officers *en congé*.

A battalion of Infantry of the Line, with their Colonel at the head, and accompanied by the Band, Sappers, &c.

The Municipal Foot Guards, with flags and drums, and the Colonel at their head.

The Sappers and Firemen, with flags and drums,

And headed by their Lieutenant-Colonel.

Two squadrons of the Seventh Lancers, commanded by the Lieutenant-Colonel.

Two squadrons of the Fifth Cuirassiers, flags and band, and the Colonel at the head:

The Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the division and his staff.

Officers of all Grades employed at the War-office.

The MILITARY COLLEGE AT ST. CYR, headed by its staff.

The POLYTECHNIC SCHOOL, with its staff.

The ECOLE D'APPLICATION D'ETAT MAJOR, with its staff.

A battalion of Light Infantry, with the Colonel at its head.

Two batteries of Artillery.

A detachment of the First Battalion of the Foot Chasseurs.

Seven companies of the Engineers, under the orders of a Chief of Battalion.

Four companies of non-commissioned veteran Officers.

Two squadrons of the Fifth Cuirassiers, with the Colonel at the head.
Four squadrons of the mounted National Guards, with flags and band, and commanded by their Colonel.

Marshal GERARD, Commandant-in-Chief, General JACQUEMINOT, the Deputy-Commander, and their staffs.

The Second Legion of the Suburban National Guards.

The First Legion of the Paris National Guards.

Two squadrons of the Cavalry of the National Guards headed by the Lieutenant-Colonel.

A carriage, in which sat the Almoner, the Chaplain of the expedition, and his assistants.

GENERAL OFFICERS OF THE ARMY AND NAVY OF THE RESERVE OR RETIRED LIST, on horseback.

GENERAL OFFICERS AND OTHERS BELONGING TO THE ROYAL NAVY.

The principal Band of Funeral Music.

THE WAR HORSE OF NAPOLEON,

Led by two grooms richly dressed in the Imperial livery.

A detachment of twenty-four non-commissioned Officers, chosen from the Cavalry of the National Guard, from the Cavalry and Artillery of the Line, and from the Municipal Guard, under the command of a Captain of the General Staff of the National Guard.

The COMMISSION OF ST. HELENA in a mourning carriage, drawn by four horses.

A body of thirty-three Sub-Officers, wearing the decorations, and selected from the Foot National Guards, the Infantry of the Line, the Municipal Guards, the Sappers, Firemen, under the orders of a Captain of the staff of the Foot National Guard.

THE MARSHALS OF FRANCE.

Eighty-six mounted sub-officers, bearing the colours of the departments, under the Command of a Staff-Major, that of Corsica preceding the rest.

EIGHTY-SIX EAGLES, representing the eighty-six Departments of France.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE DE JOINVILLE and his Staff.

THE FUNERAL CAR,

bearing the remains of Napoleon, drawn by

TWO MARSHALS, on horseback, each holding a riband *d'honneur*, attached to the Imperial pall.

sixteen horses, covered with cloth of gold, and adorned with white plumes.
The Car itself, with gilt figures before, and banners behind; a velvet drapery on each side, the top supported also by gilt figures, surmounted by an imperial crown, which was covered by a velvet mantle.

AN ADMIRAL and Lt.-Gen. BERTRAND, on horseback, each holding a riband *d'honneur*, attached to the Imperial pall.

The FIVE HUNDRED SAILORS who accompanied the remains of Napoleon from St. Helena, forming the escort, and surrounding the Imperial Car in two ranks.

THE OLD AIDES-DE-CAMP AND CIVIL AND MILITARY OFFICERS BELONGING TO THE EMPEROR'S HOUSEHOLD.

The Prefects of the Seine and of Police, the Members of the General Council, the Mayors of Paris and their adjoints, &c.

THE OLD SOLDIERS OF THE IMPERIAL GUARD, in uniform; the deputation from Ajaccio, retired military men, in uniform.

A squadron of the First Dragoons, the Lieutenant-Colonel at its head.

Lieutenant-General SCHNEIDER, commanding the division *extra muros*, and his staff.

Field-Marshal HEQUET, commanding the Fourth Brigade of Infantry outside Paris.

A battalion of the Thirty-fifth Regiment of the Line, with the band and banners, and headed by the Colonel.

Two batteries of Artillery, stationed at Neuilly.

A battalion of the Thirty-fifth Regiment, under the command of the Lieutenant-Colonel.

Field-Marshal LAWOESTINE, commanding the brigade of the Paris Cavalry.

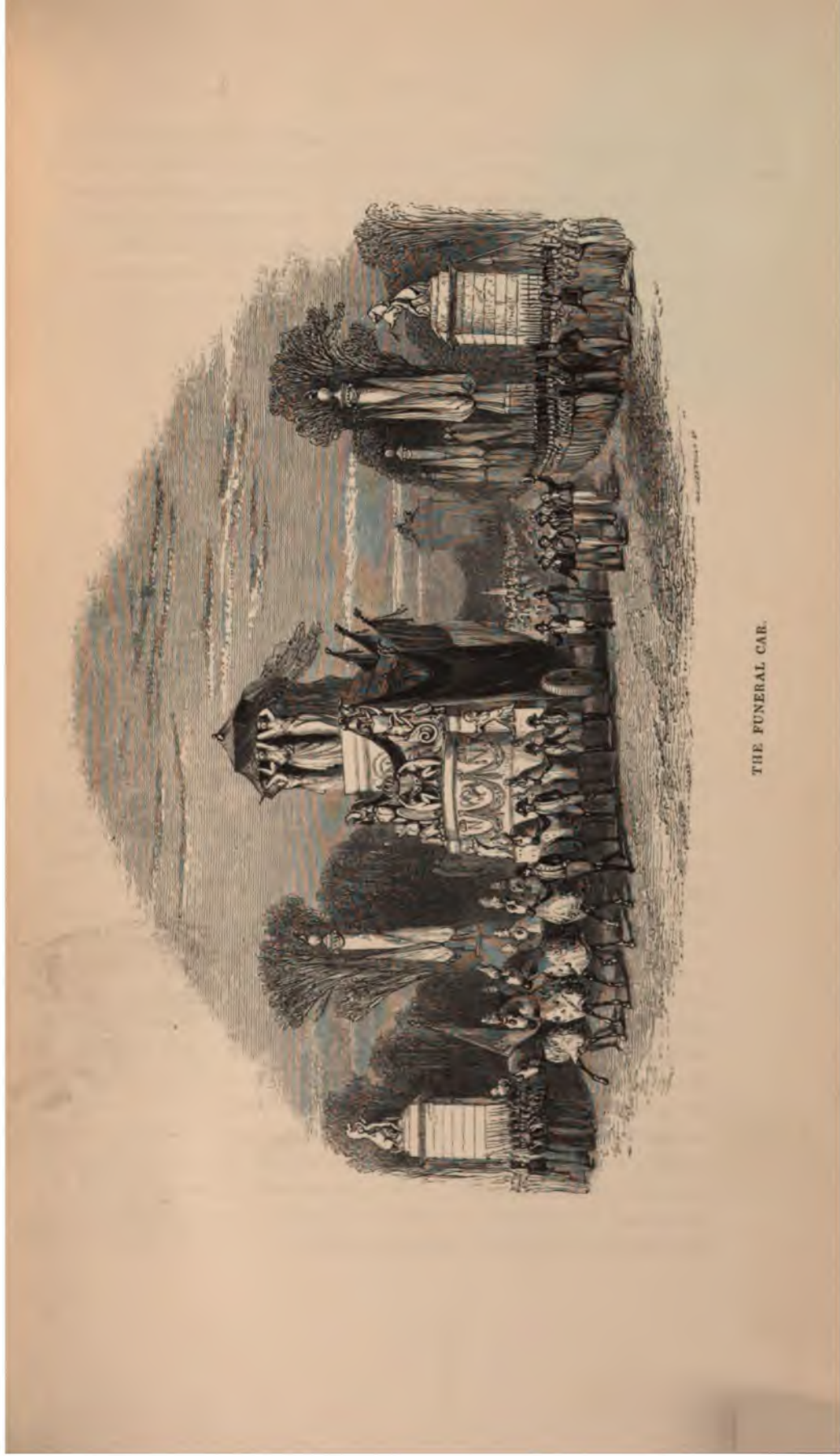
Two squadrons of the First Dragoons, with their flags and band, headed by their Colonel.

In this order the procession continued to advance, and, crossing the bridge of Neuilly, debouched into the road leading to Paris, where thousands on thousands of persons were assembled. The first part of the *cortège* was allowed to pass in silence; the multitude seemed fixed in breathless expectation; but the moment the car was perceived, every head was bare,—hats, handkerchiefs, and banners swayed to and fro; while above the roar of artillery rose the swelling of those myriad voices in the incongruous acclaim of "Vive l'Empereur!"

Here may be noticed as the most expressive circumstance of the day, the total absence of any mark of attachment to the reigning sovereign. In no part of the crowded lines was one voice heard to cry, "Vive le Roi!"

Long before daybreak all Paris had been astir. From every part of the city, and from the surrounding country, the population flowed in one mighty stream to the Esplanade des Invalides, the Place de la Concorde, the Champs Elysées, and the Barrière de l'Etoile; the greater number, however, pushing on towards Neuilly, the avenue of which was occupied by at least four or five hundred thousand persons. The morning was bitterly cold and slightly foggy; but as the day advanced, the sun broke forth in cloudless splendour, and, as its beams were everywhere reflected by waving banners, gold ornaments, and the bright steel swords and bayonets of the troops, nothing could surpass the animation of the scene.

By ten o'clock, the whole of the troops had arrived at their appointed stations, and nearly the entire population of Paris had crowded itself into the spacious streets before described. Occasionally the passing of some persons, who proceeded to Courbevoie to take a part in the procession, had the effect of exciting the most lively interest. At nine o'clock, Marshal GERARD, attended by a numerous and brilliant staff, passed through the Champs



THE FUNERAL CAR.

Elysées in the direction of Neuilly, to take his station in the procession. As had been previously arranged, the car halted again beneath the Arc de l'Etoile, a splendid monument erected in 1806, at the expense of the city of Paris, to commemorate the triumphs of Napoléon over Russia, and his alliance with the Emperor ALEXANDER at Tilsit. From the grand centre arch, eighty-seven feet high, depended numerous banners, inscribed "The Army of the Rhine," "The Rhine and Moselle," "The Army of Italy," "The Grand Army," &c.; draperies of purple velvet and crape, studded with devices of triumph and of mourning, were disposed around; and on the summit of



the edifice was represented the Emperor in his imperial costume, supported by eagles, with figures of Fame proclaiming his deeds on either side.

At length the *cortège*, slowly advancing on its way, entered the city of Paris by the Barrière de Neuilly; thence, passing through the Champs Elysées, which was densely thronged with spectators, it entered the fine open space of the Place de la Concorde. As the procession wound through this noble square, the effect was magnificent, though imparting less of the character of a funeral solemnity than perhaps became the occasion. It rather denoted a military triumph; martial sights and martial sounds met the eye and smote the ear, to the exclusion of sympathy, real or ideal,—if we except the interest excited by the appearance of that body of men, whose aspect and countenances, even more than the distinguished names borne upon their streamers, denoted them as soldiers of the Republic—the last representatives of the old armies of the Empire. There, in all variety of uniform—some grotesque, others displaying the acmé of costume *en militaire*—might be recognised the veterans of Hoche and Marceau, of Moreau and Massena,—of Ney, Murat, Bernadotte, and others—covered with scars and cicatrices, and having an expression of countenance that betokened the memories of their battle-days. But if pageantry expressing

the poverty of pomp might offend the mental vision, the effect was imposing enough to the bodily sense; and to that our narrative is confined.

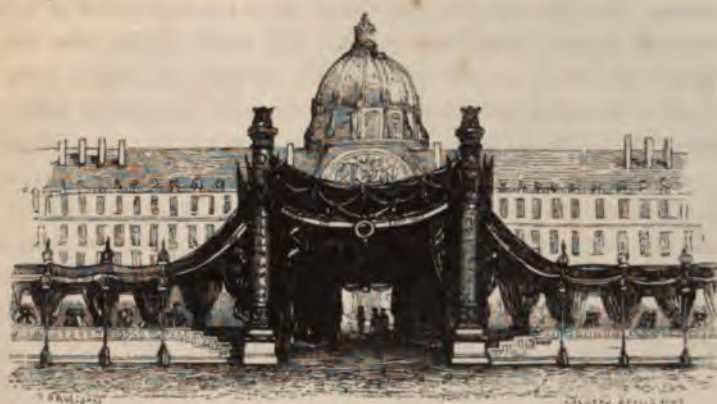
Among the few other individuals who attracted attention was Marshal GERARD, with his brilliant retinue. Count MONTALIVET appeared at the head of the cavalry of the national guard as their colonel, habited as a peer of France. The Prince de JOINVILLE and the crew of the *Belle Poule* were regarded with interest; and the eighty-six eagles, representing the eighty-six departments of France, which were carried before the car, excited much notice. But the object to which all eyes were directed was the car itself,—as attractive perhaps from the gorgeous *tout ensemble* it presented as from memories awakened by the dust it bore. The cordons of the pall were held by Marshal the Duke de REGGIO, Marshal MOLITOR, Admiral ROUSSIN, and General BERTRAND, who drew much attention. A mourning coach, upon silvered wheels and chastely decorated, preceded the car, with four other coaches containing the Commission of St. Helena, the Abbe COQUEREAU, and others.

One of the finest sights of the day was the Esplanade of the Invalides, as the car entered it. The central road filled with the procession and lined with troops; the numerous statues of great monarchs and military commanders on either side, commencing with Ney, Jourdain, and Hoche, with the



colossal figure of the Emperor at the edge of the quay; the immense estrades on each side, containing at least thirty thousand people, and behind them innumerable masts with tri-coloured streamers floating, presented as imposing an effect as could be conceived. The edifice of the Invalides is one of the most splendid monuments of the reign of LOUIS XIV. As its name indicates,

it is an hospital for the reception of old soldiers of all ranks, and now contains from four to five thousand. The approach had undergone an appropriate temporary transformation. Across the grand entrance by the esplanade was thrown a triumphal arch, surmounted by imperial emblems, and richly hung with



mourning draperies. The *Cour Royale*, which is entered by the elegant peristyle reaching from this gate, had been fitted up with seats on each side for the public, on a gradual elevation reaching to the top of the lower arcade. This portion of the building was entirely masked with temporary fronts, richly emblazoned with military trophies, the armorial bearings and initials of NAPOLEON intersected with funeral wreaths, and other ornaments characteristic of the ceremony of the day. The front of the church, on the south side, had been converted into the portico of a military temple, on which were seen seven statues of the most distinguished generals in the wars of the Empire, among whom was Marshal SOULT. Twelve immense banners, bearing warlike insignia, and each surmounted by the star of the Legion of Honour, completed the splendid decorations of this court. At half-past two, the increased rapidity of the artillery salutes gave notice to those within the building that the funeral *cortège* had arrived at the gates. The military immediately formed; and, preceded by deputations from various grades in the army, the body of the late Emperor was borne past.

The general effect of the decorations within the church was at once gorgeous and solemn, suited to the mingled ideas of imperial greatness, and the nothingness of the remains in honour of which these preparations had been made. The lofty nave is supported by richly-wrought pillars, and in the time of Napoleon was decorated with three thousand standards taken from various nations, the place of which is now occupied by the colours captured at

Algiers. At the end of the nave is the dome, supported by forty columns of the composite order, with three cupolas. Opposite the grand entrance stood a temporary altar, for the performance of the religious rites; and to the right of it a tribune, for the accommodation of the King and the royal family; beside it was another for the ladies of the court; and in front one for the ministers. On this occasion, the church wore the appearance of a palace resplendent with gold, silver, and gems. The whole of the nave was carpeted with black; but the walls and spaces between the pillars, hung with black drapery, bordered and fringed with silver, and dotted with golden bees and letters "N," reflected the mellowed light of many lustres. Tri-coloured flags, escutcheons, and gilded trophies of NAPOLEON'S victories were appropriately arranged. Over the tribunes, on black medallions, surrounded with laurel and *immortelles*, were inscribed the principal acts and achievements of the Emperor's life; above them, and extending round the nave, were the numerous colours he had taken from the enemy; and the seats, disposed *ex amphithéâtre*, were occupied by a countless multitude in deep mourning. From the entrance to the choir were placed, at short distances, enormous candelabra, twelve or fourteen feet high, from which issued coloured flames. In the centre of the choir, in front of the altar, was erected the superb *catasfalque*, a representation in gilded wood of the tomb which is to be raised in marble. This splendid sepulchral monument, fifty feet in height, was supported by four Corinthian columns, and bore every variety of symbol befitting its design. Its canopy, in form of a dome, was borne by an eagle, with outspread wings of immense dimensions, and around it were disposed sixteen funereal urns, whence arose brilliant flames of various colours.

The public were admitted by tickets, and the church was filled at an early hour. Not the least imposing part of this extraordinary spectacle was the crowd in mourning dresses, who filled the chapel, first along the archways in the nave, then in the tribunes of the dome, as they became thronged with representatives of different bodies of the state, the ministers and staff, the marshals and superior officers of the army, and seemingly all that France contained of the brilliant in uniform or costume; and then the long vista of the nave, lined with the various deputations of the courts of justice of the thousand and one departments of the French state mechanism; and, at a later period, with the officers, non-commissioned officers, soldiers, and sailors, who had formed a part of the procession. At eleven o'clock, the first cannon was heard, announcing that the remains of the Emperor then touched French ground; at the sound, an electric thrill seemed to pass through the vast assemblage. Soon after, attention was for a moment attracted by the arrival of the venerable Marshal MONCEY, whose long-cherished wish had been that he might live to see this day. He was wheeled into the church, and with some difficulty



INTERIOR OF THE INVALIDES.

reached the choir, to await the remains of his beloved chief. About one, the King and royal family arrived from the Tuileries; and, at length, three hours after its departure from Courbevoie, the car stopped at the gate of the Invalides. LOUIS-PHILIPPE, surrounded by his chief officers of state, stationed himself beneath the dome to receive the body. The Archbishop of Paris attended by the bishops and clergy, advanced to perform the rites of absolution at the entrance of the church. The walls now reverberated the sound of the cannon,—the muffled drums came solemnly up the aisle,—and, presently, preceded by the Prince de JOINVILLE, was seen advancing up the nave the Emperor's coffin, borne upon the shoulders of the non-commissioned officers appointed for the purpose, and accompanied by Generals GOURGAUD and BERTRAND, and the marshals of France. It was covered with the pall, and the imperial crown lay reposing above. The old *invalides*, who occupied the first rank, were deeply moved,—by pride and joy, perhaps, rather than by grief; whilst great emotion was apparent in individuals among the mass of military who were ranged on one side of the dome. Here the body was presented to the King by the Prince, who had accompanied it to its final destination, with these words, "Sire, I present to you the body of the Emperor NAPOLEON." The King replied, raising his voice, "I receive it in the name of France." General ATHALIN carried the sword of the Emperor upon a cushion, and gave it to Marshal SOULT, who presented it to the King. His Majesty then addressed General BERTRAND, and said, "General, I charge you to place this glorious sword of the Emperor upon his coffin." His Majesty next said, "General GOURGAUD, place on the coffin the hat of the Emperor." The general did so, and the King returned to his seat, passing by the left of the *catafalque*, and bowing to the Chamber of Deputies. The coffin was then raised into the *catafalque*; the mass commenced; and when the *Requiem* ceased, holy water was sprinkled upon the *catafalque* by the Archbishop. The solemn march which was played by the orchestra, on the return of the clergy, and the entrance of the body, was magnificent. The *Requiem* of Mozart, the *De Profundis*, and the *Dies Iræ*, were then performed with a solemnity profoundly enhanced by the occasion.

* * * * *

Thus concluded the ceremony, which had commenced like the great Emperor's career in all the pomp and circumstance of war, and which, fulfilling his last desire, closed, by leaving in silence, in solitude, and in peace with all, the remains of

— "That wondrous man!
Whose daring spirit, with volcanic rage,
Breathed flame and ruin on the affrighted world."

It is computed that one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers assisted on this great national occasion. The whole of the reigning family were present,—not so that of the deceased Emperor. The brothers and nephews of him to whose memory these honours were paid, are still proscribed,—in exile or in prison.

The streets of Paris continued thronged through the evening, but no attempt at disturbance was perceptible. The capital generally wore an aspect of festivity and triumph, and the disposition of the populace seemed universally favourable to the preservation of order.

During the week, the public were allowed to visit the *catafalque*; and eight days after the ceremony, the body was deposited in a rich *chapelle ardente*, in the small lateral dome.



APPENDIX.

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FAC-SIMILES
OF
NAPOLEON'S VARIOUS SIGNATURES,

WITH EXPLANATIONS OF THEM COPIED BY PERMISSION FROM THE
EXTRAORDINARY COLLECTION IN THE POSSESSION OF

MR SAINSBURY.

London:
VINTAGE & Co. Printers,
135 Fleet Street.

A GENEALOGICAL SKETCH OF THE BONAPARTE FAMILY.

NAPOLÉON was born on the 15th of August, 1769, at Ajaccio, in Corsica. On the 23rd of April, 1779, he was admitted into the Royal Military School at Brienne, from which he went to that at Paris. Before his admission, proofs were required to be delivered at the Herald's office of the nobility of his family; which being done, M. d'HOZIER DE SERVIGNY, of that department, informed CHARLES DE BUONAPARTE, NAPOLÉON's father, by letter, dated Paris, March 8th, 1779, that his name was in all the records without having the article *de* prefixed to it; and that although a decree of the nobility, in the year 1771, gave to his family the name of Bonaparte, he signed De Buonaparte. He also inquired how the Christian name of his son, NAPOLEONE, could be translated into French. At that time, NAPOLÉON's father was the representative of Corsica at the court of France. He sent a reply on the same day from Versailles, stating the Republic of Genoa had, two hundred years previously, given to one of his ancestors, JEROME, the title of *Egregium Hieronim de Buonaparte*, and that the article *de* had been omitted, because it was of very little use in Italy. That NAPOLEONE was Italian, and that his family name was Buonaparte, or Bonaparte. The BONAPARTES are of Tuscan origin. In the middle ages they were eminent as senators of the Republics of Florence, San Miniato, Bologna, Sarzana, and Treviso; and as prelates attached to the court of Rome. They were allied to the Medici, the Orsini, and Lomellini families. Several of them held important public posts in their native states, and others employed themselves in literary pursuits at the period of the revival of letters in Italy. A manuscript written by one of the family was first printed at Cologne in 1756; and the volume, now in the Royal Library at Paris, contains a genealogy of the Bonapartes, which is carried back to a very remote period, and describes them as one of the most illustrious houses of Tuscany. NAPOLÉON's father was born in 1745; he married in 1767, and died in 1785, at the age of forty; leaving five sons and three daughters, viz., JOSEPH, born 1768; NAPOLÉON, born 1769, died 1821; LUCIEN, born 1775, died 1840; LOUIS, born 1778; JEROME, born 1784; ELIZA, born 1777, died 1820; PAULINE, born 1780, died 1825; and CAROLINE, born 1782, died 1839. NAPOLÉON's mother was born in 1750; married at the age of seventeen years, and died in 1836, in her eighty-sixth year, in the same month of the year as her husband. NAPOLÉON was born in the same month of the year as his mother. He married JOSEPHINE on the 8th March, 1796; and MARIA LOUISA (BERTHIER being his proxy at Vienna), 11th March, 1810. At this period (May, 1841), his brothers JOSEPH, LOUIS, and JEROME, are the only survivors. NAPOLÉON gave the following titles to all his brothers and sisters, except LUCIEN, viz., JOSEPH, King of Naples and Sicily, and afterwards seated him on the throne of Spain; LUCIEN's title of Prince of Canino was conferred on him by Pope Pius VII.; LOUIS, King of Holland; JEROME, King of Westphalia; ELIZA, Princess of Lucca and Piombino; PAULINE, Princess Borghese; CAROLINE, Queen of Naples; and by the treaty of Paris in 1814, it was stipulated—having been proposed by the Emperor ALEXANDER of Russia—that the whole of the Bonaparte family should retain the titles of prince and princess.



IN the year 1785, NAPOLEON left the Military School of Paris, and was admitted as second lieutenant into the regiment *De la Fere*; at that time he thus concluded a letter to his father:—

*Votre très humble
Buonaparte fils
cadet gentilhomme
à l'Ecole Royale Militaire de
Paris.*

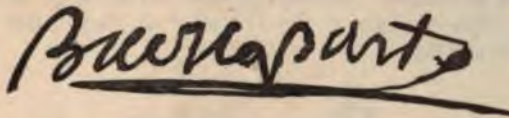
[Votrè très humble Buonaparte fils cadete gentilhomme a l'Ecole Royale Militaire de Paris.]

NAPOLEON obtained a company in the year 1789, and in 1792 was promoted to the head of a battalion of infantry of the national volunteers, which were called out for the expedition against Sardinia. On his return from that expedition, he commanded the artillery at the siege before Toulon. He signed at that time—

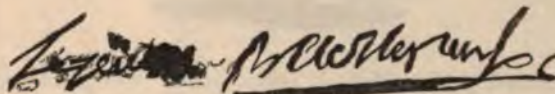
Buonaparte

After having taken General O'Hara prisoner at the siege of Toulon, on the 3rd of December, 1793, NAPOLEON was promoted to the rank of general; and in 1794, he commanded the artillery of the army of Italy. In the early part of the year 1795, he was nominated to serve with the generals of infantry in Vendée. He refused the appointment, and was soon afterwards attached to the military department at Paris. On the 5th of October in the same year, he commanded, under Barras, the army of the Convention against the sections of Paris, and was by them promoted to the rank of a general of division. The Convention shortly afterwards named him to the chief command of the army of the interior; NAPOLEON had not up to this period, omitted the letter *u* in

spelling his name. The official letters are headed "Buonaparte, General-in-Chief de l'Armée d'Interior;" and his dispatches are signed—

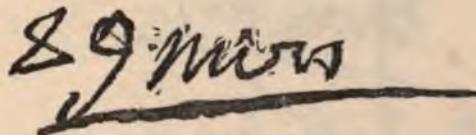


or



[Citizen Buonaparte.]

The last signature is at the end of the "Note sur l'Armée d'Italie" of three pages which NAPOLEON dated thus:—



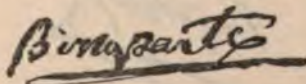
[29 Nivose.]

On the 29th Nivose, in the fourth year of the Republic (19th of January, 1796), NAPOLEON signed like the preceding his plan for the invasion of Italy, to the Minister of War. He was soon afterwards charged with the execution of his project, and the success of the memorable campaign of 1796 was the result of it, proving the correctness of his judgment and penetration. From that period his military superiority was established.

In the Memorial of St. Helena (vol. i., p. 132, French edition, 1823), NAPOLEON is represented to state that during his youth he signed Buonaparte, after his father, and did not alter his signature until after he was promoted to the command of the army of Italy, to which he was appointed general-in-chief, February 23rd, 1796, and continued to sign Buonaparte up to the 29th of the same month. His principal object for omitting the *u* was to shorten his signature.

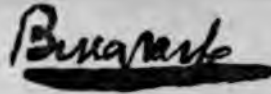
Mr. Sainsbury has among the manuscripts in his Napoleon Museum two of Napoleon's letters, *both bearing the same date*, viz. "Head-quarters, Paris, 11 Ventôse, An iv. (1st March, 1796). One of them has 11 p.m. added to the date; both are addressed to the Commissary of War, demanding certain books and maps, which are specified, for his journey. They are signed "Bonaparte" and "Buonaparte;" consequently it is not unreasonable to presume that one of these letters bears his *first* signature as "Bonaparte," and the other his *last*, as "Buonaparte."

NAPOLEON set out from Paris to join the army of Italy on March 11, 1796; and in the first letter he sent to the Executive Directory from his head-quarters, which is directed from Nice, on the 28th, he informs them of having taken the command of the army on the preceding day, and signs thus:—



[Bonaparte.]

The alteration was from that time generally adopted, and his official letters were headed "Bonaparte, General-in-Chief of the Army of Italy;" and from his head-quarters at Carcare, Napoleon reports the battle of Montenotte, which opened the campaign of Italy to the Directory at Paris: this letter is dated April 14th, 1796, and signed:—



In his celebrated proclamation at Milan, on the 20th of May, 1796, NAPOLEON thus addresses his army,—“Soldiers, you have precipitated yourselves like a torrent from the top of the Appenines. Milan is yours!” and signs:—



As general-in-chief of the French army in Egypt, NAPOLEON also signs:—



From Cairo, on the 30th of July, 1798, also as First Consul and Consul for Life of the Republic of France, NAPOLEON signed thus:—



From his accession to the imperial dignity, the Emperor signed thus:—



The last signature on the opposite page is one of the earliest of NAPOLEON as Emperor; it was given at St. Cloud, on the 25th of May, 1804. The three first letters, NAPOleon, are exactly like those in the middle of his signature when he used to sign BuonAParte. Until the year 1805, he continued to sign his name in full; but on the 18th of September, 1805, he signed his instructions as under to General Massena, who was charged with the command of 50,000 men in Italy:—

*Scusatelo per le prime lettere
 5 Vendemiaire j'ai manifesté par quelle-
 ques lettres l'importance de la cause.
 Mais comme on s'obstine à m'en parler
 sans cesse, j'ai dû me résigner à signer
 comme d'habitude.*

[I hope to cross the Rhine on the 5th Vendemiaire. I shall not stay before I am on the Inn, or even further, and I trust in your courage and your talents. Support me with your forces.—NAPOLEON.]

After the battle of Austerlitz, which ended the campaign of 1805, NAPOLEON's proclamation, dated from the imperial camp at Austerlitz, on the 3rd of December, 1805, was signed—



From the campaign of 1806, he signs only the first letters of his name, thus:—



On the 26th of October, 1806, from Potsdam, the Emperor signed thus:—



And on the 29th of October, 1806, from Berlin, thus:—



On the 27th of January, 1807, from Warsaw, thus:—



From the Imperial Camp at Tilsit, on the 22nd of June, 1807, the Emperor signed only the initials of his name, as under, and very seldom afterwards in full:—

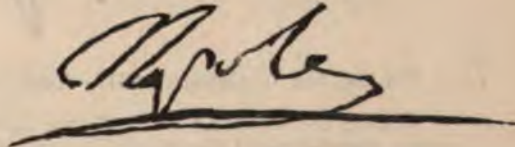


On the 7th of December, 1808, from Madrid, thus:—



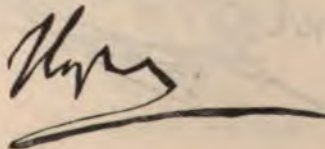
At the commencement of the campaign of 1809, on the 18th of April, the Emperor wrote to Marshal Massena, from Donawerth, as follows:—

with activity, celerity, perseverance



[Activity, activity, celerity. I recommend myself to you.—NAPOLEON.]

From the Imperial Camp at Ratisbon, on the 24th of April, 1809, the Emperor addressed a proclamation to the army, ending thus:—"Before a month has elapsed I shall be at Vienna;" and signed it thus:—



And in less than three weeks afterwards, the French army was at Vienna, and the Emperor signed his decrees from the Palace of Schoenbrunn, on the 13th of May, thus:—



The same variety of signatures is again found among the Emperor's orders issued from Moscow, which city he entered as a conqueror, on the 12th September, 1812: thus—

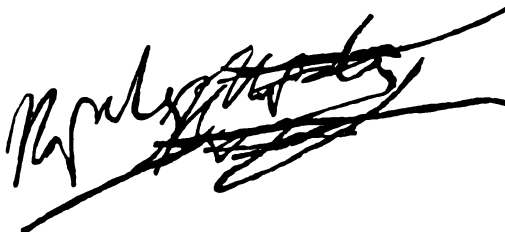


On the 21st of September, 1812, at three o'clock in the morning, the Emperor signed thus:—



On the 6th of October, 1812, from Moscow, similar to the above.

During the campaign of 1813, the Emperor sent an order from Dresden, to the Major-General Berthier; it is dated October 1st, at twelve o'clock. General Pelet states, he hesitated for some time before sending it; the signature has been cancelled with the pen twice, and written a third time.



One of the most extraordinary of the Emperor's signatures is the following, which he gave at Erfurt, on the 23rd day of October, 1813, at twelve o'clock.



On the 4th of April, 1814, from Fontainebleau, thus :—



On the 9th of September, 1814, from Longone, Isle of Elba, thus :—



From the Isle of Aix, on the 14th of July, 1815, the Emperor's letter to the Prince Regent of England, is signed thus :—



From Longwood, Isle of St. Helena, on the 11th of December, 1816, the Emperor wrote to the Count de Las Casas, who was the companion of his captivity, a consolatory letter, on his being ordered to leave the island. This circumstance gave NAPOLEON great pain, as it did also the Count. This was his first signature at St. Helena:—

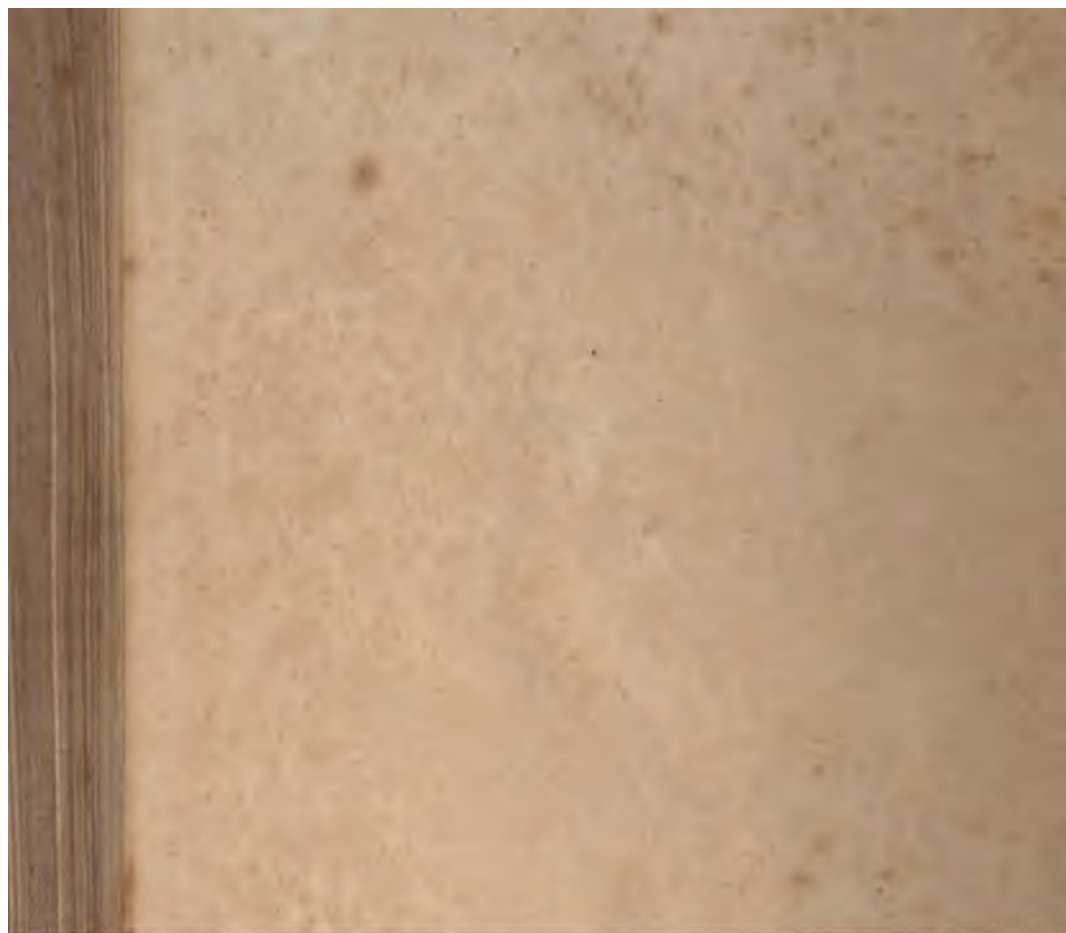
Napoleon

The following is the concluding part of NAPOLEON's Will, which is preserved in the Prerogative Office, Doctors' Commons, London.

*Ceci est mon testament
écrit tout entier de
ma propre main*

Napoleon

[Ceci est mon testament écrit tout entier de ma propre main.—NAPOLEON.]



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